

The American Indian Frontier



William Christie Macleod

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WITH MAPS



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and "The American Indian's Story"

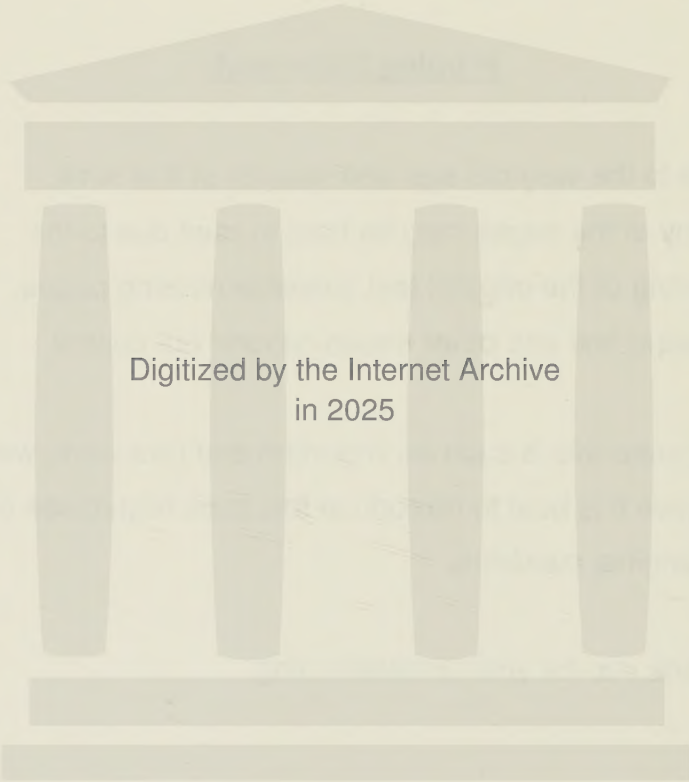
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TO
EDWARD SHERWOOD MEAD

PREFACE

I

EVERY frontier has two sides. Its movement forward or backward is the consequence of two sets of forces. To understand fully why one side advances, we must know something of why the other side retreats.

This volume represents the first attempt at an analysis of American frontier history made particularly from the viewpoint of the Indian side of the frontier development.

Being an essay in the "New History," a socio-historical enterprise, emphasis is placed upon institutional evolution. And inasmuch as North American developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are capable of intelligent interpretation only in the light of earlier developments on New World and Old World frontiers, ample consideration is given to those earlier developments, despite the fact that this volume is placing its emphasis on North American evolution.

My use of the term "North American" contrasting with the term "Latin American" to mean, merely, that part of North America not under Spanish administration at the time, is arbitrary, but is useful and convenient, and is never so used that one would be misled by the context.

II

North European Indian policies in North America gradually led the aborigines to moral and physical eclipse. There is much truth in the old saw, that the early colonists first of all fell on their knees and then fell on the aborigines. Equally true is the saying that the colonist approached the native with a deed of sale for land in one hand, which the native was voluntarily to sign; while in the other hand and under the arm, were a Bible, a bottle of rum, and a gun.

These old sayings, of course, conjure up mere inanimate portraits. They do not present to us any of the complexes of thought and feeling which conditioned the approach of the

two races. We will discuss the development of attitudes and policies on the frontier, and see these at work in something of a chronological order, decade by decade.

The development is one of tragic irony. The policies of the North Europeans were policies of peaceful penetration, motivated largely by the desire to avoid the expense of forcible penetration. Nevertheless, the peaceful penetration policy had its interludes of sanguinary struggle, interludes which brought no finality and after each of which firearms were again distributed to the Indians, rum was sold, land was purchased, treaties were made, and smallpox and other plagues continued toward the extermination of the natives.

We should not underestimate the historical significance of the early colonial Indian wars. Sometimes, it appears, even in colonial days, Europeans affected to underestimate their importance, for Cotton Mather, writing a history of recent Indian Wars in New England, in 1699—his *Decennium Luctuosum* or Dolorous Decade—was moved to say: “And if a war between us and an handful of Indians do appear no more than a Battle of Frogs and Mice to the world abroad, yet unto us at home it hath been considerable enough to make a history.”¹ Today, in retrospect, these wars appear significant enough in American History to absorb many pages of this book.

Further, I give some space to the personal aspects of many situations, such as certain massacres, for example. The story of the American frontier reeks with too much romance for us to let it all slip by, even in a presumably scientific treatment.

Too readily do we forget when we dwell of an evening over the mystery of Rene Maran’s *Batouala*, or Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, and other stories of the black, mystery-continent of Africa, that North America was for long a Dark Continent. And for a longer time, the heart of this continent was dark. The far-flung agents of frontier enterprise in early Virginia felt this, as did the early explorers in the dense woodlands of the Ohio region. For a time the Potomac, and for a longer time the Ohio, were Congos.

It was so different, this now railroad-littered continent, in

¹ *Decennium*, pp. 182-3 of *Original Narratives Reprint*. I translate the “*Batrachyomachie*” of the original as “battle of frogs and mice.”

IV

Concerning things omitted through either lack of space or wrong evaluation, I find the inimitable Mather's words, applied to his own history, a consolation:

"Nor is the author afraid of promising, that of all the thirty articles which make up this history, the author has this apology: he has done as well and as much as he could; that whatever was worthy of mention might have it; . . . and now he hath done, he hath not pulled up the ladder after him; others may go on as they please with a completer composure."¹

Mather's is a politer farewell to a difficult and never-to-be-ended research than that of old Daniel Pastorius, who concluding, in Germantown, Philadelphia, one year earlier than Mather, some analysis of American Indian words in a long communication to a friend, closes abruptly with:

"Whatsoever professor digs out of this the origin and root of these Indian words, him will I praise. In the meantime, the paper is becoming too small for me; the quill is blunt; the ink will no longer flow, there is no more oil in the lamp, it is already late; my eyes are full of sleep. Fare you well. I close."²

¹ *Decennium*, pp. 182-3, *Orig. Narrative's* Reprint.

² *Letter*, May 30, 1698, *Orig. Narr.'s* Reprint.

those early days, particularly in its now-vanished, great, silent, towering, virgin forests, and in many awesome strange creatures now scarce or exterminated.

Had one sailed in these ancient days—but no later than 1614—past the “Island-Where-We-All-Became-Intoxicated” on to the islands in Boston harbour, one would have found the great auk (now universally gone the way of the dodo) standing in numbers, looking lazily eastward to the sea, waiting perhaps for the tragic St Maël to come to baptize them.¹ Had these great penguins, before the French traders of those pre-Pilgrim days killed them off, looked westward far enough, they would have seen the California condor flapping his great spread of wings, trying to warn them that America had indeed been discovered, and that not only saints, but saints and sinners, were on their way.

III

Let us hope that the treatment of the whole subject is free from sentiment. Considerations of the American Indian in history have usually reeked of it. Tacitus nearly two thousand years ago sentimentalized the Germans in his *Germania*, but the Germans since 1871 have at last appeared eminently human with all the frailties of humanity.

The very irritating idealization of the American Indian was initiated by Montaigne of the famous *Essays*, published in 1580. He had met some Iroquois ambassadors at the Court of Charles IX of France and talked with them through an old frontiersman of New France. His rhapsodies were in time to be taken up by La Hontan, who should have known better but who had a publisher and a public to please; by Rousseau;² and, lastly, by every one of the thousands of speechmakers and writers who shed tears over the American Indian in nineteenth-century North America.

¹ The uninitiated reader should consult Anatole France's *Isle of Penguins* for the story (unfortunately blasphemous in parts) of the saint who baptized penguins. On the great auks of Boston Harbour, see Adams in Morton's *Canaan*, Prince Society Edition, p. 131, n. 1.

² Compare Ten Kate, Myres, and Bissel.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I MUST acknowledge my deep indebtedness to the encouragement of my colleagues in the several departments of the social sciences in the Wharton and Graduate Schools of the University of Pennsylvania. To that gentleman and scholar to whom in particular I am indebted for the opportunity to conclude this research and continue others, I respectfully dedicate this book. I am further especially indebted to Professor Frank G. Speck, who encouraged and facilitated my early publications in economic and social origins.

Further, I must confess to some gratefulness that the eminent editors of this History of Civilization series have seen fit so to value this study as to include it in their series.

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PART I
THE INDIAN

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN

“Why do you call us Indians?”—*Query put to John Eliot by the Indians, 1646.*

IN the beginning, there was the Indian. We find him on the stage when the first conquerors came. Where did he come from?

THE LOST TEN TRIBES?

For centuries it was popularly supposed that the Indians were the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The almost Jewish cast of features of many tribes in eastern and middle-western North America, and the existence among the Indians of many religious and social customs similar to those of ancient Jewry, helped support this contention. Some of the best of our earlier scientific inquiries into Indian life and history, such as Adair's *History* (1775) and Lord Kingsborough's monumental publications on Aztec society (1848), were directed to prove the contention of the Jewish origin of the Indian.

Even William Penn, in 1682, while making no contention, was struck by certain resemblances between the Delaware Indians, with their rather high-bridged noses and broad cheek-bones, and the type of Jew then found in the Jewish section of London.¹

¹ Penn: *Letter to the Free Society of Traders, in Original Narratives*. Although the Puritans conceived themselves as being the Chosen People in a New Canaan, and of the Indians as Gentiles of the new order, it was not until 1660 that the theory was propounded that the Indians were really themselves the Chosen People gone astray—that is, that they were Hebrews, descendants of the “lost” ten tribes of the Hebrew kingdom of Israel. The idea was set forth in 1660 by a Portuguese Jew. I do not recall note of its adoption by American settlers until the nineteenth century. Penn probably did not know of the theory. The concept of the Indians as Canaanites of the New Canaan held by the Puritans is therefore quite opposite to the concept of the Indians being transplanted Hebrews, and to the Puritans the term Canaanite was, as applied to the Indians, merely figurative, meaning Gentiles or Infidels existing in a land given to the Puritans as theirs by God. See Mallery; Kingsborough; Adair; Thorowgood; and below, pp. 49, 192, 214, 241, 415.

"I found them of like countenance," he wrote, "and their children of so lively a resemblance that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry Street in London when he seeth them."

The Ten Lost Tribes theory has, however, been doomed by scientific investigation, and we are sure to-day that those Israelites of the Ten Tribes were absorbed thousands of years ago, into the Babylonian population.

A TRANSPLANTED CHINAMAN

The sharp separation, found in our childhood school-books, of "red", "brown", and "yellow" races, is no longer acceptable. The broad identity of these three racial agglomerations—Indian, Malay, and Mongolian—is so apparent to-day that recently I felt it safe to state that the Indian is, in fact, "about the equivalent of a transplanted Chinaman".

The objections to such phrasing were, I felt, due to the subconscious contrast occurring to American auditors between the noble, aquiline-nosed Sioux Indians of our American plains, and the despised, sallow, low-bridged nosed Chinaman of the laundries of American cities. The fact remains, however, that the American Indian peoples are very closely akin to the Chinese peoples, racially, linguistically, and culturally. They are parts of the Mongolian—or, better, Mongoloid—agglomeration of racial stocks. These Mongoloid peoples are characterized primarily by their straight, heavy, wiry, black hair, and by skin of varying shades of yellowish and reddish brown.

OLD WORLD KIN OF THE INDIAN

In Asia, this racial type is represented by the tall, light-skinned northern Chinese, and the Manchus, their Tungusian conquerors; by the short, brown, small-nosed Chinaman of the south; by the Indo-Chinese, Siamese, and Burmese; by the Malays proper and the Filipinos and Javanese; by the Thibetans, Mongols, Koreans, Japanese, and aboriginal Siberian tribes.

In Europe, of course, we have the representative Lapps. Originally, also, the Finns, Esthonians, Hungarians, Tartars,

and Turks were of the same racial type and still retain their ancient Mongolian languages, but they have so inbred with Caucasian neighbours that only in the slant eyes and broad faces of occasional peasants does the old racial type persist.

The Polynesians—familiar to Americans acquainted with the Hawaiians—are less closely related to the Indian. To-day we well know that the Polynesian language is merely a sort of broken-down Malay and that the peoples on the various Polynesian Islands are of a late mixture of Mongolian types—probably from the Malay regions—with negro types such as are still found unmixed in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

VARIOUS TYPES OF INDIAN

These Old World Mongolian peoples vary, of course. Compare the high nose of a Javanese aristocrat with the orang-utang nose of a Malay commoner, or the fine lines of a Japanese nobleman's face with the gross broad face of a Japanese labourer. Some of the variation is due to very ancient race-mixtures, which we cannot yet trace, making for differences between groups and variation within groups. Some is due to late mixture. Even to-day the bearded, wavy-haired Ainu is being absorbed through intermarriage by the Japanese. The Samurai of old Japan were considerably of Ainu blood. To-day, as yesterday, the Filipinos and Malays are racially assimilating the kinky-haired negritos still left among them.

So also the American Indian type varies from tribe to tribe, and between family groups within the tribe. There is as much difference between the Sioux of the plains of the United States and the Salish of the Oregon coast as between the Thibetans and the Filipinos. Some of this variation probably developed in the Americas, but there is little doubt to-day that different Mongolian types came into America at different times.

So far we have not spoken of the Eskimo. This people, until recent centuries, inhabited Siberia as well as America. The Siberian Eskimo were once one of the most powerful of the Mongolian peoples of northeastern Siberia. But inasmuch as their range, historically, has been largely the Arctic coasts of America, they are an American group of Mongolians.

They are Indian just as much as any other of the American groups are, although popular language sets them as a group apart.¹

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES; ESKIMO RELATED TO TURKISH

How did these Mongolians enter the Americas? This is a question which only in very recent years has been approaching a solution aided by the study of the relationships of the American languages. The French scientist Sauvageot, in a very scholarly monograph published in 1924, gave what appears to most students unequivocal proof of the Old World affinities of the Eskimo language.

In Europe and Asia is a group of languages and dialects all closely related, called the Uralian—or Ural-Altaic stock, spoken only by peoples of Mongoloid racial origin—in contrast, for example, with the Indo-European stock of languages spoken chiefly by the Caucasian peoples. This Uralian stock includes the languages of Finland, Turkey, Esthonia, Hungary, Thibet, Mongolia, and of the Manchus and the Siberian Tungus. Sauvageot has shown that Eskimo is a language of this stock—in other words, that Eskimo is related to Hungarian and Finnish in the sense that Greek is related to Latin, or English to Russian.

Curiously enough, the languages of the Japanese, Koreans, and of the tribes of northeastern Siberia (the Paleo-Siberians or Old Siberians) are not members of the Uralian stock. The Eskimo language, however, contains words borrowed from these non-related languages.

Standing on the American side of the Behring Strait, on a clear day, one may see the coast of Asia. Often the strait is frozen over. As we have already noted, the Eskimo, some few centuries ago, were a powerful group in Siberia as well as in America. There is conclusive evidence that the American Eskimo are an immigrant off-shoot of the Asiatic Eskimo,² entering America by the Behring Strait route and across the

¹ On the race problem, compare chiefly Dixon, Sullivan, Hrdlicka, Kroeber, Waterman. On Eskimo origins see especially Bogaras; also Steensby, Thalbitzer, Boas, Stefansson, Rasmussen.

² But this is not to say that the immigration has been at any time within several thousand years past. Boas, Rasmussen, and Stefansson all consider this to have been extremely ancient.

islands in the Behring Sea; while at the same or some other time, the Aleuts—whose language is apparently related to theirs—possibly passed along the islands of the Aleutian chain which border the Behring Sea on the south and serve as stepping-stones between Europe and Asia.

NAVAJO RELATED TO CHINESE

The immigrant Eskimo-speaking people from Siberia undoubtedly found peoples already inhabiting Arctic America. Some of these they probably killed off; some they undoubtedly



MAP I.—THE RACES OF THE WORLD IN COLUMBUS' TIME.
(For some details see Appendix X.)

assimilated. These earlier groups had come, perhaps, from Asia also as part of a pre-Eskimo immigration that came by the Behring Sea routes.

It was no doubt by way of the Behring Sea, at some date long before the Eskimo intrusion, that the original Athabaskan-speaking group entered America. The Athabaskan languages to-day include those spoken by the Indians in the interior of Alaska, the greater part of the Rocky Mountain plateau of Canada, and by the more familiar Apache and Navajo of the southwest of the United States.

It is the contention of the distinguished American scientist

Sapir that Athabascan is closely related to primitive Chinese. He discovered, for example, that the Athabascan Indians used the peculiar system of "tone", which, to our ears, makes Chinese so much of a sing-song, and by means of which the same words in different tones have widely different meanings.

AUSTRALIANS AND POLYNESIANS IN AMERICA

It is on the authority of the distinguished French scholar Rivet, supported by Dixon and others in America, that a group of languages including Yuman, spoken notably in upper and lower California, but also in Nicaragua and in Texas and northwestern Mexico—a group known as the Hokan stock—is identified as related closely to the languages of the Malays, Polynesians, and Melanesians—the Melano-Polynesian stock. On the same authority the languages of the Indians of Tierro del Fuego and Patagonia—known as the Tson stock—are related closely to those of the Australian blackfellows.

But how could Australians and Polynesians get into the Americas? These Australians, although nearly as dark as negroes, are not of a negro type. Save for the darkness of skin, with their bushy beards and wavy hair they suggest the Ainu. For a variety of reasons it has long been my opinion that the Ainu are northern and the Australian are southern representatives of a race of Australoid type once dominant over the whole of the Mongolian regions of Eastern Asia at a time when negroid peoples inhabited Malaysia, Polynesia, and Australia.

Recent scientific study would indicate that this Australoid type not only preceded the Mongolians in Asia but also in the Americas. Very possibly, it, too, came in over the Behring Sea route. This, I think, is more likely than that it came through Polynesia.¹

The Polynesian archipelagos were, however, at some time within the last several thousand years much larger and more populous and rich than when they were first discovered by Europeans. There has been much significant subsidence.

¹ For the find of an Australoid skull in Java see note in *American Anthropologist*, 1921; and for the type even in South Africa and elsewhere, compare paragraphs and references in Hornbostel and Rivet.

Easter Island, the Polynesian island nearest to America, is but a little remnant of what was once undoubtedly a large and populous archipelago inhabited by that rich population which left behind the great monolithic statues still to be seen there.

It is eminently probable that peoples have passed into America from Asia not only by the Behring Sea route but through Polynesia. From Easter Island, perhaps, to the coast of Peru, and then north and south along the coasts, and into the interior. It is possible that it was some group from Polynesia, spreading north, which introduced into Nicaragua, the Gulf Coast of the United States, and California the languages of Malay affinity which Rivet identifies there.¹

THE ASIATIC ORIGINS OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

A very few years ago it would have been only at the cost of his reputation for sanity that an American student might contend that it was in any sense likely that the civilization of the American Indians was to any considerable extent derived from Asia—that, for example, agriculture and mound-building were not evolved independently in America, but were borrowed from Asia. English scholars, such as Rivers, Elliot Smith, and Perry, have been more daring, but their methods of study did not agree with the standards of American students. While being myself at variance with the methodology of the British scholars mentioned, I think, on the basis of my own approach to certain aspects of the problem, that their conclusions are largely acceptable.

Elements of culture, or civilization, entered America as part of the equipment of immigrating peoples. Then through the maintenance of contacts, new inventions were passed from Asia, from one tribe to another in the Americas, by a process of borrowing. Immigrants and culture have, first of all, passed over the Behring Sea routes and then spread down through North and Central America, even into South America.

¹ See Sauvageot; Rivet; Dixon; Kroeber; Sapir. On Eskimo word-borrowings from the Japanese, etc., see discussion between Chamberlain, Boas, and Murdock in *Science*, 1887.

Hill-Tout once suggested a Polynesian origin for Kwakiutl-Nootka-Salish; Sapir relates this stock to Algonkin.

Some of these traits or elements are the pump drill, the strap drill, the bow drill. These spread only to the Eskimo and the northwest coast of North America; all other American peoples, including the otherwise economically advanced Aztecs, Mayas, and Peruvians, used the simple shaft and tubular drills, ignorant of the more advanced Asiatic devices used by the Eskimo. The composite or reinforced (Tatar) bow entered, but was also limited to northwestern North America, all other American peoples using the plain, or self bow. Slat, plate, and rod armour—like that of the Japanese—and mummification, much like that of the Ainu, are Asiatic traits confined chiefly to northwestern North America. The Mongolian arrow release was probably introduced with the composite bow. Games of chance (dice, etc.), and probably the very idea of stakes in a game (gambling), are borrowings from Asia. Games of chance spread down to Peru and the Chaco near Peru, but were unknown, it seems, in the greater part of South America.

Debtor slavery in the Americas has, apparently, the same distribution as gambling, and seems to be linked up with it in genesis: it probably entered America as part of the gambling complex. The hereditary chattel slavery peculiar to northwestern North America, an institution of great economic importance in that area, is apparently a reflex of the Asiatic institution. Innumerable other traits there are (some of which have first been developed in the American tundras and then diffused to Siberia and northern Europe). Without discussion, we may mention the rectangular plank-house of the northwest coast of North America; dog-traction; the sled and toboggan; the moccasin: tailored clothing; the gong (as such I interpret the "coppers" of the northwest coast); the tipi or conical tent; bark used for structures and utensils; the snowshoe; peculiar skin-dressing technique; carry-cradles or cradle-boards; the tambourine or shaman's drum; shoulder-blade divining (scapulamantia); the earth-diver, chain-of-arrows, magic-flight, and other folklore motives; moose-hair embroidery; the crooked-knife; coiled basketry; Arctic-coast pottery; the vigesimal system of numeration; tattooing; the corbelled dome; the oil-lamp; hats; raincoats; the pit house or earth-lodge; the sweat (or Turkish) bath; game-drive fences; the square-mat sail; the ground-slate spear-head of a peculiar type found all the way from New England to Finland, and so on.

Then there are certain special traits of the North American west coast peculiarly like traits of Polynesia, which may also have come by the Behring Sea or Aleutian chain route. These are, for example, the peculiar, flat-bodied stone club so like that of Samoa; wood-sewing, peculiar to our northwest coast and to parts of Polynesia; certain peculiar types of bark-cloth manufacturing implements, and certain art motives; the orator's staff; and certain forms of stone adzes and pestles.

The traits or elements we have enumerated, to judge from their rather wide distribution and their deep root, are all pre-Columbian in their introduction to America, some very anciently introduced, some late in our era—with the exception, perhaps, of mummification among the Aleuts and the southern Eskimo, which may have been introduced from northern Japan or thereabouts in the seventeenth century.

In late post-Columbian days, that is, after the Spaniards had begun trading from Mexico to the Philippines and Japan, their fleets returning along the coasts of the North Pacific, and, still later in our own era, when Russian traders began

operations in Alaska, there was not only the influence of European culture on the Indians of the northwest coast of North America, but a continuance of the influence of Asiatic culture (such as, for example, the twentieth century introduction of reindeer breeding, very anciently practised in Siberia).

Of the period of the Spanish galleons, probably, is a little bronze bell-handle of Hindu origin found on the coast of British Columbia. Of the Russian trade period, perhaps, is the ornamentation of a Tlingit Indian mask with eyes made of Chinese coins. And of the period of Captain Cook's voyaging is probably a Polynesian feather-work article of dress found among the Tlingit Indians and around which, among themselves, much myth had grown. We note that from about 1800 on to nearly the present, American and British explorers and whalers have used Hawaiians for their assistants, and these have influenced in slight measure, the vocabularies, ideas, and race of northwestern North America. Finally, in the twentieth century, reindeer domestication, which will in time be of tremendous economic importance in North America, has been introduced from the tundras of arctic Eur-Asia.

We may add that the numerous strandings of Chinese and Japanese vessels on the west shores of North America in our post-Columbian period are especially indicative of the fact that such strandings must have occurred repeatedly in pre-Columbian days, when Japanese whalers and ivory hunters were active in the Behring Sea region, when Chinese sea trade was in its golden age.¹

¹ On drills, compare McGuire. On bows, Balfour and Murdock. On arrow release, Morse, and Wissler in *Man and Nature* (Map). On games, Culin, Nordenskiöld, and Tylor. On houses, Jochelson, Linton, Waterman, Koch-Gruenberg, Matthews, and Schroeder. On the sweat-bath, Rivers in the article *Sweat-bath* in Hastings. On game fences, Lowie. On slavery and mummification, MacLeod. On religion and myth, Pettazoni, Hallowell, Bogaras, Matthews, Lowie (*Religion*), Boas (*Sagen*). On armour, Hough, and Laufer (*Figurines*). On other traits see Buckland (*Stimulants*), Hatt (*Footwear*), Laufer (*Reindeer*), Hough (*Lamp*), Morice (*Dene*), Rau (*Fishing*), Ernst, Wiener, Gilmore, and *American Anthropologist*, 1912. Bogaras' studies on the Asiatic Eskimo are especially interesting; Steensby and Thalbitzer both accept the idea of Japanese influence on Eskimo culture; Sapir suggests a relationship between Eskimo and other American pottery; Hallowell and Holmes (*Lithic*) afford especially valuable general discussions, well documented, of historical contact. We should perhaps have added the headrest of the North American west coast to the above; it appears to be of Japanese type; see data (little enough) in Kroeber (*Handbook*), Waterman (*Yurok*),

NORSE INFLUENCE ON THE INDIAN

Since about, roughly, 1000 A.D. the cultural influence of Japanese and other ivory hunters was noteworthy in the Behring Sea area. Meantime, the contact of the Norsemen with the Eskimo or pre-Eskimo inhabitants of Greenland and, for a short time, with the Indians of the mainland, is noteworthy and apparently had some influence on Eskimo and Indian culture.

I am at present of the opinion that the marvellous dome of the snow-house of the Eskimo was devised by the Eskimo through imitation of dome-building by the Scandinavians in Greenland, the borrowing eventually spreading westward even to the mouth of the Copper River at the Pacific Ocean. The likewise marvellous bannerstones of the Indians of north-western North America are also probably best explained as an imitation in stone of the Amazon axe of northwestern Europe. So perhaps also are the conception of the constellation called the Great Dipper as being a Great Bear, and a specialized adze-like gouge.¹

POLYNESIAN INFLUENCE ON THE INCAS AND AZTECS

Unfortunately for the North American Indian, northwestern Siberia was a weak source of contact with Old World civilization. In pre-Columbian times, the domestication of the horse

and Swanton (*Haida*); on the orator's staff, see Hall; on the Polynesian article among the Tlingit, see Hall; on the Hindu figurine, see Boas; on the mask with Chinese coins, see Bolles. On the influence of Japanese whalers in the Behring Sea, compare Steensby, Thalbitzer, MacLeod (*Mortuary*); Bogaras, and Laufer (*Trade in Narwhal and Walrus Ivory in Ivory*).

I am not ignorant of the fact that there was some indigenous invention in America as well as general assimilation of foreign elements relatively unmodified. Salish spinning (see Kissel); the disk pump drill (see McGuire); the poncho (see Montell); the domestication of cochineal; etc., are apparently American inventions.

¹ On Scandinavian architecture in Greenland, cf. Bardsen's fourteenth century narrative, pp. 14-15. (The Eskimo were the only American people who understood the principle of the true arch.) On the bannerstone and amazon axe, compare Holmes, *Lithic Industries*, pp. 22-24, and compare Gordon, *Double-Axe*, and Harrington, *Norse Bronze*. On the gouge, see Holmes. On the Great Bear, compare Williams, *Key*, p. 21. For a comparison of the Norse and Eskimo ball games see the appendix in Hovgaard, and Thalbitzer.

On reindeer, see Laufer, and Hatt. On the Ainu frontier, see Bishop *Japan*.

and reindeer, the use of the wheel, and such other cultural advances, had not reached that area and therefore the American Indian was shut off from knowledge of them. Even what is now civilized Japan was still one-half dominated by the stone-age Ainu in Columbus' time, and the Japanese sometimes waged losing battles with them.

There has been, however, some transmission of culture from southeastern Asia through Polynesia into Peru and Central America. The problem of just what elements of culture were so transmitted, and in what sequence or at what dates, remains a problem pending more serious investigation than has yet been undertaken. The circumstantial evidence of such contact is too overwhelming to be denied. The fact that the wheel, together with Old World domesticated plants and animals, did not reach America, and that those of America did not reach the Old World, is significant and may help us in tracing the course and date of contacts. Tentatively, I think that for some reason contacts with Polynesia ended probably about the beginning of our era. This despite the fact that East Indian and Chinese commerce saw its greatest days since then.

Many elements of civilization shared by the Indians with the negroes of Africa merely seem to bear out the contention of Wiener that Mayan and Aztec culture is of African origin. These elements undoubtedly passed into the Americas from the Old World across the Pacific.

Through Polynesia probably have come at one time and another, the following elements of culture: the blow gun; certain musical instruments; certain club types; the balsa; the double canoe with platform; honorary parasols; the litter; the official staff; the concave and convex mirror; fans; incensing; cremation; mummification (central type); the cross, baptism, and the public and private confessional; "jumping over" as a religious practice; the bull-roarer; boomerang; bolo; bronze manufacture; bark cloth manufacture; the river Styx and Charon theme in mortuary lore; the loom; the zodiac; the practice of agriculture and the making of pottery; mound or pyramid building; "hook-swinging" as a religious rite; the use of lime in the mastication of herbs; the tripod support on incense burners and other pottery; the negative painting process; mosaic feather work; an especially unique type of perforated ornamental axe; possibly the venus calendar; possibly the style of figure represented by the statuette of Tuxtla on which is carved the Maya date for 100 B.C.; the quipu, notched stick, and tally records; pottery and fabric stamps; the men's club house; the idea of cities of refuge and sanctuary; fishing with poisons; widow servitude and suttee; the lip plug and nostril perforation; and the *cerre perdue*, or lost-wax method of casting gold and bronze (known to the Mayas about 500 A.D.).

Many of these elements of culture, such as mound or pyramid building, and mummification, spread far north and south from tropical America. Mummification, for example, was practised as far north as the Delaware River by the Virginian and Maryland Indians.

Some of those traits no doubt were introduced by immigrants from Polynesia, as was pointed out in our consideration of the Indian languages. Meanwhile, some adventurous Malay group, more than two thousand years ago migrated to remote Madagascar, off the African coast, and introduced the Malaysian language, race, and culture into negro Africa. How they got there is more a mystery than how some kindred groups got to America !¹

¹ Compare Wiener; Graebner; Wissler; Spinden; Holmes: *Lithic Industries*; Joyce; MacLeod; Laufer; *Chinese Culture* (on the spread of the wheel); Rivers; Perry; E. Smith; symposium in *American Anthropologist*, 1912. The jade statuette of Tuxtla was in its uncarved state, apparently of such form as would suggest the present figure, but in carving valuable materials, an artist often seeks raw material requiring a minimum of wastage. On the dating of the Madagascar migration see Mason: *Madagascar*. On the unique ceremonial axe, see Holmes, *Lithic*, 28-29, 105; on the mounds see Holmes; Wissler; on the tripod, etc., see Spinden, *Correlations*; on the venus calendar see Sterling.

Verril, p. 4, n. 1, mentions the find in ancient pre-historic graves on the California coast, of a poi-pounder of Hawaiian type with California decorations, and of a Polynesian type of stone adze head.

On the above subjects, in our supplementary bibliography, see further, Bandalier, Brown, Cooper, Hagar, Spinden, Imbelloni, Kreichgauer, Metraux, Preuss and Rivet.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE INDIAN LIVED

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."
Hamlet, 1605.

THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE INDIANS

IT is usual to repeat the time-worn calculations advanced by two anthropologists¹ some decades ago that there are in the United States to-day as many Indians as there were before the arrival of the whites—that is, about 244,000—with 100,000 or so added for the rest of North America, north of Mexico.

These two anthropologists were seriously wrong. Another anthropologist² a decade ago decided, on the basis of a more thorough investigation, that there were twice as many Indians—about 800,000—in North America, north of Mexico, in the pre-white period. This latter figure is nearer the truth, but it is certainly far too small an estimate.

Unfortunately, California is the only region which, up to the present time, has been thoroughly studied with reference to its original Indian population³. To this study I have added some careful inquiry into the population of old Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.⁴ The pre-Spanish Indian population of California was approximately 130,000. Now, few of the Indians of California knew anything of agriculture, although they had an abundant and regular supply of wild foods. Moreover, much of California is either desert or rugged, unproductive mountain area. Including its unproductive areas, California nevertheless supported a population of one person to a square mile.

One million square miles of the United States is desert; two million square miles are fit for habitation. Much of the latter, of course, was to the Indian uncultivable—prairie and

¹ Powell; Mallery.

³ Kroeber: *Handbook of California*.

² Mooney.

⁴ See Appendix I.

rugged mountain sides. Most of the habitable territory was occupied by agricultural Indians.

What was the average density of population? In 1612, five years after the settlement at Jamestown, Va., the Secretary of the Virginia colony left us a rude, but valuable, census of the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region. Weighing his data, one reaches the conclusion that the density of population in tidewater Virginia was two persons to the square mile, with perhaps a higher density on the piedmont. If the rest of the United States had been as well supplied with Indian inhabitants as was California, there were in the United States two million Indians. The two to the square mile figure for tidewater Virginia indicates that two million is perhaps a low estimate.

Taking into account the fertile St. Lawrence valley cultivated by the Hurons, the rich, wild-rice territory of the Saskatchewan lake region, and the immensely productive fisheries of the west coast from Alaska to Oregon, one may safely estimate for the whole of North America, north of Mexico, a pre-European Indian population of roughly three million.

Concerning the aboriginal population of the Latin Americas one must be less definite. Fifteen million is probably a conservative estimate.¹

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

The maximum density of population was plainly reached in the highlands of Peru, Columbia, Yucatan and the Valley of Mexico. Everywhere, however, in places of low as well as of high density, there is every reason to believe that the land was maintaining the maximum population consonant with the stage of development of Indian agriculture and industry. One is forced to conclude that in Indian days there was no room to spare in the Americas—no “free land”. That is to say, without further improvement in the arts of production the soil could support no more population.

¹ On the aboriginal population of southeastern North America, see Swanton: *Creeks and Neighbours*; and Lowery: *Spanish Settlements*, v. 1, Appendix B. On the tribes of the west coast north of California, see Curtis, particularly v. 10; and statistics in Schoolcraft's *History*. On Latin America compare Sapper.

The Indian was pressed for room just as much as the European and Asiatic populations of the day were. From the European point of view there was plenty of room, because with European agricultural methods the Americas, particularly in the temperate zone, could be made to support a greater population.¹

Naturally enough, the Indians thoroughly and painstakingly exploited their natural resources. Every bit of land which Indian methods made available was cultivated, where agriculture was understood, and hunting was no haphazard-pleasure-jauting, but *a careful and laborious systematic exploitation* of the wild animals and wild vegetable products of each region.²

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

All land suitable for agriculture or productive of wild roots, fish, or animals, therefore, was in demand. It was valuable. Did the Indians run helter-skelter over it, with no, or only vague, ideas of ownership? Were they nomads in the usual sense of the term? They were not.

All Indians, even the Labrador hunters, the tribes of the buffalo-covered plains, and the Eskimo, lived in villages. True, the hunters, and sometimes their families, might have to be away from their villages for months during the hunting

¹ Compare MacLeod and Wolfe: *Superest Ager*, and MacLeod: *Fuel*; also Carr-Saunders: *Population*; and Malthus: *Essay*, for discussion of American data. (I am shortly publishing an exhaustive discussion of this whole problem of Malthus and the data of native America.)

² Compare especially Speck's writings on the Algonkin; also, on native technologies see Hough; McGuire; Mason; Judd: *Adobe*; Willoughby; Holmes and Gerard: *Tomahawks*; Means: *Slings*; Howay: *Dog's Hair Blankets*; Meyer: *Bows and Arrows*; Smith: *Stone Hammers*; Bushnell; Steensby: *Eskimo*; MacCurdy: *Axe*; Joyce; Fewkes: *Ventilation*; Wilson. Also references listed in MacLeod: *The State*, and in Wissler: *American Indian*.

On agriculture and domestic animals in particular see Wills: *Hidatsa Horses and Dogs and Hidatsa Agriculture*; Spinden: *Agriculture*; Wissler: *Agriculture*; Wissler: *Horse*; Hough; Hodges; Sapper; Waugh; Jenks; Linton; Barrows. It is illuminating to consider the native use of copper, and native copper mining. See Philipps; Emmons; Morice; Rivet; Arsandaux; Nordenskiöld; Reynolds; Whittesey; and discussions in the *American Anthropologist*, 1901 and 1903, and in the *Proceedings of the Americanist's Congress*, 1912.

On the quarrying of stone and trade in stone and finished tools, see Silva; Emmons; Philipps; Holmes; Kunz; Haynes; McGuire; MacCurdy; Pogue; Proudfit; Rau; and certain chapters of Catlin.

seasons, but always for at least a part of the year the whole village gathered in its permanent home. Although on the hunt they might live in teepees or other shelters, every group had permanent bark, earth, or plank houses "back home". Throughout the Americas every village had a definitely delimited territory belonging to it. When a tribe comprised more than one village, the aggregated village territories were the tribal territory.

Beyond these facts, at present we know little of the land tenure of the agricultural Indian peoples. Indications at present point to a land tenure similar to that of the village communes of Europe and Asia.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Surprising as it may be to many readers, personal or private ownership of land appears to have been universal among all the purely hunting (non-agricultural) tribes from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, and existed also, it is definitely known, among the large agricultural tribes of the east coast of North America from St. Lawrence Bay to the Chesapeake Bay.

By the personal or private tenure of land, I mean virtually what private ownership means among us. For example, consider an old hunter who owned perhaps a single large tract of hunting land, or perhaps several separate tracts. If another Indian even of the same village or tribe poached upon it, he was punished severely, sometimes with death. The owner might rent out a part of his land for a share of its yield. He might sell it, buy more, or give it away. He might gamble it away in a game. On his death, if he had sons, he divided his property between them. His daughters might be given portions as marriage gifts for their husbands.

He might enter into an agreement with a neighbour to the effect that if a wounded deer crossed from the neighbour's tract, the neighbour might pursue it over the border if this favour is reciprocated. Other revocable reciprocity agreements might be entered into with this and other neighbours. The prevalence of reciprocity regarding wounded game and the like tends to give the casual European observer the impression of communal ownership; this condition misled many superficial travellers and anthropological investigators.

Roger Williams was the first white man in America to point out the fact of private ownership of land among the Indians.

Finally, if this owner was a member of a tribe in which a measure of feudalism had developed, as was the case throughout North America, he might have had to pay, in season, a share of the products of his land to his chief.¹

SOCIAL CLASSES AND SLAVERY

In view of this social milieu of private property, inevitably making for differences in wealth and position, it is not surprising to find that not only among the great states of Incas and Aztecs, but also among the primitive agriculturists and hunters of North America there were social classes and even slavery.

Among virtually all the tribes existed an aristocracy. Civil chiefship or governmental prerogative was hereditary, passing down in the noble families. Economic privileges, such as the right to a share of commoners' production, made the aristocracy a group enjoying relative wealth as well as social privilege.

There was also the bourgeois group, those families not born to the purple, but yet industrious enough or lucky enough to have acquired relative wealth—more wealth, sometimes, than even the aristocrats, whom they tended to displace.

There were the ordinary, poor commoners, governed by their aristocrats, exploited by their bourgeois.

And finally there were the slaves.

In the greater part of North, Central, and South America captives of war were held frequently as slaves for life, their children becoming freemen. Slavery was hereditary on the northwest coast of North America, and there *an active inter-tribal trade in slaves existed*.

From the Aleutian Islands down to the Oregon coast, including parts of the interior plateau, the percentage of slaves in the population of the various tribes varied from tribe to tribe and from region to region from one-twentieth

¹ See particularly Speck on the Algonkin; also MacLeod: *Lenape*; and further documentation on land tenure, with discussions, in MacLeod: *The State*. We owe to Speck the first scientific investigation of the land tenure of the American hunting tribes.

to one-fourth—less dependable estimates range as high as *one-third*. Slavery in this region was of much more economic importance than in the agricultural parts of the Americas. Throughout North America slaves were very cruelly treated. Men as well as women constituted the slave population.

We have spoken of actual chattel slavery. Debtor slavery also was prevalent in all the Americas. A man or woman who fell into debt through gambling, borrowing, or damaging a neighbour's property, was sometimes made to live as a slave to his creditor until the amount of the debt was considered to have been worked out.

Debtor slavery in America was not quite as bad as in the Old World, because the concept of interest on loaned money, apparently, was absent through the greater part of America. It existed only among the Kwakiutl and their neighbours on the northwest coast of North America. These Kwakiutl, incidentally, had worked out an unusually complete financial system, including a curious clearing house for debts and credits, and the purchasing of options, as well as borrowing at interest. In Old World debtor slavery, interest made a debtor's liability increase faster than he could work it off, and he and his family usually were doomed forever; not so among the Indians.¹

POLITICAL SOCIETY

The average reader is acquainted with the facts regarding the high development of oligarchical and state-socialistic governments among the Incas of Peru, the Chibchas of Columbia, the Mayas of Yucatan, and the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico.²

Concerning the less advanced natives of North and South

¹ On social classes, see especially MacLeod: *The State* and subsequent articles. On slavery see my articles on the same.

On interest, options, and the clearing house, see MacLeod: *Clearing House*.

² On the politics and economics of which see Gordon; Means; Huntington; Caparo y Perez; Spinden; Tozzer; Meade; Morley; Bancroft; Nordenskiöld; Bingham; Nuttall; Joyce; Bandalier; Waterman; Radin; Morgan: *Ancient Society*; Kunz: *Precious Stones*; Locke: *Quipu*; *Handbook of Mexican Archeology*; *El Mexico Antiguo*; E. C. Parsons (Editor); Beyer; Uhle; Stahl; Mason; Cooper; Wiener; Kippers; Gusinde; Rivet. (Morgan perhaps may not be referred to as "reliable".)

America, there still exists the popular conception of the Indian of the Wild West show and the school histories.¹

The fact is that even the more primitive of these wild Indians were much and well governed. Their political organization stands comparison with that of France, Germany, and the British Isles before the conquest of these regions by the armies of Italian Rome. European methods of food production enabled these earlier, and later, European states to maintain denser and greater populations, but the *areas* governed by Indian states averaged as large as those of European states.

The word "tribe" has been used to describe so many various types of human groupings that it is on the point of losing all scientific utility. I shall use the word, as consistently as may be, to mean a sovereign political unit. This restores the word to a degree of preciseness and usefulness. In this sense, then, the Delawares, the Mahickans, the Pequots, the Massachusetts, the Natchez, and so on, were tribes, that is, sovereign states. The Sioux, the Haida, and many other so-called tribes, however, had better be called peoples, inasmuch as they were merely large groupings in independent political units who spoke dialects of the same language. The Iroquois, the Creeks, and so on, were confederations of tribes, each a sovereign state just as was each of the United States under the Articles of Confederation.

The average American tribe was a very small city-state. It had extensive territories over which it hunted, but it usually lived in a single village of from five hundred to three thousand population. Many tribes, however, comprised a number of villages totalling ten thousand or more inhabitants.

The organization of the individual tribes associated in the great confederacies was oligarchical and bureaucratic. That of the tribes of the coast, under various overlords, was essentially monarchical. Each tribe had its petty royal family. The confederacies clearly originated through voluntary agreement.

While relatively democratic confederacies or consolidations of tribes are characteristic of the uplands and mountain

¹ And in such old household books as that of J. Frost, LL.D. One might compare the popular idea of the Tierra del Fuegians with the careful description of those tribes by Koppers and Gusinde.

valleys of eastern North America, undemocratic consolidations of tribes, overlordships—true empires, petty though they were—appear to have been characteristic of the Atlantic tidewater. Such was the dominion of Powhatan, of whom we shall talk in another chapter, in the Chesapeake tide-water region. We frequently read of Powhatan's state as a "confederacy" of tribes. The term as applied here is ridiculous, despite its use some years ago by social scientists under the influence of Lewis Morgan (whose obscurantism refused to see anything but republicanism in aboriginal America as in modern America).

The coastal New England tribes were overlordships whose organization represented a quasi-feudal pyramiding of chiefs from the head of a family to the head of a band of families to the head of a group of bands having a village in common, to the "king" or head civil chief who ruled over several villages. The same type of organization prevailed throughout northwestern North America.

A Louisiana tribe made famous by Chateaubriand's romance *Atala* typifies a peculiar form of tribal organization which may have prevailed generally in Florida and in the Carolina coastal regions, but which is the only one for which we have adequate data. This tribe is the Natchez. It would take a volume to describe the peculiarities of certain aspects of its political and social organization, for they make it one of the world's peculiar, unique, and interesting social organizations—a veritable Alice in Wonderland of human nature and organization. Suffice it here to point out that it was about one-half as large and as populous as Powhatan's dominion in Virginia, with something over ten thousand population, settled in ten or more villages. These villages were not ruled by feudal or quasi-feudal under-chiefs, or by partly autonomous councils as among other American tribes. At the head of the whole state was a royal family headed by a king. The king's brothers and nephews ruled over the outlying villages, while the king, himself, ruled over the capital village directly and dictated the activities of his representatives in other villages. The Natchez reached the acme of centralization.

The overlordships appear to have often originated and grown through the forcible extension of the power of some

petty king. Mutual interest and goodwill tended towards stability in the confederacies. The overlordships tended toward instability because consolidation depended on the ability of the overlord to strike fear into the hearts of the petty kings who were within his power.

In North America there were a number of great oligarchical "republican" confederacies which played prominent parts in history. There were those of the Hurons of the St. Lawrence Valley, of the Six Nations Iroquois of New York (commonly called the Iroquois), of the Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania, of the southern Appalachian Cherokee, and the three great southern piedmont confederations of Muskhogean-speaking peoples, the Creek, the Chickasaw, and the Choctaw. The Cherokee were linguistically an Iroquoian-speaking people, as were all the peoples of the northern confederacies.

We find that the great North American confederacies were of peoples of only two language stocks, a peculiar coincidence. These confederacies, which followed the highland line of the Appalachians, were, in area controlled, in population, and in effective political integration, far beyond any other native confederations, such, for example, as that of the Blackfeet of the northwest plains.

The constitution of these confederated states or tribes, was, of course, unwritten, but it was as definite and as explicit in the minds of the official memorizers as if it were written out. The constitution varied from confederacy to confederacy. Each confederacy was on a solid and permanent foundation. Each was at least as well-knit as was the confederation of the former thirteen English colonies until the signing of the Constitution of the United States. Each of the great confederacies was aggressive and continually sought to extend itself by absorbing outside peoples.

Let us note, finally, concerning the political genius of even the relatively primitive North American tribes that their political organizations were able to transcend the bounds of language and culture. The Huron confederation included an Algonkian tribe. The Five Nations Iroquois of New York admitted the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora tribe of North Carolina into the confederacy, which then became the Six Nations; on similar terms they admitted the Siouxan-speaking Tutelo of the Carolinas. The Creek confederacy admitted

the Yuchi, a tribe which spoke a language as different from Creek as Chinese is from English. The Natchez organization included two peoples of similarly distinct language who occupied exclusively one-third of the Natchez villages.

As we have indicated, the North American Indians, as well as those to the south of them, compared favourably in political genius with Europeans of an earlier day. In pre-Roman western and northwestern Europe, the average tribe or city-state or clan ruled over only several hundred square miles of territory, and over ten or twenty thousand souls. Between these little sovereignties, there was constant, unremitting, internecine war. Witness for example the clan warfare of old Scotland and Ireland.

As for these great North American Indian confederacies, notably of Iroquoian and Muskogean linguistic relationships, each of them at the time of the coming of the whites ruled over territories of about the size of Ireland or Scotland—Old World regions, which, all myth aside, never did attain such political unity and peace as our Indians did.

The Indians, then, showed some genius for organization.¹

THE INDIANS' INDUSTRIAL DISADVANTAGES

Indian social and political organization did not particularly differ from that of Europe, save that European political units included greater populations. Indian industry did differ from European industry.

There have been frontiers from the beginning of time; always there has been contact of hostile peoples and culture to stimulate conquest and empire building. Never in history, however, has there been so marked an industrial contrast between peoples in contact as that which appeared when Spain entered the New World.

The Indian peoples had been, for thousands of years, shut off from any intimate contact with the development of civilization in the Old World. Old World productive methods developed and advanced without the Indian. The reindeer,

¹ On political organization, see MacLeod: *The State*, and subsequent articles, especially those on the Natchez. On pre-Roman western Europe see MacNiel; Skene; Rhys Holmes; Joyce; and Williams: *Social Scandinavia*.



MAP 2.—THE IROQUOIS AND THE GREAT CONFEDERATIONS
OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST.

(See Appendix X.)

the horse, cattle, sheep, swine were domesticated. The Indian never heard of these advances in technique. The plough was invented somewhere in the Old World by some genius living in a receptive community; it spread to all parts of the Old World, but the Indian never heard of it. The wheel and axle, and wheeled transport were developed; the idea was never brought to the attention of the Indian. Iron came into use for tools and weapons, and gunpowder was invented, but these among many other things, such as writing, and the printing press, the true arch, and the mariner's compass, the Indian never heard of.

As a result of these superior technological achievements, European population generally was denser than that in the Americas; the population of European states was greater than that of American Indian states of the same areas; the accumulation of wealth in Europe was greater than in America; the European was ever so much better equipped for armed struggle than was the Indian.

It is apparent, then, that more than any industrially inferior peoples in history, the various Indian peoples were faced by a disadvantageous *industrial* inferiority as compared with the peoples on the other side of the frontier. They were faced by the necessity of surmounting a great gap in achievement, as compared with their enemies, if they were to persist as a more or less important or dominant element in the future population of what were once exclusively their continents.

As if the initial industrial handicap were not enough of a disadvantage for the Indian, other handicaps immediately made themselves apparent. There was his high susceptibility to the effects of alcohol, and his lack of immunity to the new diseases soon to flood in upon him from Europe's Pandora's-box.¹

¹ For the benefit of the reader or student who may wish to go further into the nature of native American social and economic life, I refer to the bibliography of my earlier book: *The State*. Also to the following references in addition to those made elsewhere:

On American Indian languages, see Powell; Swanton and Thomas; Radin; Michelson: *Handbook . . . Languages*; *Journal of American Linguistics*; Rivet: *Elements Constitutifs*; Tomkins, and Mallery on sign language; Chamberlain.

For American Indian culture in general, see Wissler; Goldenweiser; Lowie; Beuchat; Bancroft; Kroeber; Curtis. Also the Handbooks mentioned in the appended bibliography, and *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists*; *American Anthropologist*; *Anthropos*;

and the *Journal . . . Americanists de Paris*. These last two periodicals carry exhaustive bibliographical appendices quarterly on Americanist studies.

For some special aspects of American culture, see Bushnell; Densmore; Pope; Benedict; Frederici; Grinnell; Fowke; Sarfert; Waterman; Linton; MacLeod; Webster.

On the Susquehannock confederacy, see MacLeod: *Lenape*; and Eschelman. On the Cherokee and the Muskhogean confederacies, see Adair; Romans; Bushnell; Bartram; Swanton; Speck; MacLeod; Royce; Mooney; Hawkins. For the Iroquois, see Kenton: *The Jesuit Relations; Traditional History*; Hale; Hewitt; Parker; Goldenweiser; Bartram; Morgan; Boyle; Converse; Forbes; Houghton; Lowenthal; Rosseau; Smith; Curtin; Wolf; Beauchamp; Waugh; Schoolcraft; Cusick; Wintenberg; Douglas; Mooney; Longfellow; Speck: *Wampum* and *Wabenaki*. For the Hurons (or Wyandots), see Barbeau; Hale; Powell: *The Jesuit Relations*; Kenton. On the Moundbuilders of the Ohio Valley, see Fowke: *Ohio*; Bushnell; MacCurdy; Moore.

For a complete Americanist bibliography from 1914 to date, see Rivet, president of the distinguished French and international society about which Vignaud writes in *L'Americanisme*.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE INDIAN TRIED PROHIBITION BUT DRANK TOO MUCH

“ Alas ! . . .

This creature in the home of our ancestors,
Was a fearful thing !”

*Aztec hymn of the drunkenness before prohibition.*¹

NONE of the Indian tribes north of the advanced peoples of Mexico within the Aztec sphere of influence had any intoxicating liquor whatsoever.² They had never heard of alcoholic drinks and knew nothing of how to manufacture them. The Incas and less advanced tribes of South America had only extremely light beers, made with great labour for use on ceremonial occasions. The problem of alcoholism was unknown.³

The Mayas appear to have sometimes drunk too much of the zaca, or fermented corn, and of chicha, or fermented pineapple juice, which they added to their favourite drink, chocolate. But their native beverages appear not to have made for much drunkenness.⁴

With the Aztecs and their Mexican neighbours the case was different. Some time, long before the conquest, someone had learned to make pulque, a powerful alcoholic beverage

¹ Aztec hymn to the Gods of Drunkards, Brinton: *Rig Veda*, p. 61.

The Original reads:

“ Yyaha, yya, yya, yya, ayya, ayya, ouiya, ayya,
yya, ayya, yya, yyauyya, ayya, ayya, yya,
yyauyya, ayya, ayya, yya, ayya, yyayyaya,
Coluiacan mauizpan allacatl ichana, yya, ayya, yyayyo.”

² Some negative statements in Swanton: *Creeks*, p. 66; Williams: *Key*, pp. 35, 55; Swanton: *Mississippi*; Swan: *Northwest Coast*, p. 156; Boas: *Ethnology* . . . *Kwakiutl*, p. 198 (with a note, however, on lupine root). Compare also the ignorance of intoxicants in aboriginal Australia, even in northern Queensland (Roth: Bull. 3, 1901, *North Queensland Ethnography*).

³ On South American beers see Dobrizhoffer, v. 2, p. 401; v. 3, p. 103; Cooper: *Culture Areas*; Reinberg; Juan and Ulloa, p. 688.

⁴ On the alcohol question among the Mayas see Villagutierra, pp. 88, 98, 312; Landa, pp. 116-120, 192; Oviedo, v. 1, v. 4; Las Casas: *Apologetica*, cap. 174; Cortes: *Despatches*, p. 4; Brasseur, p. 2, pp. 51-52, 499; Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 5; dec. 3, lib. 4, caps. 4, 7; dec. 4, lib. 8, cap. 9, and lib. 10, cap. 4.

of unpleasant odour but of marvellous effects, made by fermenting the juice of the maguey. To this sometimes was added a drug derived from the cactus called peyote or teonanacatl. In those old days, as witness the Aztec hymn we have quoted above, the people of the various cities went on prolonged debauches. Something had to be done about it. The solution was—Prohibition.

Each of the various Aztec city-states had a Prohibition law, prohibiting the manufacture, transportation, sale, or use of alcoholic beverages except for medicinal purposes and under certain other exceptional conditions.

AZTEC ENFORCEMENT AND BOOTLEGGING

The Aztec rulers made a sincere effort to enforce their laws. If a young person became drunk he was taken to the jail and his brains were clubbed out. In some towns, however, a drunken plebeian was made a slave as the penalty for a first offence, and put to death only for a second offence. In still other towns a first offender might merely have his hair clipped in the public market place, and then be lashed through the principal streets and his house razed.

Social sentiment supported the law. It was considered degrading for a member of the upper classes so much as to touch pulque, even during the festivals when limited quantities were permitted to the common people. Drinking was considered a thing that only a commoner could desire. If a noble became drunk it was considered just that death should be the invariable penalty for a first offence. If even a great military officer, distinguished in actual warfare, became drunk, he was degraded and dishonoured and disbarred from further honour of office.

Bootlegging, although punished by death, was troublesome to the authorities. There is an interesting record of the city-state of Tezcuco concerning this. Tezcuco had been conquered by Tezozomac, King of Azcapotzalco. The heir to the throne, Nezahualcotl ("The Hungry Wolf"), fled to the mountains. The story of his exile, during which he plotted to regain his kingdom, is much like the story of David in the Bible. Once he returned to his city in disguise. There he saw a noble-woman who, in the demoralized condition of law

in the conquered city, felt safe to undertake some bootlegging. The disguised prince stabbed her to the heart, thus inflicting on her the legal penalty for her offence.

Pulque might, however, be used medicinally under license of certain state officials. As a tonic it was permitted to women in confinement, both before and after child-bearing. Persons over fifty years of age were allowed stipulated quantities with each meal, "to warm the cooling blood of age". Persons over seventy years of age were permitted to imbibe as much as they chose, but were heavily penalized by the law for disorderly intoxication. As a tonic, moreover, it was allowed in limited, prescribed quantities to workers, such as those of the building trades, whose labour was accounted especially arduous. Moreover, during festivals, the common people (only) were permitted moderate quantities to drink.

If one insists on using the strong arm of the law to control a people's desire to enjoy that luxury of life the use of which was sanctioned at the wedding of Cana and even in the Last Supper, let us in modern America have a Prohibition law at least as benign as, but better enforceable than that of the Aztecs.¹

¹ See Brinton: *Rig Veda*, pp. 57, 62, 66; Bourke: *Tarasco Distillation*; Schuller, 213, 215; Lumbholtz: *Huichol*, p. 11, for similar agave distillation among the Huichol and the Cora; Popenow: *Batido*; Marcou; Diguët; Torquemada; Ixtlilochitl: *Historia*, in Kingsborough, v. 1, p. 246, and *Relaciones*, in *ibid.*, p. 387; Duran, v. 3, cap. 22; Clavigero, v. 1, p. 119; Brasseur, v. 3, p. 493. On medicinal usage, etc., see Zurita, pp. 110-111; Clavigero; Herrera, Dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 16; *Codex Mendoza*, in Kingsborough, v. 1, pl. 72, with explanation of plate in *ibid.*, v. 5, pp. 112-113. On all the above see also, Sahagun, v. 1, lib. 2; Clavigero, v. 2, pp. 221-222; Brasseur, v. 1, pp. 340-345, and v. 3, pp. 643-644; Motolinia, in Iczbalceta, pp. 22-23; *Ritos Antiguos*, in Kingsborough, v. 9, pp. 16-17. On Nezahualcoyotl see Radin, sections on the *Codex Colotl*; Torquemada, v. 1, pp. 189-190; Tezozomoc: *Cronica*, p. 156, and Nuttall, on Nezahualcoyotl's groves and gardens, still remaining in part, near Mexico City. For reference in later chapters to these and allied original sources last mentioned it is valuable to note that Waterman (in *Bandalier's Contributions*), estimates the approximate dates of composition of writings by the following: Petyr Martyr (1505); Cortes (1519); Oviedo (1525); Anonymous Conqueror (1525); Las Casas: *Historia* (1527); Andreas de Tapia (1540); Motolinia (1541); Sahagun (1546); Zurita (1550); Bernal Diaz (1552); G. de Mendieta (1573); Duran (1579); Acosta (1588); Torquemada (1589); Herrera (1596); A. de Remesal (1613); Clavigero (1765).

THE BREAKDOWN OF AZTEC PROHIBITION

After the Spanish conquest, native prohibitory laws in Mexico broke down, and the Mexicans became almost a nation of drunkards. Meantime the Spaniards introduced brandy to the South American Indians who had previously known no really strong drinks, and they too became drunken.¹

In the course of time, however, the Spanish Crown attempted to check the drink evil among its native subjects in all the Americas. In 1529 a law forbade the adding of certain ingredients to pulque to increase its potency, because, as the law stated, both Indians and Spaniards were abusing pulque. In 1541 a law forbade negro overseers or negro servants of planters to be permitted to live among Indians (*encomendados*), because they were an evil influence, and, among other things, encouraged the Indians to drunkenness.

In 1594, at last, the sale of any liquor to the Indians throughout the Americas, including Florida, Texas, and our Southwest was forbidden, and the clergy did their best to see that this law was obeyed in their parishes.² Only in the great mission settlements of the Jesuit Franciscans, and other orders, however, was the law enforceable.

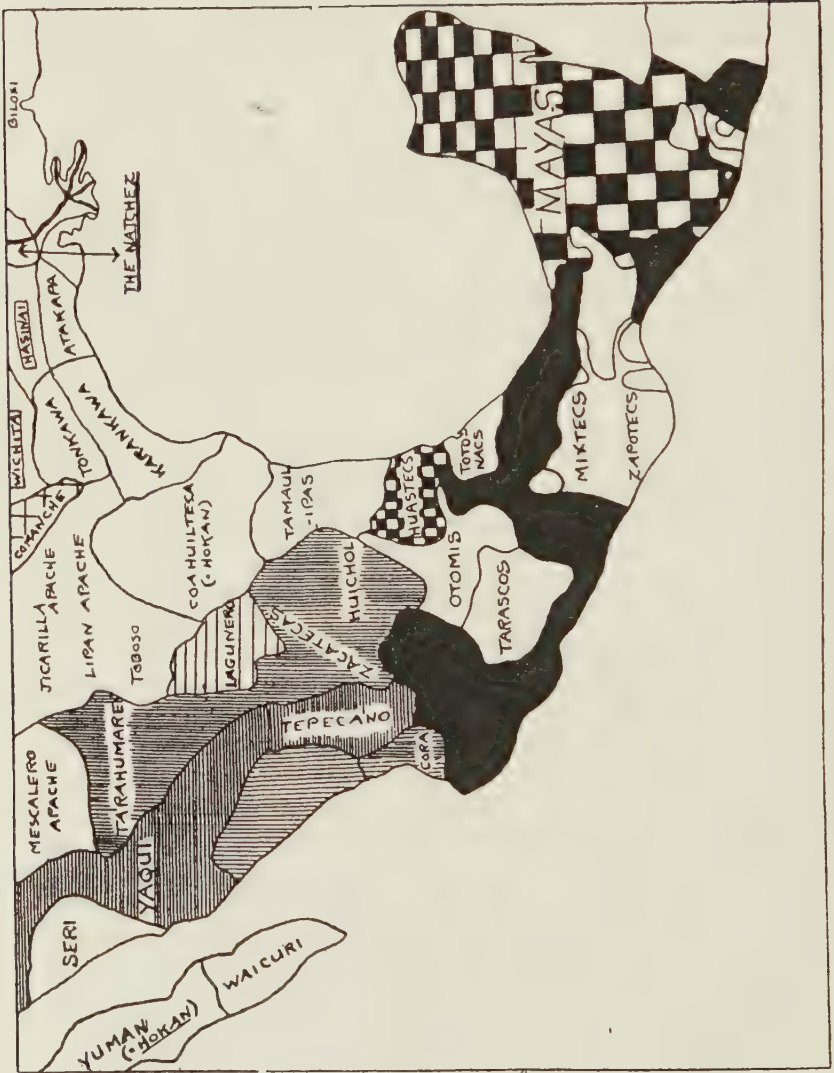
The missionary Dobrizhoffer, for example, says of the Indians of the Pampas in the early eighteenth century: "They are terribly addicted to the vice of drunkenness and spend their whole property in purchasing brandy from the Spaniards." This despite the fact, he says, that "when I resided in Buenos Aires, to sell this pestilent liquor to Indians was a crime, the absolution of which was reserved for the bishop alone."³

Much has been written time and again of the mortality of Indians employed by force in the mines of the Andean plateau from which the Spanish Crown took about one billion dollars in silver alone. Our most competent observer of this evil confessed, however, that results of the abuse of brandy killed

¹ On this breakdown see Motolinia, pp. 22, 23, 32; *Relacion de Algunas Cosas*, pp. 582, 587; Duran, v. 3, cap. 22; see also the Aztec references.

² *Recopilacion*, tit. i, lib. 6, ley 37, 1529. *Ibid.*, tit. 9, lib. 6, ley 15, 1541. *Ibid.*, tit. i, lib. 6, ley 36, 1594.

³ Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, p. 131.



MAP 3.—THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF MEXICO.
(The Aztec peoples are in black; the related Uto-Aztecan peoples are in black and white; the related Uto-Aztecan peoples are in black and white.)

more of the Indian miners in one year than mine labour did in fifty.¹

With the establishment, through revolution, of the independent republics of Latin America, the watchful vigilance of the Spanish Crown, acting, insofar as it was able, for the good of the Indians, was removed from influence in the Americas. Despite occasional laws passed by the new republics, there was virtually no restraint in the supplying of brandy to the Indians, who to obtain it would part with all properties to which they had claim. This continues to-day.

Moreover, the constitutional weakness of the Indian in the face of alcohol is shared to an extent by the large proportion of mixed-bloods in South and Central American populations. As a consequence uncontrolled drinking is reputed to be one of the most apparent evils in Latin America not only among the Indians but also among the masses of the population in those countries which have not grown largely through the European immigration of the past century.²

LIQUOR IN NORTH AMERICA

The European introduction of brandy and whiskey to the Indians of North America, who never before in history had known any alcoholic beverage at all, probably had worse effects than in the other Americas. Immediately upon experiencing the delights of liquor the North American Indians evinced an insatiable craving for them. They displayed a complete absence of restraint in the consumption of liquor, and a truly remarkable facility for getting drunk quickly. Their drunkenness was violent, and was the cause of numerous murders of one another and of Europeans. A fit of violence was often followed by a long sleep under such conditions of exposure that the results were lung trouble and tuberculosis.

The Indians appreciated the evil alcohol did them, but the Indian individual was powerless to check his desires. They pitied one another; and it is interesting to note that it appears to have been very general among the North American Indians not to hold anyone accountable for a crime committed

¹ Juan: *Noticias Americanas*, p. 281. Here Juan admits that in the earlier *Noticias Secretas*, the evils of the *mita* system in the mines were exaggerated.

² See particularly Salas, pp. 73-75; and Walle, pp. 149, 156.

while drunk; they considered the drunken person irresponsible.¹

Chiefs and nobles frequently were able to restrain their appetites, for they developed the feeling the Aztecs had that drunkenness was bestial, and fit only for slaves and the lowest commoners.² "We know it to be hurtful to us to drink it," said a Delaware chief in 1698 to the authorities of New Jersey, sitting in council. "We know it, but if people will sell it to us, we so love it that we cannot refuse it. But when we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what we are doing; we abuse one another; we throw one another in fire. Through drinking, seven score of our people have been killed."³ "The young Indians," complained the old Iroquois Sachems, "are ungovernable when they get drunk. Unspeakable are the mischiefs which arise from rum." And again they complain that "it occasions bloodshed, quarrels, and confusion amongst their people."⁴

Again and again, as in this conference, the chiefs begged the colonial authorities to forbid the sale of liquor to the Indians. In council with Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of the New Netherlands, a Long Island chief exclaimed: "Even your own people, though used to your liquors, fight with knives and commit follies when drunk. You ought not to sell brandy to the Indians to make them crazy, for they are not accustomed to it. To prevent all mischief, we wish you to sell no more fire-water to our braves."⁵

MANHATTAN: THE-PLACE-WHERE-WE-ALL-BECAME-DRUNK

The memory of this situation is forever engraved on the very portal of modern America. Away back in 1608 Henry Hudson, the Englishman employed by the Dutch West India Company, landed on what was then first called Manhattan

¹ Lawson, p. 326 (on the Carolinas).

² Dunn, p. 94 (on the Chinooks).

³ Budd, p. 67: This was during a council called at Burlington, N.J., to consider the liquor question.

⁴ Compare Wraxall, pp. 71, 74-75, 112, 115, 174. But for vivid pen pictures in the Jesuit letters of the effect of drink on the Iroquois young men see *The Jesuit Relations*, v. 37, 1652; v. 38, p. 35, 1652; and v. 62, pp. 75, 77, seq.

⁵ Ruttenber, pp. 120, 126, 132-133. This was during a treaty council after the wars of 1642, for which see Chapter XVI below.

Island (its earlier name is not remembered). His first act was to extend the hospitality of a few drinks to the Lenape Indians who inhabited the Island, and to their assembled visiting chiefs. Nearly every one of his native guests "passed out", as modern Manhattanese has it. The Indians thenceforth called this island Manhattan—Manahachtanienk—which means "the island where we all became intoxicated."¹

To the Tired-Business-Man from the Main Streets of America, Manhattan is reputed still to be Manhattan. But it is to be hoped that with the removal of Peter Stuyvesant's portrait from the Governor's room in Albany, for reasons appearing below in Chapter XVI, the name of the island will be changed to one with a more Nordic flavour and less lawless significance than "Manahachtanienk."

RUM-SELLING TRADERS

The Indian's thirst gave the traders their opportunity to cheat. An Indian would, for example, start back from a hunt of several months with his stock of furs, hoping in exchange to receive those European supplies which had so quickly become necessities in his economy, iron hoes, brass pots, firearms and ammunition for the hunt, woollen cloth for cloaks. At the regular trading posts he would be cheated in one way or another, but at these posts cheating was hard work because there it was forbidden to sell the Indian the wherewithal to quench his thirst.

Private traders, however, in despite of the law, made it a practice to slip out on the forest trails and meet the Indians on their way in. There they would offer liquor, get the Indian drunk, and then take his stock of furs for a song. They would leave the poor fellow lying in the damp woods in a drunken torpor. When he awoke he might shoot a European in revenge and precipitate another Indian war, or, as was usual, he might merely return to his village impoverished, with a bitter hatred of Europeans and European culture.²

¹ Heckewelder's narrative as remembered by the Indians; for etymology see Heckewelder, p. 256; and narrative, pp. 54 seq.

² On the above practices cp. *Penna. Col. Records*, v. 3, pp. 36-37 (1731); also *ibid.*, v. 4, p. 234 (1721, 1737). And Eschleman, p. 201 (1710). For a true though dramatic picture, see the drama *Ponteach: or the Savages of America*, London, 1761, Act. I. This is by an unknown

THE NORTH AMERICAN TRIBES THEMSELVES INSTALL PROHIBITION

The French appreciated the harm done to the Indian by intoxicants and prohibited their trading agencies from selling liquor to Indians belonging to tribes in the French alliance. When, however, they wished to weaken Indian tribes who were not allied with them and who were likely to add strength to English forces, they furnished these tribes with all the liquor they could consume. At times they shipped keg after keg free of cost to the villages of the neutral Iroquois. In one shipment alone they sent one hundred and sixty kegs of brandy, gratis, to the Senecas. The English on their part replied in kind by giving and selling liquor to the Indians allied with the French!¹

As the evils of alcoholism became more and more apparent to the Indians, they made more emphatic their requests to the English authorities that it should be forbidden for traders to carry or sell liquor to the Indians. Sometimes, after the colonial authorities had complied with the request, enforcing the regulation for a time with some measure of success, the same Indian council which had made the request would return and request a renewal of the rum trade; but this was clearly because the young men of the tribes were invariably less conscious of the need for prohibition and brought pressure to bear on the older chiefs who were invariably in favour of it.

Generally, however, the Indian councils were consistent in their demand for prohibition for Indians. Generally, also, the colonial authorities were impotent to check bootlegging on the part of the private traders and on the part of enterprising Indians. In such case the Indian tribal councils would

author who apparently had first-hand information. Additional notes in Wraxall, pp. 174, 203. See also Ruttenber, p. 144. In Juan and Ulloa's day the Spanish traders in Araucanian territory were forbidden to sell liquor, with results good for the Indian and for the safety of the Biobio border (compare below, p. 116) (Juan and Ulloa, p. 687). The German Lederer, 1791, in his chapter on "*Touching Trade with the Indians*" advises cheating the Indians by getting them drunk. His account of his Appalachian travels is in Latin, so his advice was, presumably, not unacceptable to the élite of British traders; his translator, Lord Talbot, makes no comment on it. Speck pictures these practices as found even in twentieth-century Labrador, in his story in Parsons: "*Indian Life*."

¹ Wraxall, p. 198 (1636); p. 207 (1737); and Colden, p. 72.

take it upon themselves to pass a Prohibition law and enforce it on Indian and white alike when in Indian territory. Frequently they considered even forbidding the transport of liquor by white traders across their territories to other Indian tribes beyond.

In 1710, for example, the Iroquois sachems accused the traders of bribing the younger Iroquois men to petition the colonial authorities to permit the sale of rum, after the sachems repeatedly had requested the forbidding of the sale of liquor in Iroquois territory. In 1725 they were so disgusted with the failure (brought about through bootlegging) of the colonial law they had obtained that they informed the New York governor of their intention to take it upon themselves to forbid the transportation of liquor into Iroquois territory or its sale there, and that any white fur trader who brought liquor into their country would have his stocks destroyed. A month later the Mohawk tribe of the confederacy ruled that they would permit white fur traders to transport liquor across their territory to the Ohio tribes, but that if any trader *opened* his supplies on Iroquois soil his whole stock would be destroyed. All the Iroquois, however, while permitting it, continually protested against this transportation of liquor.¹

In 1738 the Shawnese sent the authorities of Pennsylvania a resolution signed by one hundred of their warriors: "This day we have held a council, and it is agreed by the Shawnese in general that whatever rum is in our towns shall be broke and spilt and not drunk; and whoever shall bring any rum or any sort of strong drink into our towns, Indian or white man, let it be little or much, it shall all be broke or spilt in the presence of the whole town wheresoever it is brought; and four men are appointed for every town to see that there is no rum or strong liquor brought to our towns. . . ."²

¹ See especially Wraxall, pp. 160-161; also pp. 71, 74-75, 112, 115, which pages include notes on the social harm of alcohol among the Iroquois. But note that it was as early as 1652 that we first hear of the Iroquois desiring prohibition. See *The Jesuit Relations*, v. 37, p. 35. See on native prohibition, also the *Penna. Archives*, v. 1, p. 425. Sometimes the Indians petitioned not for prohibition but for regulation; see Eschleman, pp. 133, 155, 177, 219-220. Bartram: *Travels*, 1791, tells how the Creeks destroyed many barrels of rum which they feared traders might bring past the Creek borders.

² *Penna. Archives*, v. 1, 549.

COLONIAL AND STATE PROHIBITION FOR THE INDIANS

The British colonial governments, despite their inability to check bootlegging by the traders, did, in response to Indian warning, frequently pass regulations forbidding sale of liquor to the Indians. This prohibitory legislation was carried over to the days of independence of these colonies, and was a feature of Indian legislation in the United States until the recent legislation which prohibits even white men from imbibing any liquor which perchance might lead to intoxication.

As early as 1657, for example, the Massachusetts Bay colony forbade the sale of liquor to Indians. The preamble to the law states that it is so ordered because intoxication leads to murder among the Indians. Similar laws were passed by Connecticut colony in 1672; Rhode Island colony, in 1718, and again, by the state of Rhode Island, in 1801; by the state of New York, in 1801; by the colony of Pennsylvania, in 1721; by the state of Ohio, in 1809. Such a regulation was enacted for Indiana territory in 1807, and for the territory of Illinois, in 1813.

The preambles of these laws are especially illuminating as to the social conditions which led to their enactment; they illustrate the deplorable weakness of the Indian in the face of alcohol, the greediness of the traders, the avarice of the frontiersmen. The Indiana preamble, for instance, explains that the United States desire "to promote as far as possible its humane and benevolent policy of civilizing the Indians, an attempt which can never be successful so long as the means of intoxication are within their reach". The Illinois preamble of 1813 observes that "it has been represented by the executive of this territory, and by the chief of the tribe of the Kaskaskia Indians, that the vending of ardent spirits and other intoxicating liquors to the Indians of said tribe is productive of great evils to the community and of serious injury to said tribe; and that to tolerate the purchase of arms, clothing, houses, or other articles necessary for their use and comfort would tend to encourage intemperance and wretchedness, to which these unfortunate beings are hastening. . . ." This last refers to the fleecing of drunken Indians by the settlers and traders alike.¹

¹ See *Laws . . . U.S. and Colonial*. On their ineffectiveness, particularly in colonial days, compare Walton, p. 300; and *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, v. 3, p. 36.

Undoubtedly laws prohibiting the sale of liquors to the Indians, passed by far-western states, had something to do with the stimulation of the movement for the drying-up of white America.¹

NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN BOOTLEGGERS

Indian men and women² themselves sometimes traded in bootleg liquor, despite white and native prohibitory laws. Sometimes these bootlegging Indians drank up their own liquor in one long solitary debauch and thus either killed themselves or became bankrupt and had to go out of business. It is, however, reported of others that their wares were so bad that even they themselves could not drink them, and thus could continue in business so long as there were thirsty hunters coming in off the trails.³

¹ The early settlers of Oregon, apparently, began the movement.

² Women bootleggers as among the Aztecs, see above, pp. 29-30.

³ See, for example, Stocker, p. 15.

For further data on the alcohol evil see Ruttenber, pp. 120, 174, 48-49; Ellison, p. 43; Colden, pp. 22-23; *Extracts . . . Letter*, p. 287; Lauber, p. 286; Chase; McIlwain, p. xlii; Bancroft: *Native Tribes*, v. 1, pp. 360-361, 463; *Canada and Its Provinces*, v. 5, p. 338; Barbeau; Lawson, p. 363, who offers an interesting note on the carrying of liquor to the west by Tuscarora traders; Morton: *New Canaan*, p. 174; Gookin, p. 151; Dodge, pp. 333-335; Wood, p. 63; Charlevoix: *New France*, v. 2, Book 7; *Penna. Arch.*, v. 1, 549; O'Callaghan: *New Netherlands*, p. 264; Wraxall, pp. 198 (1636) and 207; Colden, p. 72.

The Moravian missionaries to the Indians in the middle 1700's, for opposing the illicit Indian-liquor trade in New York, were persecuted and hounded by the New York officials (who apparently got graft from the bootleggers). They were called Jesuits in disguise, imprisoned for a time, and finally driven out of the colony. (Stocker, pp. 10, 128.)

On alcoholism among chiefly the Canadian Indians see Salone. The student may compare Aztec prohibition with that of Islam, of ancient India, and of the Chinese under King Ch'eng, about 1000 B.C.

CHAPTER IV

SMALLPOX AND OTHER DISEASES AMONG THE INDIANS

"The smallpox and rum have made such a destruction among them that, on good grounds, I do believe there is not the sixth savage living within two hundred miles of all our settlements as there were fifty years ago. These poor creatures have so many enemies to destroy them that it is a wonder one of them is alive near us."—LAWSON, 1709.¹

HANDICAPPED by his inferior methods of production as compared with Europe, and by his greater physical and social liability to alcoholism, the Indian was to suffer further the handicap of no immunity to diseases peculiar to the Old World, diseases which, it appears, had not reached the Americas before 1492.

Of course there were diseases among the Indians before the days of Columbus. Yellow fever was one peculiar to the Americas, carried by the female anopheles mosquito. This mosquito was a gift of Indian America to the Old World, and with it went the dread yellow fever.² This probably was the one noteworthy disease peculiar to the Americas. In addition there were skin diseases except leprosy, lung diseases except tuberculosis, eye diseases except trachoma, and so on.³ The noteworthy diseases absent from Indian America before Columbus' time appear to have been the two "social diseases", and smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis.

¹ Lawson, p. 363.

² See Wissler: *Man and Nature*.

³ On possibly indigenous complaints see Swan: *Makah*; Emerson; Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, pp. 81, 83, 424; Wagner; Salone; Ashmeade. Hrdlicka: *Tuberculosis*, affords data not only for the Southwest but for the whole U.S., and contains an excellent bibliography of disease among the Indians. De Soto, in 1541 on arriving for the first time at Talimeco, a Creek town, found it "abandoned on account of the pest" (Garcilasso, Part 1, Book 3, Chapter 15). Was this some indigenous disease? and if so what did De Soto mean by "pest"? But perhaps it was something left behind by Narvaez, or lately come up from the Rio Panuco. Huntington thinks climatic changes making for jungle growth and malaria made for the decay of Maya civilization (compare W. H. S. Jones on Malaria in the Ancient Aegean). But was malaria pre-Columbian in America? (compare Wissler on malaria in *Man and Nature*, and Huntington).

MEASLES, SMALLPOX, AND TUBERCULOSIS

Measles among Europeans rarely attacks adults and, though often leaving bad enough complications, is not fatal even to children. Europeans have had it for so many thousands or tens of thousands of years that they are virtually immune to it. But measles, introduced to the Indians by the whites, was as terrible and devastating a disease among the Indians as was smallpox among the whites. It attacked adults, and was often fatal, sometimes wiping out whole villages.

Smallpox likewise was brought into America by the whites. Serious even among the whites, it was a ghastly, frightful plague among the Indians who had no immunity at all, and no knowledge of the social quarantine or vaccination used by the whites.

Tuberculosis, attacking all the organs of the body, was a disease new to the Indians, and was more virulent among them than it usually was among the whites. The Indian's life of over-exposure and bad housing, and his alcoholism with drunken sleep under exposed conditions made for the lung conditions favourable to attack by the disease.¹

THE "SOCIAL DISEASES" IN PARTICULAR

Finally, and perhaps as ruinous even as smallpox, there were the "social diseases". In the hinterlands of some parts of South America there appear to be tribes as yet unreached by these.² But most of the millions of aborigines were saturated with them in the early stages on contact with the whites.

It has, indeed, been charged that syphilis was carried from America to Europe by the men under Columbus and his followers. Back, first, to Spain, thence to Italy, thence to France, thence to England. In the last-named country it

¹ See Mooney: *Population*; and Dobrizhoffer, v. 3, pp. 8-9, on smallpox. The latter notes the virtual extermination of an unconquerable tribe by the disease (the Chiriguano). Compare also Ellis, p. 168; J. S. Teit, in *Canada and Its Provinces*, v. 21, p. 287; and especially Dunn: *Travels*, pp. 83-84; Williams: *Key*, p. 157; and the study by Salone. On tuberculosis see Hrdlicka.

² Roquette-Pinto; and Harrington: *Arawaks*. Savage-Landor in *Across Unknown South America*, 1913, v. 1, pp. 191-192, found much of both venereals among the Bororo of the upper Amazon.

appears as first becoming widespread about the time of Shakespeare and the settlement of Virginia. One writer, but one of little scholarship or erudition, maintained that the disease entered America from Asia in pre-Columbian times by way of the Behring Sea routes and spread as far south as Mexico and Peru. The same writer later maintained that the disease was a human infection derived from the llama of Peru, from which, he argues, the Indian herdsmen acquired it. These claims are interesting and not incredible, but as yet they are wholly unsubstantiated. The weight of scholarship to date indicates the transmission of the disease from the Old World to the West Indies by Columbus' men in 1492 or shortly later. From the West Indies Cortes' army carried it in 1519 to Mexico. A soldier with Cortes has left us an interesting account of the conquest of the Aztecs by Cortes, and names and describes a number of Cortes' men who were in early and final stages of this dread disease.¹

The disease was carried to our eastern North American Indians by the settlers of early Virginia and early Plymouth and Massachusetts. Even so early as 1634, eleven years after the arrival of the *Mayflower*, Roger Williams writes of the distressing effects of syphilis among the New England Indians! And in 1612, so early as four years after the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, the secretary of the colony had noted the shocking diffusion of syphilis among the Virginian Indians, even children acquiring it.²

¹ Too little critical scholarship has been applied to the problem of the history of diseases. Some writers believe syphilis was carried from America to Europe and thence to Asia. Ashmeade's articles on this subject exhibit little critical acumen and no erudition, even in his special field. Vorberg in a more scholarly work insists that syphilis was pre-Columbian in Europe. There is no acceptable evidence that it was pre-Columbian in America. However, the stand I take above is tentative. See also Sudhoff; Jourdanet: *Poems*; Turnbull; Davidson; Adami; Chapter 7 of Carr-Saunders, wherein are several theses I cannot accept; and Block. Alexander MacKenzie found the disease common among the Cree in his day (*History of the Fur Trade*, p. xci). On the history of gonorrhea see Roucyol: *Blennorrhagie*. While concerning this subject Ashmeade is nearly worthless, Jourdanet's study of Bernal Diaz' notes on the syphilitics in Cortes' conquering army are not only interesting but of some importance. (The general reader will find the narrative of the conquest by Bernal Diaz himself of entrancing interest.)

² Strachey, 110, 114. Williams: *Key*, 158; compare Wood, below, p. 359, n. 1. But compare *Contagious . . . Diseases* under the heading of Syphilis, for a note on a disease prevalent among Indian children sometimes confused with syphilis.

Throughout the progress of settlement its transmission continued. A practising physician of Charleston, S.C., in 1763, notes the prevalence of the disease among the whites of the city, and charges the traders in the hinterland with the immorality which diffused it among the Indians.¹ About the same time, in Pennsylvania, a Moravian missionary among the Indians remarked the generality of infection with this disease among even the Indian children.² Skulls belonging to this period, found in graves along the Chesapeake Bay, evidence the last stages of this disease.³

Russia, beginning her colonization very late, in the middle of the last century, was the one European nation which for a time made a successful effort to prevent the spread of the "social diseases" in her American territory, Alaska. Her success was ended when British settlement reached the neighbouring area of British Columbia.⁴

THE PLAGUE WHICH PRECEDED THE "CHOSEN PEOPLE"

Now let us note from the old sources the sort of effect disease had upon population. Estimates of original Indian population have usually been made upon the basis of the number of Indians met with in a given region when Europeans first arrived. It must be considered, however, that smallpox and other diseases ran far in advance of the frontier, and decreased the aboriginal populations before any Europeans had approached.

We will consider the case of the Indians met by the "Pilgrim Fathers". Before these English adventurers arrived, a "plague" had ravaged aboriginal New England. This plague, it seems, was smallpox, introduced perhaps from the French settlements to the north or from the numerous fishing and lumber-carrying ships of the English and others who since about 1602 had haunted the New England coast in increasing numbers.

The "plague" began in 1616, and had just spent itself four years later when the Pilgrims arrived. It raged among all

¹ *Description*, 1763, pp. 510, 515-518. Lawson, p. 37, has an account of a remarkable cure (?) of syphilis by a native shaman.

² See Heckewelder's chapter on *Bodily Constitution and Diseases*.

³ Mercer.

⁴ Andrews, 293.

the tribes from Maine to Rhode Island inclusive. The Penobscot (Tarrentines) of Maine, the Wampanoags and Massachusetts of Massachusetts, and the Pequots of Connecticut were the worst sufferers, while the Narragansetts of Rhode Island were relatively little affected.

Save for one lone survivor, the notorious Tisquanto, the whole population of the Wampanoag village called Patuxet was wiped out. This place had been visited by John Smith of Virginia two years before the plague started, and on his map he renamed it Plymouth. When the Pilgrims arrived in 1620, they found Patuxet, or Plymouth, depopulated, with fruitless but fertile cleared cornfields. They, themselves, replaced the exterminated Indian population, *retaining* for the settlement the name of Plymouth.

The Pilgrims, it seems, did not know of the plague until their arrival at Patuxet, or Plymouth, where they were met by the lone survivor and told of it. The news of it in those days and later delighted them. In the charter eventually granted them by King James, and in various documents of their own writing, the fact that disease had exterminated the native population on the coast was cited as a moral justification for preëmption of the former inhabitants' lands without purchase.

An English trader, Morton, in June, 1622, rode horseback through the hinterlands of the region affected by the plague. So littered, he says, with bones and skulls, were the deserted Indian village sites, that the region "seemed to me like a new Golgotha". The Massachusetts tribe of Indians had its population, conservatively estimated, reduced during the three years of plague from ten thousand (three thousand warriors), to about one thousand (three hundred warriors), a decrease of ninety per cent.¹

Now let us note how plagues ran wild further in advance of the frontier of settlement. The New England tribes never were able to recoup their losses of population. Wars with the Puritans, endemic tuberculosis and social diseases, and

¹ Morton, p. 130, describes the effects of the plague; valuable notes upon it may be found in *Planter's Plea*, Force's Tracts, v. 2, p. 14; see also Dermer in *Purchas' Pilgrims*, v. 19. Dermer was in New England while the plague still raged in 1619 and leaves us his description of the disease in his letter of Sept. 1619. See, finally, description in Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*, pp. 14-16.

measles and smallpox ate up their remnants bit by bit, until within a century they were practically exterminated.

For example, Winthrop notes in his journal for Nov. 3, 1634, just before the very disastrous wars of 1637 described later in Chapter XVI, concerning Plymouth traders who had gone into the interior beyond the range even of ordinary trade, that those traders report that smallpox was raging "as far to the west as any Indian plantations was known", and that so much of the population was killed off that "they could have no trade". Curiously enough, these traders reported that, although at Narragansett seven hundred Indians had died, "beyond Pascataquack, none to the eastward". This immunity of the Pascataquack region puzzled me until I noted in Bradford's *History*, for Dec. 5 of a year earlier, 1633, that "this infectious disease spread to Pascataquack, where all the Indians, except one or two, died."¹

At the same time, and perhaps earlier, smallpox apparently spread like wild-fire, down to and along the Delaware River, and was followed, long before the arrival of William Penn, by yet another epidemic of the same disease.²

Meanwhile the Virginian native population was dying off. The tidewater population alone numbered about thirty-five thousand in 1607; by the time William Penn sailed up the Delaware to settle Pennsylvania (1682) these Virginia Indians were virtually exterminated, although a few mixed-bloods, even to-day, survive in remote sections.

TO THE WEST, IN ADVANCE OF THE FRONTIER OF SETTLEMENT

So it went in the middle west and on the west coast. Boller, an exceptionally intelligent and observant trader among the Gros Ventres, on the edge of the Blackfoot country, tells something of the ravages of smallpox and cholera in the Rocky Mountain region and the adjacent plains while the farmer's frontier was still one thousand miles away.

He confirms the statement made by other observers of the terrible ravages of smallpox among the Blackfoot, estimating

¹ Winthrop: *Journal*, p. 118; Bradford: *History*, 1634, pp. 312-313. Bradford gives additional valuable detail.

² See the recollections of Ockanickon and his parents in the 1698 council described by Budd, p. 69.

for the one epidemic of 1828 that twenty thousand out of the thirty thousand population of the tribes were killed off. The plains were covered with deserted villages filled with skeletons. The Gros Ventres, neighbours of the Blackfoot, were likewise dying off. By 1860 they were reduced to two-fifths of their numbers of a generation before.

By 1856 the Sioux had decreased their losses from smallpox, he points out, by adopting a sort of quarantine. Wherever smallpox appeared they would scatter in small bands over the prairies far away from their villages and so prevent rapid contagion. Soon this practice was taken up by the remnants of the other plains and plateau tribes.¹

So also on the west coast of Canada. In 1803 the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island counted five hundred warriors, about fifteen hundred to two thousand population; already in 1860 they were reduced to three hundred population! The Kwakiutl people who in a census of 1836-1841 were reported as numbering thirty-nine thousand, were reduced to less than two thousand in 1912!²

THE PAWNEE EXAMPLE

One of the tribes which offers the most reliable and adequate statistics is the Pawnee of western Nebraska. This people was visited in 1540 by Coronado, the Spanish explorer. Their country he called "the province of Quivira". They were observed to be a populous people of village-dwellers possessed of an interesting and fine culture. Some Spanish missionaries were at that time slain by them on attempting to found a mission in Quivira. Their actual population of that date is unknown. But in 1702, after about 150 years of desultory contact with Europeans and perhaps some contact with European disease, they numbered ten thousand. There was

¹ Compare Boller, pp. 241, 357. Allen: *Oregon*, pp. 380-381, says smallpox first hit the Blackfoot in 1828, when the Blackfoot numbered twenty-five hundred lodges and when nearly all of eight hundred lodges (tents) were killed off. Allen says that eight thousand skeletons were still to be seen in the deserted lodges in his day.

² Jewitt, 1803; Mayne, 243, 251; Curtis, v. 10, 303; also Mayne, 313, for measles among the Tsimshian; Simpson, 107, for the near extermination of the Cowlitz in 1828; Jacob, XIII, for the extermination of the tribe of 2,500 population at Victoria, B.C., in 1862, by smallpox. Curtis, v. 10, 320, gives a song sung in public referring to her infection sung by a woman whom the Kwakiutl knew to be carrying syphilis.

at least one smallpox epidemic thereafter, in 1802, but in 1838 they still numbered ten thousand.

It was not until this date that the frontier of settlement reached them. In eleven years thereafter they numbered only forty-five hundred, and in twelve more years numbered only thirty-four hundred. In 1873 they were ordered by the government to leave their ancient homes and retire to Oklahoma to become virtual charity wards; six years later they were reduced to fourteen hundred. In 1915 they number 660, virtually all mixed bloods.¹

MISLEADING FIGURES

An occasional North American people such as the Navajo, who occupy desert territory in which the whites could not live, may be found to have maintained its population, and to have been rather free from European plagues. This is very exceptional. Tribes such as the Creeks and their neighbours in the Old Indian Territory, now part of the state of Oklahoma, present very misleading figures.

These tribes have not officially declined greatly in numbers in the last one hundred years, since adequate statistics have been available. Note, however, what is shown by a full consideration of their number. Take the Creeks, who are rather typical. In 1832 they were removed west of the Mississippi River together with the Cherokees and others. The Creeks then numbered about twenty-two thousand, largely, it seems, full-blood Indians, with a few negro slaves. In Indian Territory, white squatters, hungry for land and a share in Indian annuities, eagerly sought Indian wives and admission to the Indian tribes. After the Civil War the negro slaves were freed.

Year by year the full-blood Indians *decreased* in numbers. Meantime the mixed-bloods, while *not* themselves *increasing* notably in actual numbers, became a larger proportion of the total Creek population, through new accessions of whites and their intermarriage with full-blood Indians.

Meantime, also, a striking fact, the negro freedmen, counted in the Creek population, showed a remarkable fecundity. In thirty-four years, from 1874 to 1908, the negroes *increased*

¹ Mooney: *Population*.

from two thousand to six thousand, tripling their numbers. In seven more years, up to 1915, the negroes increased another thirteen per cent., to sixty-eight hundred ! To-day, although there are in the official statistics about fourteen thousand Creeks, increasing slowly in numbers, and the official statistics represent about half of these as full-bloods, Swanton—a competent anthropological observer—has expressed his opinion that there are virtually no full-blood Indians left—“barely a handful”.¹ The same story might be told of the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and several other tribes of Oklahoma; and of the Iroquois and other reservation Indians of the East.

There are to-day in the dominions of the two Anglo-Saxon North American nations at the most 500,000 persons officially rated as Indians, 350,000 in the United States and Alaska, and 150,000 in Canada, including the Eskimo. We have already indicated that relatively few of these are full-bloods, while the greater part are so largely mixed with white blood and to some extent in parts with negro that only by a legal fiction may they be accounted Indians at all. At the most, one very competent observer writes,² less than twenty per cent. of the Indians of the United States are full-bloods, and only about thirty per cent. more are even half-bloods. About half of them are at least three-fourths white.

DISEASE IN LATIN AMERICA

The North American Indians suffered far more from the European diseases than did those of Latin America. There European immigration was heaviest, and, for the most part, the native population thinnest. In Latin America there were virtually no fur-bearing animals, and therefore no fur trade, and no fur traders to act as continuous disease carriers. In Latin America conquest brought peace. In North America, European policy only stimulated tribal warfare with its consequent increase in the spread of smallpox and other diseases.

Nevertheless it remains the fact that the native populations of Latin America were also sharply cut in numbers by the initial impact of the new diseases. Take, for example, the statistics from the Paraguay missions of the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1732 there were thirty mission

¹ Swanton: *Creeks and Neighbours*.

² Mooney: *Population*.

villages of Guarani Indians, with a total Christianized population of 141,182, plus some pagan Indians. At about this time the total neophyte population was increased to 146,182 by the addition of Christianized Tobatine Indians.

Soon after 1732 a smallpox epidemic killed about thirty thousand. Soon after that a milder recurrence of the epidemic killed eleven thousand. In other words, more than one-fourth of the population was wiped out in several years from smallpox alone. "The measles likewise, so fatal to the Americans, made repeated ravages to a frightful extent." In 1767 there were only one hundred thousand Indians left in the missions, the decrease being almost wholly the result of new European diseases.¹

The missions of Spanish California tell the same story, despite the fact that the missionaries kept the mission Indians segregated from any intimate European contacts, doing their best to check the spread, among other diseases, of the venereals with their subsequent diminution in native fertility.

If these were facts during a few decades in the missions, where the social hygiene and quarantine of the mission fathers was at work, it is obvious that the peonized Indians everywhere underwent heavy initial decline in population. That they did not die out altogether, as was the case of the Indians of the West Indies, was due to the action of social causes which enabled the Indian in certain regions to survive his early trials.²

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE

An attitude peculiar to the English colonists of North America, but taken most seriously by the Puritans, was that God had sent disease in advance of Christian colonization in order to wipe out the pagan population and thereby make

¹ Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, pp. 15-16, 46, 53, 417, 434; v. 2, p. 98; v. 3, p. 121.

² Engelhardt; for Lower California see v. 1, pp. 102, 126, 240, 304, 447, 530, for the years 1707, 1711, 1742, 1744, 1748, 1767, 1768-1771, 1788. For upper California see v. 3, p. 79; v. 4, p. 332. Unfortunately, the good missionaries, interested more in the departure of the soul than in its arrival, recorded deaths but not births! Moreover, we can do little with data on the increase and decrease of the total populations of the missions because the missionaries recorded only the numbers of the converted, not of the pagans, present in the mission villages; nor did they give data on the numbers who left the missions as runaways nor who were added from among the wild tribes as converts.

room for his own people. The Puritan Johnson, for example, writes in his account of Puritan settlement a chapter on the plague of 1616-1620 entitled "The Wonderful Preparation the Lord Christ by His Providence Wrought for His People's Abode in this Western World".

He describes the plague: "There befell a great mortality among them; the greatest that ever the memory of father or son took notice of; desolating chiefly those places where the English afterward planted; sweeping away whole families, but chiefly young men and children, the very seeds of increase. . . . Their wigwams lie full of dead corpses."

"By this means, Christ," he adds, "whose great and glorious works throughout the earth are all for the benefit of his churches and chosen, not only made room for his people to plant, but also tamed the hearts of these barbarous Indians."

A variant opinion held by Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Maine, and by the Quaker Governor of Carolina, maintained that God did all this spreading of disease to relieve the English of the necessity of killing off Indians by fire and sword in order to colonize the country. "And indeed," says the Quaker governor, "Providence seemed wholly to design this bloody work for the Spanish nation, and not the English, who in their natures are not so cruel as the other."¹

THE INDIAN'S ATTITUDE

The sight of the destruction caused among the Indians by disease did in fact have an unpleasant effect on native psychology; it led to hatred (promoting irritation and war) of the whites who, the natives frequently realized, were the source of the new diseases;² and it led to social reactions of despair which resulted in messianic conservatism and the rejection of civilization.³

The decrease of native population in the Carolinas was "a

¹ Archdale, pp. 88-90; and Gorges. Archdale compares the facts to the work of the "Assyrian Angel" in the Old Testament. For the naiveté of Carolina intellect in colonial days, one might compare with Archdale the very similar sort of reasoning on witchcraft by Chief Justice Trott, in 1700, in *South Carolina State Trials*, v. 6, pp. 647-702.

² Compare Dobrizhoffer, v. 2, 239; Jacobs, xii.; and, especially, Johnson: *Swedes*, v. 2, 565 (1654).

³ Compare above, Chapter 34.

circumstance which gave the Indians much concern," writes an observer in 1673, "however agreeable it may be to the . . . Europeans."¹ This concern of the Indian is not surprising, for the stoical and phlegmatic Indian of school histories is a myth. On ceremonial occasions only, and in the face of strangers, the Indian was cool and silent. At home, among friends, like his Chinese cousins, he was nervous, laughter-loving, emotional, and a passionate gambler.

"You seem to think we are brutes," said a sachem of the Iroquois to Englishmen who, just after an epidemic of smallpox, asked the Iroquois to help them in a war, "that we have no sense of the loss of our dearest relatives, some of them the bravest men in our nation. You must allow us time to bewail our misfortune."²

Perhaps the most depressing circumstance connected with the new diseases was not the killing off of children, as noted above by Johnson and others in early days,³ but the fact that the "social diseases" made for the inability of the Indians affected to have children at all, with a consequent effect on the native birth-rate. One of these diseases produces constant miscarriage; another produces complete sterility. The coincidence of the falling birth-rate with these diseases, without knowledge that there was a relationship of cause and effect, was noted very generally in early colonial days in both Latin and North America.⁴

In view of the passionate love for their children generally noted as characteristic of the Indian,⁵ these circumstances made for mental depression. Since plagues were decreasing their already thin population, and coming at a time when the introduction of some of the European improvements in

¹ *Description*, 1763, pp. 510, 515-518.

² Wolf, p. 92; compare Finck, 545-639; Jacobs, xiv.; Lawson, p. 64.

³ Furthermore, children sent to white schools usually died of tuberculosis; compare Gookin, 173; Scott, in *Canada . . . Provinces*, v. 7, 615. This retarded assimilation.

⁴ Heckewelder, 215, for Pennsylvania circa 1760; Engelhardt, v. 1, 29-30, 153, n. 1, 157; v. 3, 367, for the California missions; Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, 130, for the Paraguay missions; Gookin, 195, for the mission Indians of Massachusetts; Petroff, 148, for Russian Alaska.

⁵ Compare Petroff, 149; Pastorius, 484 (letter of May, 1689); Michaelius; William Penn: *Letter*, 233. See also the Aztec Hymn to Ayopechatl, God of children in birth, in Brinton: *Rig Veda*, 47-48, 304. For effects of sterility on native political organization and inheritance, see MacLeod: *Chiefship*, p. 499, n. 9; and MacLeod: *Piscatoway*.

the arts of production made acceptable a higher birth-rate, these diseases made it all the more difficult a task, in North America an impossible task, for the Indians either to maintain their original population or to increase it as was necessary if they were to continue to hold some place in the new America which was coming into being.¹

¹ With the effect of European disease on the Indian one might compare the fact recently substantiated that it was the introduction of the European black "chicken mite" which exterminated the carrier pigeons. (See Hibbs.) And further, compare Brown on the spread of syphilis in the Andaman Islands in 1870 and its subsequent effect on the birth-rate; also on the 1877 epidemic of measles in the islands, which, adequate hospital investigation indicates, killed off in that one epidemic, between one-half and two-thirds of the then native population. (Brown: *Andamans*, pp. 16 seq.) In 1907 when Brown was in the islands syphilis was general. There were few births and almost all born died in infancy. In a population of five hundred natives visited there were only twelve children less than five years old. Compare also Melville: *Typee*, pp. 267, 283, for the plague-like sweep of the disease through Hawaii and Tahiti, and the bearing of social customs on its rapid spread. (With Melville consult Turnbull's study.) Lambkin describes the effects of syphilis on virgin soil, Uganda, Africa. On aboriginal Australia see Davidson, and Adami.

On syphilis, see also Williams, in our supplementary bibliography. His data, from Montejo y Robledos, 1881, requires weighing.

CHAPTER V

THE PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERIES AND THE MEANING OF COLUMBUS

"It may be that Your Highness and all others who know me and to whom this writing may be shown will publically reprehend me with reprehensions of every kind, that I am not learned in letters, that I am a lay sailor, a man of the world, etc.; to these I answer what St. Matthew says, 'O Father, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.'"—*Columbus to his Sovereigns*, 1502.¹

TO the Spaniards of 1492 A.D., the Americas were a "New World" and the Italian, Columbus, was the "discoverer". To-day, we know more about the cultural history of America, and are able to appraise more accurately the significance of Columbus in the history of the American frontier. In approaching Columbus, we must look back to the Norsemen; and beyond them, look again to the Behring Sea cultural bridge, which we have already seen has been of importance in American origins and development. Then we will return to examine the historical rôle of Columbus.

THE NORTHEAST PASSAGE

We have dwelt at some length on the spread of Asiatic culture, languages, and peoples into America through Polynesia; and by way of the northwestern routes below, across and above the Behring Sea. We have indicated that the Polynesian contacts ended at least 2000 years ago.

The northeast cultural connection around the North Pacific remained vital, not only in American "pre-history", but on through modern historical times. There was never a break in the exchange of race and culture between Asia and America over this Northwest passage. Therefore, the Americas were never a "lost" world; never required any catastrophic "discovery" eventually to bring them up to the cultural levels of the Old World. To appreciate this more

¹ Columbus: *Letters*, cited in Wiener, *Africa*.

fully, we should understand how, wholly independent of transatlantic exploration, civilization continually streamed eastward into the Pacific,¹ and northeastward toward the Behring Sea and America.

India was one point of contact between regions of the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and of eastern Asia. Before 200 B.C., southern India was trading directly with the Malay Archipelago, and Indian culture was passing northeast overland into China. As early as 600 A.D., there was direct contact between Canton, China, and the Persian Gulf, a sailing distance of 600 miles; and voyages were often continued north to Japan. So intensive was this intercourse that by the middle of the 700's A.D., the Mohammedans (Arabs) settled in Canton had become so numerous that in 758 A.D. they were able to sack and burn the city and make off to the sea with their loot. During this century, the Chinese government officially encouraged sea trade and even sent trade missions abroad with credentials and samples of merchandise to the far south and west.

By 900 A.D., conquerors from southern India had firmly established themselves on the Malay island of Java, and were spreading Hindu culture to neighbouring islands, even establishing Buddhism or Brahmanism in the Philippine town which is to-day known as Manila. Meantime, by 300 A.D., Buddhism had taken a firm hold in China. By 450 A.D., the Mongoloid Nipponese (Japanese) had succeeded in driving the aboriginal inhabitants of Japan—the Ainu—back north of Tokio Bay. In 522 A.D., Buddhist missionaries from Korea, laden with ideas ultimately derived from India, entered Japan and, between 593 A.D. and 621 A.D., achieved a firm foothold. By 700 A.D., the Ainu were driven back another peg, were cleared out of the entire great central plain of the principal Japanese island.

About 1425 A.D., the Mohammedan Arabs were so powerful in southeast Asia that they were able to conquer the Hindu rulers of Java, and soon made the Malays and Javanese Mohammedans. With their religion, they introduced much else of the culture of the Mediterranean.

By 1520 the Portuguese mariners had reached the Pacific

¹ And likewise important elements of culture such as paper, printing, the compass, etc., moved from the East westward to Europe.

and opened it to the direct influence of west European culture, by way of the route around the continent of Africa, to India, and on to the East Indies—the Spice Islands—and the China coast, and Japan.

In 1535, some English merchants conceived the idea of reaching the Pacific by sailing north above Russia and Siberia and so to the China coast from the north, but this approach was not to be made until later, by the Russians; and then, only overland.

In 1675 A.D., the Japanese finally broke the power of the Ainu in the north of the principal Japanese Island.

Between 1560 and 1580 Russians had crossed the Urals and conquered Siberia as far east as the Ob River. In 1706 they conquered Kamchatka on the Pacific. In 1741 they began the exploration of Alaska and other parts of north-eastern North America.

It was, therefore, about 250 years after Columbus' "discovery" that Europe made direct contacts with the Americas by way of the Northeast Passage. But as we have pointed out in previous chapters, Old World culture had been continuously passing over the same passage. The advent of the Russians merely represented a quickening of the spread of Old World culture into America.

This movement toward and to America by way of the North Pacific existed independently of transatlantic enterprise, and the Russian advent in America would inevitably have been realized even if no one had ever crossed the Atlantic. Even if no Europeans had ever learned of the existence of America, the push of culture from India, through China, Korea, Japan, and Siberia, into northwestern America and down through the Americas, was destined to increase in volume and intensity and eventually bring the American Indians up more nearly to the industrial level of Old World "civilized" peoples.¹

¹ On the Ainu see Bishop, Kamakura, Monroe. On the ancient trade of India see Aiyangar. On Hindu influence in China see documentation in MacLeod: *Chinese Philosophy*; also T'oung Pao, v. 7, 1906, for review of Courady. On sixteenth century and later Japanese trade around the North Pacific, see Nuttall, Murakami, Bogoras, Thalbitzer, Chamberlain: *Eskimo*; Steensby; and *History of Japan*, pp. 306 seq.

THE NORSEMEN AND THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE

Also, quite independent of Columbus' and other transatlantic enterprises, was the early discovery of the Northwest Passage to America. This was first discovered by the Norsemen.

Mongolian peoples in prehistoric times not only spread into the Americas from the Arctic to Cape Horn—the American



MAP 4.—THE GLOBE VIEWED FROM THE NORTH POLE.
(On this twilight projection relative distances can be more adequately visualized than on Mercator's projection.)

Indian—but they also surged through Asia, north of India, engulfing the Ainu in Japan, as we have just described, and engulfing the aboriginal negrito populations of the Malay Archipelago and Philippine Islands.

They spread also westward into Europe, notably into the Baltic Sea region, where they are represented to-day by Lapps, Finns, and Esthonians. So it came about that from the east

coast of Greenland, across Siberia, and to the extremities of northwestern Europe, only Mongolian peoples existed, peoples similar in culture as well as in race, maintaining cultural and racial interchange, as we have seen, across the Behring Sea. But this globe-encircling chain of Mongolians was a broken circle, or, properly, one which had never been closed. The Mongolian Lapps or Finns and their kindred looked westward across the North Atlantic toward the Eskimo of Greenland; and the Eskimo looked eastward toward his kin in Europe; but neither knew of the other's existence. No human beings, so far as we can learn, ever had crossed the North Atlantic. The great stepping-stones, the Faroe Islands and Iceland, had never felt the tread of human feet.¹

Nor was the break in the Mongolian circle ever to be joined! It was for the descendants of the Aryan invaders of northwestern Europe to learn the secret of the North Atlantic. Irish monks were the first human beings in the Faroe Islands. From the Faroes as a stepping-stone, they wandered on to Iceland, establishing a monastery there perhaps as early as, roughly, about 725 A.D. The Scandinavian Viking raiders who then were beginning in earnest their attacks on Scotland and Ireland soon followed through the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Faroes, on to Iceland, where they established a permanent settlement.

They reached Iceland shortly after the middle of the ninth century, and discovered Greenland around or before 900 A.D. Their first settlement in Greenland was established in 986 A.D. The last link in the human chain around the sub-arctic circumference of the earth had been forged. Over the new link in the chain, cultural interchange began immediately.² Shortly after settling Greenland, these Norse of Greenland went on to North America, and in 1000 A.D., they sailed south probably as far as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.³

Within several years after this discovery of America, a

¹ In contrast with the spread of human beings throughout all the islands of Polynesia this is significant! Other Atlantic Islands never possessing human population were the Azores, the Falklands, and Fernando Po off the African coast.

² For Norse influence on the Indian, compare above, p. 12.

³ The voyage to America reputed to have been undertaken a decade or so before the voyage of 1000 A.D. is considered mythical by nearly all scholars.

colony of Scandinavians was established on the American coast somewhere south of the St. Lawrence River, and there the first Caucasian baby in America was born. So, although Scandinavians were not again to attempt settlement in America until 1638 A.D., when the Swedish West India Company proceeded to found what are now the cities of Wilmington, Chester, and Philadelphia on the Delaware River, Scandinavians had anticipated the French and English in the St. Lawrence-New England area by half a millennium.¹

But, as a result of internal dissension, and partly as a result of the bitter hostility of the natives—who at that time may possibly have been Eskimo—these early Scandinavian colonists returned, after three years (about 1007 A.D.), to Greenland, and, so far as we know, made no further attempt to colonize beyond Greenland. The fact, however, that treeless Greenland needed timber made for the continuance of lumbering voyages to the mainland of northeastern America. Possibly the great cod-fisheries were an added inducement. So, we have dependable evidence of trade between the Norse and northeastern North America for the years 1121, 1266, 1285 and 1347.

Between 1349 A.D. and 1409 A.D., the Norse settlements in Greenland were wiped out by the hostile Eskimo. The remnants of the white population there may have been absorbed and possibly persist to-day in the “blonde Eskimo” discovered a few years ago by Stefansson.² For 1356 A.D., we have dependable information that the Norse of Iceland communicated with America. The historian, Babcock, maintains, in addition, that Irish (possibly Norse settlers in Ireland) and Breton fishers were making regular trips to the cod-fisheries of America before 1367 A.D. In 1360 A.D.,

¹ With Kalsefni in America were two Scotch persons, Haki, the man and Hekia, the woman. To judge from their names they were like most Scotch Hebrideans, from that day to this, of Scandinavian origin (see below, p. 155, n. 3). With Leif Erikson there was one Tyrker Southman, a German, apparently Leif's foster-father. (Note also that a Bremen German visited Kalsefni when he was about to leave Norway for Ireland; the German was a trader.) Thorwaldsen, the Scandinavian sculptor, is a descendant of the first white child born in America. And Harold of Ireland, the great-grandfather of the grandfather in the male line of Leod, ancestor of Clan MacLeod, was apparently born in the Iceland colony about 1010 A.D.

² On which see the 1927 edition of Stefansson's *My Life with the Eskimo*.

an Englishman, one Nicolas of Lynn, voyaged in the North Atlantic and may have reached America.

The Italian explorers, the brothers Zeno, patronized by Sinclair, Earl of the Orkneys, are reputed to have voyaged to northeastern North America, between 1370 and 1395 A.D.—but the authenticity of the narrative of this voyage, written down from old notes between 1515 A.D. and 1565 A.D., is challenged.

From about 1400 A.D. on, the English merchants of Bristol, England, were actively engaged in trade with Iceland for fish, and whale oil. In 1472 or 1473 A.D., a Portuguese expedition, led probably by Jão Vaz Corte-Real, sought to reach China by way of the Viking route to America and reached that part of America which in the Zeno narrative is called Estotiland, probably New England, *twenty years before Columbus sailed!*

The Portuguese voyage was, no doubt, inspired by the same scientific knowledge which inspired the Italian Giovanni Caboti (John Cabot) to seek a northwest passage from England to China. Before 1480, more than a decade before Columbus' voyage, this Italian settled in Bristol, where, as we have pointed out, there was active trade with Iceland, and where, in addition, there was an interest in mythical islands reputed to lay in the Atlantic to the westward. He wished an opportunity to try for Asia by way of the northwest, realizing, as he did, that the earth is a globe, that therefore Asia lay to the west as well as to the east, and that the shortest way around a globe is near the poles.

The Bristol merchants financed him. In 1480 A.D., he set sail, but returned without reaching his objective. Then several years later came the news of Columbus' success, so in 1497 and 1498, Cabot voyaged again, probably over the old Norsemen's route, and succeeded in reaching northwestern North America. He thought, of course, as did Columbus, that he had reached the coast of Asia.

In 1501 and 1502, Corte-Real, for Portugal, journeyed along the northeast coast of North America. Then, from as early as 1504, the vessels principally of Basque, Breton, and Norman fishers were definitely noted in great numbers on the Newfoundland banks.

This seeking after the possibilities of the Northwest Passage

from northeastern Europe was also inevitably, quite independently of both the developments in the North Pacific and of Columbus' voyaging, to lead to the establishment of intimate contacts with America and civilized Europe and, eventually, to effect the "civilization" of the American Indians.¹

THE HISTORICAL RÔLE OF COLUMBUS

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Columbus' great adventure was of profound influence in directing the course of American history. It grew out of Old World development quite apart from those which inevitably were making for the civilization of the Americas by way of the northern routes in the North Pacific and the North Atlantic. It is important then that we consider something of his background.

Aryan Europe had ever been a field of conquest for the Mongolian peoples of Asia. In 450 A.D., for instance, the Huns under Attila, with German allies, took Metz, lay siege to Orleans, and sacked northern Italy. In 700 A.D., the Mongolian Avars were dominant in what is now Austria, Hungary, and the Ukraine.

Then arose Mohammedanism, arousing the Arabs and north African Berbers to action, finally proselytizing various Mongolian groups. From 711 to 732 A.D., the north African Mohammedans were conquering the once-Roman Iberian peninsula and southern France. By the time they had been driven half-way back to Africa, in 1453, the Mongoloid Mohammedans, the Turks, had taken Constantinople, smashed the Byzantine Empire, and ruled over the whole of southeastern Europe. By 1095 A.D., northern Portugal, Oporto, had been freed of the Moors; in 1147 Lisbon was taken from them; and by 1250 all of Portugal was again Christian. The Portuguese, while much of Spain was still Moslem, then pushed their enterprise against the Moslems into Africa, seeking a way around to the African Moslem back door, a

¹ On the Norse, their ships, and their navigation and discoveries, see Vignaud; Stefansson; Hovgaard; Major; Fiske; Gagnon; Steensby; Winsor: *Original Narratives*; Babcock. On the "Skeleton in Armour" see the *American Anthropologist* for 1888; the skeleton is that of an Indian. On the Zeno story, see Lucas, and Nansen: "*Northern Mists*." On the 1472 A.D. Portuguese voyage see Lawson.

way which would be of commercial as well as of military value.¹

No Europeans had ever sought to set sail down the west African coast to see what might be there; the Phœnicians and Carthaginians of ancient days, who had done so and whose achievements had been forgotten, were the African precursors of the African Moslem peoples. From 1410 A.D. on, Prince Henry of Portugal devoted his energy to urging his mariners down the African coast for exploration.

Meantime, the Genoese traders and French traders and adventurers were likewise voyaging there. In 1275 A.D., the Genoese discovered the Canaries, inhabited by peoples who had been lost since the time of the Phœnicians; in 1341 Portuguese visited them; thenceforward they were visited only by divers merchants and pirates until in 1402 the French Bethincourt attempted the conquest of the islands; soon the Portuguese took possession and finished the conquest.² By 1434 the Portuguese had passed the fearful, surging waters off Cape Bajador and for the first time, Europeans had found their way to negro Africa. Meantime the Moslems were winning against the Portuguese in Morocco, and the Turks were driving Christianity from Constantinople. The search for a route to the Indies around Africa was pursued urgently. Farther down the African coast the Portuguese caravels went.

On June 18, 1452, Pope Nicholas V authorized Alphonso V of Portugal to attack and subdue any and all Saracen, pagan, or other infidel communities whatsoever, to reduce their inhabitants to perpetual servitude, and to take possession of all their properties; anyone infringing on this (expected to be profitable) option on the wealth of the greater part of the world was threatened with the wrath of God, Peter and Paul, and the Church.

In 1454 Nicholas V issued, for the Portuguese Crown, a

¹ Lybyer has shown as a rather dull fallacy that the search for a route to the Indies around Africa was due to Moslem interference with trade routes overland. There was no such interference. A study of just what the motives of the Genoese and Portuguese were should be systematically undertaken.

² Margry gives the *original*, untampered-with Bethincourt narrative of the conquest, recently discovered. The Hakluyt Society version is a corrupt abridgement. See also Azurara; Beazeley; Cooke; Stanley; Lane-Poole.

similar bull making special reference to Africa and threatening excommunication for intruders on Portuguese prerogatives. In 1460, Alphonso V took up the work of Prince Henry; in 1841, John II took up the work of Alphonso. Soon the Cape of Good Hope was to come in sight, and the Portuguese were to have a sea-route to India.

While these events were taking place, Spain was busy driving the Moslems from the rest of the Iberian peninsula, and when, in 1452 and 1454, the Pope awarded to Portugal an absolute monopoly on the right to conquer pagans in Africa and Asia, Spain gave her assent (1479 A.D.)¹

During all this time, *every scholarly geographer knew that the earth was a sphere* and that, conceivably, the Asiatic Indies could be reached by sailing west from Europe. In 600 B.C. the Pythagoreans had taught the sphericity of the earth as a theory; before the time of Christ, Aristotle had proved it to be a fact by means of astronomical observations. From the time of Aristotle, the fact was known and proved time and again, and was accepted as a proved fact by all accomplished scholars except certain groups of theologians.

Even from the time of Aristotle, scholars thought it possible to go westward to the Indies, reasoning from the known fact of the sphericity of the earth. Seneca thought that the journey could be made in a few days' sailing. The Genoese who made the rediscovery of the Canaries in 1275, it was said, were attempting transatlantic voyages.

Columbus wrote: "I had always read that the world, the earth and water, was spherical, and the authorities and experiences which Ptolemy and all the others who had written of this universe, gave and proved by it both by the eclipse of the moon and by other demonstrations. . . ."

The best scholarship of Columbus' day had, by clever calculations, determined approximately what the true circumference of the earth was. They realized, not knowing of the interposition of America, that it was impossible in their ships to cover by water the tremendous distance from western Europe to eastern Asia.

¹ On the line of demarcation, see Bourne. Bourne's study is an especially fine example of socio-historical scholarship. One might compare the study of this "line" with another excellent study of a "line",—Alvord on the Proclamation of 1763.

That was why, when Columbus tried to interest the Portuguese Court, they refused to finance him. They preferred to go ahead with what promised to be a practical route to the Indies. Some ten or fifteen years before Columbus, however, the Italian, John Cabot, went to England and began his attempts to reach Asia by the northwest route, which manifestly was more practical inasmuch as the circumference of the globe decreases toward the poles.

Columbus, who was a practical mariner and map-maker and not a scholar, *was misled by a calculation of Ptolemy's into thinking the earth was a much smaller sphere than it really is*; he thought that he had proved Ptolemy's calculations by some of his own and that Japan must be only 2500 miles due west of the Canaries. He knew nothing of the existence of America, and supposed that the east coast of Asia reached toward Europe to just about where the east coast of Central America is.

Again and again he insisted in the face of the claims of better scholarship upon the truth of his error: "I say that the world is not as large as people say, and that one degree of the equinoctial is fifty-six and a third miles."

Naturally, when Columbus' blunder landed him in the Antilles and Central America, he thought he was in Malaysia and near the coasts of China and Japan, and he died in 1513 in blissful ignorance of the facts, for not until 1513 did the Spaniards at last realize that they were not in Asia. In consequence, *from 1492 to 1513, what they were doing to the Indians, they thought they were doing to Japanese, Chinese, and Malays*!¹

As we have shown, the Americas were in no sense a Lost World; only relatively speaking, were they a New World, and they were destined inevitably as a result of the northwest and northeast contacts to become less so. Columbus was not a discoverer of the Americas and his enterprise was not necessary to the eventual civilization of the Americas.

¹ The letters and journals of Columbus may be found translated in *Original Narratives*, and in Thacher. The critical observations in vol. 1 of Wiener, however, are essential; Thacher is wholly uncritical of his materials. My citations are from Wiener. See also Vignaud. When, in 1502, Columbus reached the coast of Honduras and discovered the mummification of their kings by the Indians, he was more than certain that he was near Egypt!

Had the tropical regions of America remained unopened to Spanish enterprise, it is eminently probable that civilization would have spread slowly down the coasts of North America and raised the level of all American civilizations. It may be that decades before Columbus, Brazil and the West Indies had been accidentally discovered by ships thrown off the route past the Canaries down the coast of Africa, just as in 1500 Cabral, sailing under the Portuguese flag, accidentally landed in Brazil.¹ Such discoveries were made by traders in the employ of firms like those of Dieppe which were content to keep their knowledge secret and make profits from occasional trade, quite without the financial ability to do more, and quite without any fanatical zeal for the propagation of religious faith. Their intercourse with the Americas also would have led to a century-long slow process of infiltration of European technology into the Americas, resulting in the fact that when the mineral wealth of the interior of tropical America was finally discovered, the natives would have been better able to have resisted encroachment.

Whatever there may be to these possibilities, the fact is clear that Columbus had the effect of what we may express as prematurely opening the regions of America rich in gold and silver to exploitation by the Old World. It was this wealth of precious metals which made possible the financing of Spanish enterprise in the Americas.

Columbus' rôle is that of one of the greatest promoters, in a financial sense, of history. With all the ardour of a born promoter, he was eager to take a chance on what his worked-up imagination told him might be true. With the energy and fanaticism of the promoter who believes in himself and his dreams, he convinced a superstitious and credulous woman, Isabella, who happened to have the power and wealth which was required to start the enterprise going. With the ill-luck of some promoters, he made a great discovery, and was sent to jail as a fraud. With the avarice of a promoter he refused

¹ Dieppe traders before 1450 followed the trail of the Portuguese down the African coast to the Canaries and may have reached America. Shortly after 1500 the story was widespread and persistent that Columbus had information from a navigator who had been to America for these traders, this information making him understand that his 1492 proposed voyage would be practical. The truth or source of this story is at present unknown; it may be that Columbus did have such information; it is featured in Andre's recent book.

to agree to any financing of the project unless he was given a written agreement assuring himself and his heirs one-third of the profits.

He had the effect of bringing down on the heads of the Indians, not an organization of business and trade which might have proceeded as did the chartered companies which opened North America for the north European countries, but a fanatical Queen who had just finished with the Moors at home and was eager first of all, not to gain wealth, but to conquer pagans for Christ. When gold and silver began to come from the new lands, this gold and silver was applied first of all to the forcible bringing of the Indians under a Christian rule.

The contract drawn up between Isabella and Columbus came at an unfortunate time for the Indians. Columbus called on Isabella while she and Ferdinand were with their armies besieging the Alhambra, the last stronghold of the Moslem Kingdom of Granada, the last Kingdom of the Moslems in Spain. Columbus donned the armour of a knight and fought before the Alhambra.

On January 2, 1492, the fortress fell. On April 17, 1492, Columbus and the Queen came to terms. On October 2, 1492, exactly nine months after the fall of the Alhambra, Columbus was saved from an otherwise inevitable death at sea only by the divine interposition of America between him and Asia! Columbus did not discover America, but America discovered and saved Columbus from death on a quixotic quest. From the siege of the Alhambra turned back an host of unemployed knights, who were now of little earthly use and were thirsting for adventure in the name of God and the Queen or King. The crusading spirit still ran high. These unemployed hidalgos were immediately turned loose on the Indians. They went out to seek neither trade nor land, but spoils and dominion.¹

¹ For certain aspects of the character of the conquistadores, see Appendix II.

PART II
THE CONQUERORS

CHAPTER VI

SPANISH AIMS IN THE AMERICAS

"Any unavoidable move . . . must be vouched for by make-believe. Authenticity must be found in underlying principles and immemorial usage, to be discovered by sophistical dialectics."—THORSTEIN VEBLEN.¹

THE "discovery" effected by Columbus was for and at the expense of the Crown of Castile. Castile was one of the three kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, the others being Aragon, of which Ferdinand was King, and Portugal. The marriage of the heirs to the crowns of Castile and of Aragon, Ferdinand and Isabella, effected no complete consolidation of the two kingdoms. In part because of the prevalence of democratic political tendencies among the people of Aragon, Isabella forbade any but Castilians to hold office in the administration of the Indies—the Americas—or to emigrate to these lands. This policy of excluding all but Castilians was scarcely at all relaxed during the entire sixteenth century. Spain in the New World, is, strictly speaking, Castile in the New World.

Isabella and her successors shared the theories of the rights of conquest held in common by all the sovereigns and jurists of Europe in her day. The conquered, whether subdued by violence or merely the threat of violence, had no rights save such as the conqueror might freely choose to concede to them.

Theoretically, however, Spain entered the New World not to conquer but to pacify. The Pope had granted the Americas to the Spanish Crown; therefore all that was required was to inform the Indians of that fact and require their allegiance. If any were "rebellious" and disturbed the peace, Spanish arms would pacify that region. So, in the great compilation of the laws of the Indies, the "*Recopilacion*", we never meet with "conquest", "*conquista*", but always with "pacification", "*pacificacion*".

In fact, however, the Spanish arms set out to conquer

¹ *Absentee Ownership*, 1924, p. 17.

and did conquer, and in accordance with the contemporary practice the subdued peoples were exploited. The Indian nations were obliged to recognize the sovereignty of the Spanish sovereign, and, through this, the ultimate sovereignty of the Pope, who was considered the temporal as well as the spiritual over-lord of the whole earth. The persons and the land of the Indians were put at the disposal of the Queen, who might do with them what she wished, according to her own mercy and according to need and expediency.

Spain held title to all the Americas, save Brazil, by award of the Pope, vicar of Christ on earth. The award of the Pope was made upon the condition that the Spanish sovereigns effect the Christianization of the Indians by any practicable or effective method. And it must be said that the Spanish sovereigns were at all times sincere and zealous in their endeavour to meet this condition,¹ and the proceeds of the head tax paid by the Indians was largely expended in supporting missionaries in the New World.

The work of exploration and conquest in the Americas was terribly expensive. In 1492 A.D. the treasury of the Crown of Castile was practically empty. After the work had been initiated by Columbus at the expense of the treasury, and Columbus had been deprived of the privileges originally accorded him in his agreement with Isabella, venturesome persons were permitted to go off with armies privately organized for the conquests of new regions in America. In return for this outlay and risk they were granted lands, and, later, rights to Indian labour, as well as a share of the booty taken. Sometimes these *conquistadores* would receive governorships and such, but the lands they "pacified" remained under the immediate administration of the Crown and its advisory committee, the Council of the Indies. In Spanish enterprise there was nothing comparable to the Charter and Proprietary Colonies of England in North America.²

Under the application of the *encomienda* forced-labour

¹ It was little less than a month before Isabella and Columbus agreed on his voyage (March 30, 1492) that the Queen's religious zeal led her to order the expulsion of unconverted Jews from her kingdom; later came the expulsion of unconverted Berber Moslems by Ferdinand. The Queen put religion first and profits second.

² On Spanish colonial administration see Fombona; Moses; Marriam; D. E. Smith; Priestly; Cunningham.

system the Indians were sometimes deprived of all right to the soil and reduced to landless peonage. But the greater part of the Indians in free pueblos, missions, reservations, and even in *encomienda*, were granted a legal title to land which they might have actually under cultivation; uncultivated lands, relatively of little value to the Indians, were usually assigned to the *conquistadores* and their soldiers.

The Crown did not anticipate, plan, nor desire, any serious disturbance of native economic and political life, any extensive colonization by a European labour force, nor any establishment of plantations to be worked by negro slaves. Native village life was to continue under its old native chiefs, who were to become *alcaldes* under the Spanish administration. The natives were to be led to Christianity by reason, never by force. The natives were to be exempted from the Inquisition.

All wars were to cease, because all native peoples were to become subjects of Castile. All public pagan worship was to cease. All governmental authority was to be derived from the Crown, as were all titles to land. Immigration was limited, not only to Castilians, but to Castilians whose parents, as well as themselves, were Catholics.¹ Converted Jews and Moors were kept out, as were gypsies also. Negro slaves could be imported only after obtaining a licence and paying a duty, and their importation was made so expensive in early years that it was necessary to depend on Indian labour for production.

There was much massacre, and brutality in general, on the part of Spaniards. This was no consequence of the plans and methods of the Crown. It was due solely to the fact that with communications what they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the administrative task imposed on the Crown was too great, and the Crown's inability effectively to control the situation was taken advantage of by the criminalistic elements in the Americas, with the connivance of callous rascals who deceived their king and obtained administrative posts of importance.

The keen sense of Christian duty and right which was possessed by the Catholic monarchs may be exemplified by affording the reader an opportunity to peruse one of the

¹ "Old Christians."

world's most magnificent, and yet most vainly used, documents. This document, scarcely accessible to the general reader, is well worth reproducing in full.¹ It is symbolic of the state of mind of an epoch. While illustrating the medievalism which lay behind the Crown's honest purposes, it also illustrates the obliquity and stupidity of the learned scholars upon whom the Crown leaned so much for advice as to practical affairs. The story of its use and abuse illustrates the callous brutality of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities who insinuated themselves into high office in the Indies. This document is the memorable Requisition (*Requirimiento*).

It was written in 1509 to fill a need. Ferdinand of course, like any monarch of his day, would gladly make war to the death on any people who refused to subscribe to the Catholic faith or who rejected the sovereignty of a Catholic sovereign; but he felt squeamish about attacking the native peoples of the Americas. Columbus, and virtually all who had been to the Indies, reported that the natives were an unusually docile and gentle people, open to persuasion. The Church officially looked upon them as wards after a sort, or juveniles, *gente sin razon*, or people not to be held fully responsible for their acts ("people without reason").

Ferdinand, in all sincerity, wanted to feel that before any Indian villages were attacked by his soldiers the Indians were made fully acquainted with the demands made of them, so that if they refused these reasonable demands their blood should be upon their heads and not his. His conscience was

¹ Herrera: *Historia*, and Las Casas: *Apologetica*, tell something of the story of the Requisition. The Spanish text is in the *Documentos Ineditos*. Helps: *Conquest*, and Irving: *Columbus*, offer translations. I have quoted Helps from his *Conquest*, v. 2, pp. 361, 367. On Spanish aims in the New World in general see the old sources cited in Chapter 2 above. Waterman estimates the approximate dates of composition of the writings of these authors cited as follows: Peter Martyr, 1505; Cortes, 1519; Oviedo, 1525; Anonymous Conqueror, 1525; Las Casas, 1527; Andreas de Tapia, 1540; Motolinia, 1541; Sahagun, 1546; Zurita, 1550; Bernal Diaz, 1552; G. de Mendieta, 1573; Duran, 1579; Acosta, 1588; Torquemada, 1589; Herrera, 1596; A. de Remesal, 1613; Claviger, 1765. (See Waterman: *Bandalier's Contributions*.) See also Lea, Moses, Merriam; Helps. Ternaux-Compans: *Recueil*, v. 1, gives the Requisition as read by Narvaez in Florida. Sir Walter Raleigh left a MS. (not published till 1820) written about 1600, called "*Considerations on the Voyage to Guiana*" in which (pp. 120-133 in v. 6 of *The History of the World*) he seriously considers, controverts, and refutes the theology of the Requisition. This is almost as curious reading as the Requisition itself.

troubled, moreover, by the sermons of the Dominican monks of this period, who maintained that the Indians were being treated inhumanely in the Indies.

Ferdinand brought his uneasy conscience to his jurists. One Dr. Palacio Rubios was appointed to draw up the following paper which was to be read and explained to all the Indian tribes in the Americas. It was intelligible to the King. *He failed to understand that it might not be intelligible to the Japanese*, for in this day it was still thought that the Americas were merely the east coasts of Asia.

It informs the Indians of the essential facts of Christian political theory, informs them that the Pope has made them subject to the Crown of Spain; and it finally *requires* of them, whence the title of the document, that they forthwith confess allegiance to the Crown. They are also notified that if they first wish to verify the statements about the Pope's donation of the Indies to the Spanish Crown, they may consult the original documents and correspondence; and then convinced of the facts, duly submit to the Crown.

After the Requisition was read to an Indian tribe or its official representatives, it was to be witnessed in writing by an accompanying clergyman, and by a notary. Clergy were in all cases sent along for witness. This document was read at least once to the Indians of the United States! This was in 1526 when Pamphilio de Narvaez read it upon landing on the west coast of Florida. It had been drawn up in 1509, and was first used in 1514 by Pedrarias de Avila in his conquest of the Isthmus. Pedrarias had this statement read to Indians on his first landing on the Isthmus, while the accompanying bishop leaned over the rail of the ship, safe from danger of poisoned arrows, to see what the results would be. The absence of an adequate interpreter made it difficult to explain to the Indians. Pedrarias returned from his sincere experiment and disgustedly explained to the bishop: "My lord, it appears to me that these Indians will not listen to the theology of this Requisition, and that you have no one who can make them understand it. Would your honour be pleased to keep it until we have some of these Indians in a cage in order that he may learn it at his leisure and my lord bishop may explain it to him."

After a few trials a new plan was devised to effect com-

pliance with the requirements of the King and his jurists in far-away Spain. The soldiers would crawl up to an Indian village in the dead of night, read the document in a whisper among themselves, or, as Herrera says, to the trees, properly sign it with a notary's signature, and then rush on to massacre with the cry "Santiago" !—"St. James" !

Of this whole business Sir Arthur Helps observed, when writing nearly a century ago, "If our own age did not abound in things as remote from all common sense as this Requisition, we should wonder how such a folly could ever have been put forward, or even acquiesced in, by persons of such intelligence as those who surrounded the Spanish Court." "The folly which spreads through it, when contrasted with the sagacity which pervades the instructions and the private letters of the King and the council, is an illustration of how long foolish conceits linger in the halls of learning and among professions even when they are beginning to be banished from the world at large."¹

The folly of the Requisition is a warning even for modern administrators of backward peoples. We can even to-day understand the feelings of Cortes, an eminently able and practical organizer, when he wrote to the King: "*That his majesty would be pleased not to permit any scholars, or men of letters, to come into the country, to throw us into confusion with their learning and textbooks.*"²

THE REQUISITION

On the part of the King, Don Fernando, and of Dona Juana, his daughter, queen of Castile and Leon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, living and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men of the world were and are descendants, and all those who come after us.

But on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should go one way and some another, and that they should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

¹ Helps: *Conquest*.

² Cortes: *Letters*.

Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man called St. Peter, that he should be lord and superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable, Great, Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter and took him for lord, king, and superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the others who after him have also been elected to the pontificate and so has it been continued even until now, and will continue to the end of the world.

One of these pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as lord of the world in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and terra-firma to the aforesaid king and queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, *as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.*

So their highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of terra-firma by virtue of this donation; and some islands, and indeed, all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the said acts.

And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all those, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same.

Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said unto you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the ruler and superior of the whole world, and the high priest called the Pope and in his name the King, and queen Dona Juana, our lords in his place, as superiors and lords of these islands

and this terra-firma by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

If you do so you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the islands have done; and besides this, their highnesses will award you many privileges and exemptions and will grant you many benefits.

But, if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that with the help of God we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you, in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their highnesses; we shall take you, and your wives, and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their highnesses shall command; and we shall take away your goods and shall do you all the harm and damage we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us.

And that we have said this unto you, and made this requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they shall be witnesses of this requisition.¹

¹ Lest some readers, perhaps ill-acquainted with the medieval background of the Requisition,—a background common to both Catholic and Protestant of the time,—should misinterpret this chapter, I would point out that the Requisition was drawn up by the civil authorities, not by the Church, and that priests and jurists of the Church, such as Las Casas, were among the bitterest and most determined critics of the Requisition and the Indian policy it expresses. See below, particularly p. 102, n. 1, on Las Casas; and p. 124 on orders by the Pope himself in direct contravention of this Requisition of Dr. Rubios and King Ferdinand.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPANIARDS KILL OFF THE FIRST INDIANS AND REPLACE THEM WITH NEGROES

“ They were, and are, the wealth of that country. It is they who dig and produce bread and food for the Christians. It is they who extract gold from the mines; and perform all other services, not only of men, but of beasts of burden.”—*Columbus on the Indians of the West Indies*, 1506.¹

“ *Sin Indios no hay Indias* ” (Without Indians there are no Indies).
—*Saying of the Conquistadores*.

IN the beginning of her enterprise, Spain, thinking herself in contact with Asia, with the rich spice islands, and China, and Japan, expected to profit primarily in trade. When the rich East could not be found, only poor Indians possessed of some gold, then there came the expectation of profiting from the mining of gold. But it was more than twenty-five years before appreciable mineral wealth was discovered. Not until 1513 did the Spaniards discover that they were not in Asia. Not until 1519 did they find and conquer the rich Aztec population. It was yet later that Peru with its hoard of gold and its inexhaustible silver mines was discovered.

Meantime the cost of ships and exploration was tremendously heavy; and it bade fair to be costly too to furnish monks to fulfil the fundamental object of the Crown as vassal of the Pope, the conversion of the Indians.

Pending the discovery of some other source of wealth there remained only the native labour power. In this chapter we shall see how the method of trial and error, in the face of various pressing necessities, made for the development of a very interesting system of forced labour. The beginning of the story is one of a conflict of personalities, and opens with the enmity of a bishop toward Columbus.

¹ Cited in Markham: *Columbus*, 289.

THE BISHOP

Columbus was the first viceroy of the New World, and functioned immediately as governor of the first island discovered and pacified, Hispaniola, now Haiti. He was personally of a kindly nature. In the early years of his activity he showed himself a capable, diplomatic, and generous colonial administrator, and one eminently practical.

But the Indies had to be made to pay the costs of their development, and, moreover, to yield a profit to himself and to the Crown. When the Spaniards came to realize the poverty of the Indies they had discovered in comparison with the immensely profitable Far East on which Portugal now had a monopoly, there was bitter disappointment over what was considered Columbus' failure. The promoter had to make good. Personalities enter into the story. Helps, pointing to Bishop Fonseca exclaims: "Let men in power see what one bad appointment may do!"¹ Personalities count in colonial affairs as in all administration, and mal-administration.

Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, Archdeacon of Seville, possessor of many other ecclesiastical offices and titles in his time, in 1493 was made the first adviser on Indian affairs to the Crown; and until his eventual removal thirty long years later, his power for good and for bad was almost unlimited. He was a capable administrator, but also a cold-blooded villain. As soon as Columbus returned to Spain from his first voyage of discovery the Queen appointed Fonseca as head of the administration of the New World for the Crown. Fonseca stayed at court and had the ear of the sovereign; Columbus was designed to be the resident viceroy, away from the court, out among the colonists and the Indians.

Columbus, a man instinctively courteous and almost invariably agreeable, was nevertheless possessed of a temper which he was not always able to check. Fonseca had immediately taken a dislike to Columbus, and Columbus' temper served to continue the disharmony between him and the Bishop. Through the use of the meanest expedients, the Bishop did all possible to hamper Columbus. He

¹ Helps: *Conquest*, v. 1, 454.

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managed at times, for example, to see that Columbus' ships were supplied when outward bound with decaying food, which helped to wreck Columbus' health after several years, and lowered his administrative capacity.

In Columbus' trouble with the criminal elements which Fonseca had sent out to colonize in Haiti, Fonseca's influence in the court invariably prejudiced Columbus' case. Moreover, Fonseca was personally responsible for the fact that the clergy and monks who were sent out to the New World during his administration were the very worst in Spain—quite as criminalistic as the early colonists.

But that Fonseca's viciousness was not merely the product of personal enmity to Columbus—rather his enmity to Columbus was one aspect of Fonseca's viciousness—is evidenced by the fact that after Columbus was divested of power, Fonseca managed, through his influence over Isabella, and, later, over Ferdinand, to place such appointees in power in the Indies as the Friars Bobadilla and Ovando, and Pedrarias de Avila, who beheaded Alvar Nunez de Balboa, discoverer of the Pacific. Bobadilla and Ovando were, like Fonseca himself, joyless clerks of considerable managerial capacity, who managed through their callous, undiplomatic handling of the native tribes to depopulate the islands they were sent to govern.

On the death of Ferdinand, Cardinal Ximenes became regent, pending the personal administration of the Emperor Charles V; Fonseca in 1523 was divested of power; and a new day dawned for the Indians. Meantime the native population of the West Indies was completely exterminated, thanks to the Bishop.

COLUMBUS AND THE FIRST INDIAN LABOUR GANGS

After an immediate attempt to make gains which we shall discuss later, Columbus was given to understand that he was not to seek profits from the slave trade. By 1494 the island of Haiti was pacified, and the natives had been brought under his control. Columbus then ordered that each adult Indian must pay a stipulated head tax to the Crown. This was payable in gold or in cotton.

In 1496 it was apparent that the Indians were not all able

to pay the tax. Those who could not pay in commodities were ordered to work out the tax on the farms of the colonists; the colonists receiving their labour would then pay the tax. But the colonists wanted more land and more Indian labour than Columbus would permit them. Under Roldan they broke out into open revolt. Columbus compromised; by this time his health was breaking, and his disappointments were accumulating. On his own authority as viceroy he organized the Indians in labour gangs, called *repartimientos*, and allotted to each colonist a gang, colonists of various ranks and importance getting larger or smaller *repartimientos*. The grants of *repartimientos* were to last for two years. Each holder was entitled to have a certain amount of farming done by the Indians assigned to him. Under monthly licenses only might mine labour be required of the allotted Indians.

The amount of tillage per capita required specifically from each allotted Indian was not sufficient to take up his entire time. The Indians were to remain ordinarily in their old villages, and they were to labour under their own chiefs as overseers.

This arrangement was designed as a temporary expedient to quiet the rebels. Columbus immediately wrote the Queen. She was angry and disapproved of the arrangement, but nevertheless it was permitted to stand. It bade fair to make the Indies profitable. The allotment of labour gangs became a permanent method of furnishing labour for Spanish farms in Haiti.

FRIAR OVANDO AND THE REORGANIZED LABOUR GANGS

In 1499 Columbus was in disgrace and removed from power.¹ Bobadilla, a priest, and *encomendero* of the military order of Alcantara, succeeded him as governor of Haiti. In 1502, Bobadilla was removed for dishonourable intrigue and brutality, and superseded by another friar of the same order, Ovando, likewise a creature of Fonseca's.

The colonists were now dissatisfied with the limited control

¹ The last word to date on Columbus' and his son's administration is perhaps the study by Jane; see also Erb, and Lea.

they held over Indian labour. The Indians, repelled by the brutality of the colonists, avoided contact with them as much as possible, and rejected Christianity. This latter fact offered the colonists an idea. They informed the Queen that so long as the Indians were free to withdraw by themselves for the greater part of the year they would never become Europeanized and Christianized.

The anxious Queen, therefore, in 1503 ordered that the Indians were to work all the time for the Spaniards; but, though constrained, they were to be paid wages; and, though not forced to become Christians, they were obliged to hear mass, and to hear instruction in religion.

Ovando interpreted his instructions liberally and devised a modification of the *repartimiento* which was thenceforth sometimes still called the *repartimiento*, but ordinarily, and properly, the *encomienda*. In the military orders of one of which Ovando was an officer, novices were brought together in groups and "commended" to various brothers of the order of long standing as persons placed under them for group instruction in the rules of the order. The instructor was known as an *encomendero*.

So Ovando reorganized the Indians into new gangs, and to each colonist assigned a small or large gang as the case might be. He commended the group to the colonist as an *encomendero*. The colonist was to instruct the Indians, or have them instructed, in religion and in the technology of Europe. The head tax of his charges was to be paid by the colonist. To repay the *encomendero* for his pains and expense the commended Indians were to give all their labour to him, working as he might direct. The grant of an *encomienda* was to continue during the Queen's pleasure.

FERDINAND AND THE FIRST AMERICAN LABOUR LEGISLATION

The primary purpose of the Crown in sanctioning the *encomienda* was educational; it was the only system which it could see as available for bringing the Indians under the tuition of Europeans for the purpose of conversion to Christianity and of education in European methods of industry. The colonists, of course, cared nothing about this; their

purpose was to get control of a labour supply. The *encomienda* system was well devised to suit both purposes; but as yet it was imperfect.

It was in 1510 that the first Dominican monks arrived in Haiti. Secular clergy had come over with Columbus. But the clergy were virtually appointees of the state, in that appointments to position in the Church in Spain had to be ratified by the Crown. This state control of Church offices persists even in the Latin American republics of to-day. Church offices were political plums. The clergy and lay fathers of the missionary orders were, however, relatively independent of political appointment. They were men—many of them university men, and aristocrats—who in general were fired only with the missionary spirit. The secular clergy, despite the rule of celibacy, raised large families and in the interest of their children had to be interested in the accumulation of wealth. The monks of this counter-reformation period were more true to their vows of celibacy and were not personally bound to any human ties.

“I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness” was the text of the first sermon preached by Father Antonio, leader of the Dominicans in the New World, in the church in Santo Domingo. He had seen that the colonists were using the commended Indians as slaves without regard to the purposes of the Crown in sanctioning the *encomienda*. He denounced the system of *encomienda* as a failure, and denounced the *encomenderos* for their brutality to the natives and failure to interest themselves in the welfare of their charges. The colonists demanded recantation from him, but he was fearless. He refused absolution to all who held *encomiendas*. One of those who mocked him was the priest Bartholomé Las Casas, holder of an *encomienda* in Cuba, later to become justly known as the Apostle of the Indians. This began a long war against the forced-labour system on the part of the Dominicans, aided, after a time, by the Franciscans.

In 1509 Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, had succeeded Ovando. Diego had learned of the cruelties of the *encomienda*, and the King had learned something of it.¹ Ferdinand had ordered the head tax due from the *encom-*

¹ Isabella had died in 1504; Columbus had died in 1506. On Diego's administration see principally references in Jane.

menderos for each Indian reduced, hoping the natives would then be less overworked. He also strictly ordered that the Indians in *encomienda* should not be disturbed in their village life; that each village should be allowed to own and keep its own lands, each Indian family having its little farm; and that officials of the islands should see to it that the Indians were not to be permitted to sell their lands to the colonists except at a "just" price.

When the monks informed him that his orders were being disregarded even under Diego Columbus, who, like his father, was sympathetic to the Indians, Ferdinand put up to several *juntas* of advisers the question whether the *encomienda* should not be abolished. Here a prime difficulty appeared. There seemed to be no adequate substitute for the forced-labour system which would serve the purpose of educating the Indians. Experience showed that the Indians when let alone, and not constrained, retired to themselves and remained beyond the pale of European educational influence.

It has been the fashion of many writers on this subject to denounce these *juntas* for refusing to comply with the demands of the monks for the abolition of the *encomienda*, pointing out that many of the members of the *juntas* were absentee owners of *encomiendas*, and so on. I yield to none in my warm admiration for the intelligence and honesty and disinterestedness of these noble missionaries, but I think we must agree that the point of view of the *juntas* was in that day an eminently sensible one. They maintained that the forced-labour system was satisfactory; that there was no alternative if the civilization of the Indians was to be achieved; that reforms would put an end to the abuses of the system.

The result was the Laws of Burgos, of 1512. These laws were designed to ameliorate the conditions of the commended Indians. With their enforcement, the *junta* assured the King, "his royal conscience would be entirely discharged". The principal new features of these enactments of the Crown were a women's labour law and a child labour law. Boys and girls, and married women, might not in the future be employed in any labour save light household labour; never in the fields or mines. But the fact remained that grants of *encomiendas* were held only at the King's pleasure.

Herein clearly lay the greatest evil in the forced-labour system, considering the impracticability of adequately supervising the operations of the system in that day. The *encomenderos*, come out to the Indies to get rich as quickly as possible, realizing that to-day they might have labour force at their command and to-morrow might have none, worked the Indians as hard as they could, turning their lives into gold. The intention of the King had continued to be merely to use the forced-labour system as a temporary thing, to achieve the civilization of the Indians, as well as to satisfy the colonists in the early stages of development of the Indies. Naturally he was reluctant to put the seal of permanency on the expedient.

But after Isabella's death there was trouble and confusion in Spain. These events made it advisable to reward many suitors with royal favours. The cheapest way to reward them was to grant them *encomiendas* of Indians in the Indies, from which they could profit as absentee exploiters. Moreover, Spanish enterprise was now reaching from the islands to the mainland, beginning with the Isthmian region. The cheapest way to reward the *conquistadores* for their personal expenditures was to grant them *encomiendas*.

Accordingly Ferdinand came to take a more mercenary view of the forced-labour system. In 1514 he ordered a complete redistribution of grants of *encomiendas*, agreeing that each grant should last for two lifetimes; that is, that during the life of the grantee and of his eldest son who should fall heir to the grant, title to the *encomienda* would not be revoked. This was designed in part to ensure an income to the children of the *conquistadores*. Whatever the mercenary motive which may be held to have prompted Ferdinand,¹ the effect on the Indians was one to be desired. An *encomendero* would now

¹ Helps pictures Ferdinand in an unfavourable light as purely mercenary. Yet it must be noted that in 1513, in his instructions to Pedrarias preceding the conquest of the Isthmus, he shows himself as generous and unmercenary towards the Indians as were the other Spanish sovereigns. He empowered Pedrarias to discontinue the *encomienda* system if he saw fit—if he thought that by some other plan he could get the free Indians to adopt European culture and produce the head tax required to meet the expenses of administration and missionizing. Ferdinand carried on the forced-labour system as did the other sovereigns because no one could show him a practicable substitute plan.

be a fool to kill his charges from overwork; he now looked upon his Indians as property in a sense, and conserved them as one would do with slaves or other capital.

CARDINAL XIMENES AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST ACT

On the death of Ferdinand in 1516, Ximenes acted as regent pending the activity of Ferdinand's successor, the Emperor Charles V. Under his administration of affairs of the Indies, further investigation was made as to the possibility of abolishing the forced-labour system. He listened to the former scoffer, Las Casas, who was now the active leader of the Dominicans of the New World in their war on the official system, and he listened to the colonists whose reports on the effect and necessity of the system conflicted with those of Las Casas and the monks in general. He thought, therefore, to send out an unbiased commission to investigate and find the truth. He chose a mission of Spanish Jeronymite monks. They were ordered to go to the Indies and consult not only with the colonists, but also with the Indian chiefs as to the possibilities of a reconstruction of Indian policy. The Jeronymites were given full power to abolish the system in force if they saw fit. In its place they were advised to organize a reservation system if the forced-labour system were to be abolished. Whatever they did else, however, they were immediately to revoke all grants of *encomiendas* to governmental officials, a move of obvious purpose.

The Jeronymites decided that the forced-labour system was the only practical one. As an experiment they established several small Indian reservations, but the experiment was immediately ended by a plague of smallpox which wiped out the natives of the reservations!¹

When Charles V first turned his attention to the Indies he likewise, stirred by the eloquence of Las Casas, considered the possibility of finding some substitute for the *encomienda*. He decided to experiment on Cuba, "because he understood that the *Cubeños* were most in need of relief among all his American vassals". But the *encomenderos* of Cuba employed lawyers at court who assured the Emperor that "if his proposed policy

¹ Wright: *Cuba*, p. 41.

of freeing the natives was adopted, whatever natives had not rebelled would assuredly rise, kill off all the Christians, and return to their idolatry and vices, as, his Catholic majesty was assured, they invariably did the moment vigilance was relaxed". Moreover, they argued, that the colonists, "since they have no other means of support than the aforesaid Indians", would abandon the island to the devil who had possessed it previously, and a second conquest would be necessary.¹

This was in 1527. Eight years earlier Cortes had begun the conquest of Mexico; and now Almagro and Pizarro were proceeding with the conquest of Peru.² Both these great continental enterprises were being paid for in large part by the grant of *encomiendas*. Charles, with troubles enough brewing from the Reformation in Germany, dropped the subject for a time.

By this date inhuman overwork under the imperfect *encomienda* system, coupled with massacre and smallpox, had almost exterminated the natives of the West Indian islands. Their place, furthermore, had been taken by negro slaves, whose importation was permitted by the Crown as the native labour died off. Already the West Indies, so short a time before Indian, were a negro land. The system of forced labour in its early stages had been a failure. Whether, refined and improved, it should succeed better on the continent, remained for the future to show.

¹ *Ibid.*

² While Pizarro entered Peru from the sea, Irala was marching on Peru from Paraguay through Bolivia with 250 soldiers and two thousand Guarani Indian allies. Hearing of the occupation of Peru by Pizarro he turned back, bringing to Paraguay many thousands of captives as slaves to meet the costs of his expedition and yield profits. Before the Europeans came to South America the Guaranis and the Bolivian tribes were constantly at war with the Incaic Empire of Peru and the Incas had to build a long line of forts on their eastern mountain border to withstand the attacks of these "barbarians". (See Nordenskiöld.) The remains of these splendid fortifications are still visible.

CHAPTER VIII

THEY PUT THE REST TO WORK

"We ought to support ourselves with our own hands; for better it is to be supported by the sweat of one's own brow than by another's blood. O, ye riches of Maranon! What if your rich mantles and cloaks were to be wrung? They would drop blood!"—*The Jesuit Vieyra to the Portuguese Colonists*, 1653.

"They said that they had conquered the country themselves, and could not hold it unless they were allowed to make the natives work for them."—*The Reply of the Colonists*.

NEW EXPERIMENTS

THE weakness of the case of the monks against the forced-labour system had been that they could not show proof that it was not necessary for the education of the Indians. True, it was evident that the system was working the destruction rather than the education of the Indians, but the system was being improved and there was hope that it could be so regulated as to preserve rather than destroy the Indians. Under the splendid, intelligent and humane administration of Cortes in Mexico from 1519 on it did begin to appear that the system could be made to attain the purposes for which it was designed.¹

The Dominicans, with Las Casas in the lead, turned their attention after 1527 to experiments designed to show that the Indians could be civilized without the *encomienda*. They first planned the development of a mission-controlled colonizing experiment on the Venezuela coast—the Pearl Coast, near Cumana—but the plan was nipped in the bud because the Indians, embittered against everything European by the activities of the slave-raiding pearl fishing interests long since established on the coast, went on the war path and even destroyed the Dominican monastery established there.

By 1537 Las Casas had been made Bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala. Guatemala had by that time been completely conquered except for the province Tuzulutlan, popularly

¹ MacNutt: *Mexico*.

called the Land of War. This region was as yet unconquerable. In 1537, Alvarado, governor of Guatemala, was absent on other business. The Bishop of Chiapas took the opportunity to strike an agreement with the temporary governor.

The agreement between the governor and the Bishop stipulated that for five years the governor would refrain from any attempt to institute the *encomienda* in Tuzulutlan. Las Casas then arranged for the Dominican monks, unarmed, to go to the Indians of the Land of War and persuade them, under promise of no *encomiendas*, to submit to the sovereignty of the Church and State. Within five years these unconquerable Indians had gathered into little towns, built churches, become Christians, and submitted to the governor of Guatemala. No soldiers, no colonists, and no slave raiders, no *encomiendas* had been concerned in this achievement.¹

There remained, however, the important fact that the monks had gone to the Indians with the point well made that if the Indians did not accept the offers of the monks they would eventually be subdued by the governor and his soldiers who would allot them in *encomiendas*. This fact was taken account of when eventually the monks in the Americas were to devise the mission policy of which we shall later speak in detail.²

While, from 1537 on, the friars under the capable direction of Las Casas were accomplishing these things in Guatemala, the sky was lightening for the enemies of forced labour. Charles was only too glad to find good reason for humanizing the Indian policy he had inherited from his predecessors. Casas' accomplishment in the Land of War served as an inspiration for new steps. Anticipating the end of the temporary agreement with the governor of Guatemala, the Emperor ordered that Tuzulutlan should be forever free from liability to the institution of the *encomienda*, and from every kind of obligatory labour.

In 1538, inspired by the example of Indian amenability in Guatemala, on plea of the Dominicans, the Pope, also, forever forbade all enslavement of Indians, whether taken in a "just" war or not; he declared the Indians to be "men of

¹ Tuzulutlan is now the district of Vera Paz, Guatemala. See Helps: *Las Casas*; and MacNutt: *Las Casas*.

² Below, Chapters 9 and 22.

reason", *Gente con razon*, not mentally infantile and not needing violent constraint to bring them within reach of the education of the Church and state. In the next year, the Tlascalans of Mexico were forever freed from liability to forced labour.

These Tlascalans afford a good example of the humane intentions of the Spanish Crown, and of the honour of the better types of Spanish men. When Cortes landed in Mexico in 1519 the city state of Tlascala, an Aztec or Nahuatl kingdom, was at odds with Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City, the Aztec city state of which Montezuma was king. The Tlascalans welcomed Cortes, hoping to see their enemies destroyed. They accepted the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown. Cortes was successful in large part because of the help of Tlascala. He and the Crown did not forget their moral obligation to the Tlascalans, nor the fact that they had voluntarily accepted the conditions of the Requisition which we have quoted in a previous chapter.

The Tuzulutlan incident satisfied Charles that he could and should take certain steps concerning Tlascala. In 1539 he declared "the republic of Tlascala" under the government of Mexico to have special privileges, which were from time to time enlarged as the natives showed themselves worthy of them. The Tlascalans were not to be allotted in *encomiendas*; they could not be called on to assist in public works outside their own state; their native ruler was to be of the rank and title of governor; this governor could communicate directly with the Crown without the intervention of the viceroy who governed Mexico for the Crown, and so on.¹

THE "NEW LAWS" AS A RESULT

So enthusiastic did the monks and the Emperor become over the demonstrated amenability of the American Indian that the Emperor, on recommendation of several *juntas* called by him for advice, took a fateful step. In 1542 the "New Laws" were enacted. They ordered that no more *encomiendas* should be allotted, and that all those now held should terminate with the death of their holders. How sudden was

¹ On Tuzulutlan see Helps; on Tlascala see the *Recopilacion*, lib. 6, tit. 1, leyes 39-44; also Bernal Diaz, and Camargo: *Historia Tlascala*.

this change in policy may be seen from the fact that as late as 1538 Charles had granted *encomiendas* for two lives !

In justice to the widows and children of the holders of *encomiendas* whose grants had been for two lives, compensation was to be granted them on the death of the grantees and the consequent lapse of the grant. The compensation was to be at the expense of the Crown. In accord with the decree of the Pope, the new laws ordered that in the future no Indian might be held a slave even when taken in a righteous war.

THE REVOLT OF THE VESTED INTERESTS

These regulations were ordered to be promulgated in the Indies and read to the colonists by the governors and mayors, and the clergy of the Indies were to assist in their enforcement. But the vested interests were too strong. The colonists threatened to establish independent states in the Indies. The King and Spain were far away and busy with troubles in Europe. They themselves had conquered these new lands. The claim on Indian labour was their reward. Without the native's labour they could not live or make money. They and their wives and children would become impoverished. They defied the clergy who refused them the sacraments¹ when they would not give up their Indians. Some governors refused to promulgate the new laws. In Peru, there was armed rebellion; and in Mexico a rebellion was in process of organization. Some few years before the *conquistadores* had attempted to set up an independent state in Peru, and the Crown was put to it to conquer the rebels. The task would be too difficult if all the Indies revolted.² The Indian question came near even at this early date in giving rise to the first independent European states in the Americas.³

¹ Compare, likewise, below, p. 125, n. 2.

² Compare the *Collección de documentos*, v. 70, p. 529, for vivid illustration (Sept. 10, 1543) of the colonists' point of view, with the paragraphs heading this chapter.

³ The pending revolutions were, of course, in the name of "liberty". An incident in early Paraguay of about this date is typical of this conflict on the frontier. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (he who had wandered through a part of what is now our United States after being lost from Narvaez's expedition, before the entrance of De Soto) was now governor of Paraguay. He insisted on fair and humane treatment of

Charles was in Flanders, far away from Las Casas' influence. Under threat of revolution in America he revoked his orders concerning *encomiendas*, in 1545. They were unenforceable. Charles was thenceforth content to endeavour to make the system preservative and educational by adequate regulation. He resigned himself to the permanence of the institution. So resigned did he immediately become, in fact, that when, in 1545, emissaries of the *encomenderos* of Peru came with an offer of a gift of from five to seven million ducats to the royal treasury, then much in need of funds, if the Emperor would grant title to the *encomiendas* not for two lives but in perpetuity, thus making the Indians practically chattel slaves, Charles acceded to the request! The order was never given only because the *encomenderos* were never able to get the ducats.¹

THE PERFECTED FORCED-LABOUR SYSTEM

After 1545 the forced-labour policy of the *encomienda* became definitely the official policy of the Crown, and with the conquest of the Philippines in 1565 was put into effect there. (In the Philippines about 1,500,000 natives were commended in 1590, virtually the entire population.)² A radical change in motive and practice, however, was brought about by one regulation and another. The forced-labour policy became also a segregation policy.

Originally the *encomienda* had been devised to bring about

the Indians. He forbade slave raids, and enforced the laws ameliorating the forced labour of the *encomiendas*. For all this he incurred the hatred of the frontiersmen. A revolution resulted. The rebels, all shouting "*Libertad!*", threw the governor in jail, and put in his place a man whom Alvar Nuñez had formerly imprisoned for having struck an Indian chief. Eleven months in the Paraguay prison, and the deposed governor was sent to Spain for trial on charges trumped up by the colonists. In Spain the victim found his accusers arrived ahead of him and whispering in the ear of the King. With a curious, Moorish justice, the Crown put both accused and accusers in jail to await an indefinitely postponed trial. Nuñez, however, was soon out on bail. In eight years all of his accusers had died, and then Nuñez was acquitted, but not restored to his governorship. (See Cunningham Graham.)

¹ Lea.

² Under Spanish "misrule" in the Philippines, the population increased to nearly ten million, more than twenty-five per cent. each fifty years of the occupation, evidence of marked economic improvement. See Barrows; De Morga; and Blair and Robertson; and compare Appendix III.

an intermingling of European and Indian. But experience in the West Indies had shown that this worked for the destruction of the native. The masses of the European colonists were not representative of the best of European culture. They brought disease and strong drink to the native. They broke all the laws designed to protect the native from the influence of the more vicious aspects of European culture. They irritated the native through their offensive, domineering manners and their flagrant dishonesties, and drove the native to despair and revolt. The monks in the Indies were driven to despair, seeing that they could not win the natives to the Christian faith and receptivity to the less material aspect of things European.

To remedy these defects the commended Indians were gradually segregated from contact with all Europeans save their official instructors and guardians, and even these latter were put under a variety of restraints. Indian agents, Protectors of the Indians, were attached to each colonial government to see to the enforcement of laws relating to the Indians, and these were made directly responsible to the Crown. Neither viceroys, Protectors of the Indians, nor any other officials of Church or state nor their wives or children were permitted to hold *encomiendas*. The Crown itself, however, held many, known as the royal *encomiendas*. With better checks on reckless exploitation of the natives the Crown also felt eventually that not only could it make the head tax on natives a charge on the *encomendero*, but it could also take one-third of the *encomendero's* profits.

Every *encomienda*, that is, every group of commended Indians, was to live in a village of its own, under the mayoralty of its own native chief. The *encomendero* was forbidden to reside with them; when they were wanted they came to the plantation or workshop for labour. The *encomendero's* overseer, almost invariably a negro slave or freedman,¹ was forbidden to live with the Indians. Except with special licence the Indians might not be used as household or body

¹ The negroes were the most cruel of the overseers of the Indians. (The negro, once free of the restraint which makes most men tolerable, is as boorish, ill-mannered, and cruel, as members of any other race.) If American negroes often are fine-mannered and decent it is because certain of them as household slaves were taught manners by aristocratic masters.

servants of the master. The master must employ a priest to teach his Indians. No more than three hundred Indians were allowed to one *encomendero*. When an *encomendero* was also owner of the soil, he had to reside on his land, though not with the natives, and be responsible for the defence of the commended natives from the attacks of wild Indian tribes. It was forbidden to give or sell strong drink to the commended Indians; but where there was danger from wild tribes the *encomendero* had to hold in readiness horses and firearms which the Indians were to be taught to use but which must not be left in their possession.

By 1607 many grants of *encomiendas* (made for two lives) were lapsing. The segregation policy was proving itself preservative and educative. Solicitude was felt for the grandchildren of the *conquistadores* to whom the grants had been made. As a consequence, while all grants to be made after 1607 were still to run only for two lives, grants made before 1607 were to be extended to run for two more lives, for four generations after the original grant.

THE END

By 1698 the last grant of *encomienda* had lapsed, and no more were granted. The *encomienda* forced-labour system was considered to have fulfilled its purposes. The day of Spanish expansion in the New World was almost at an end, and inanition and decay had set in in the Old World. Whatever expansion was still to be undertaken was on the part of the missionaries, whose energies continually waxed stronger and who had the favour and interest of the Crown.

As the *encomiendas* expired, those Indian groups who had been left in possession of land were made into secular reservations. Those who had been deprived of land, their land having been granted to the *encomendero*, became free citizens, legally, but to obtain the means of subsistence had to accept the terms of the landowner. They became the Spanish-American peons. The planters generally agreed not to attempt to win over one another's labourers, and, practically, though not legally, the peon was attached to the soil.¹

¹ On the orders effecting segregation of commended Indians see the *Recopilacion*, Lib. 6, tit. 8, leyes 6, 8, 12, 13, 15; tit. 9, leyes 11, 32. On the size of *encomiendas* see *Documentos ineditos*, v. 1, 236.

THE SPANISH FORCED-LABOUR SYSTEM IN BRAZIL

Brazil, neglected by Portugal since its discovery in 1500, was divided up into "*capitanias*" in 1530. These captaincies were territories turned over for exploitation and government to individual feudatories very much after the same fashion as the "proprietary" colonies such as Pennsylvania in English North America. They represent the carrying into America of a feudal principle which had already been used by the Portuguese in the colonization of the uninhabited Azores and by the Spanish in the conquest and colonization of the inhabited Canaries. This establishment of "proprietary colonies", however, in Brazil, is in striking contrast to the method used by Spain in the Americas, already described; and in contrast with the same administrative centralization of operations under the direct control of the Crown used by Portugal in her African and Far Eastern exploitation. In the course of the sixteenth century the *capitanias* were taken from the control of their feudal lords and administered by governors under the Crown.¹ In time they became the coastal states of modern Brazil, at first a New World empire and then a republic. Comparable to the English colonies, their demarcation was made by dividing the coast line and projecting parallel lines back from the limits on the coast westward to the Andes.

The coast of Brazil, because of the passage of cool ocean currents, is healthier than the coast of Africa; yet it is warm and humid and particularly suited to the cultivation of sugar

Some writers dealing with Spanish America make the cardinal error of writing, with reference to the collection of laws, *La Recopilacion*, as if this body of law represents something propounded all at once in 1492 or some other early date before 1545. But the *Recopilacion* is simply a recodification made after the *encomienda* had been polished into a humane system. A glance at the dates of the various laws in the *Recopilacion* will show this; there is not in it a law promulgated before 1544. The *encomienda* pictures for us the segregation forced-labour system which preserved and educated the Indians of the continent, not the earlier experiments which destroyed the Indians of the West Indies.

¹ It was not until 1548 that sugar was introduced into Brazil, brought from Madeira. Immediately Brazilian prosperity was assured, and the Portuguese Crown for the first time became interested in the colony. In 1549 the Crown sent out a viceroy as a superior over all holders of *capitanias*, and the recovery of the rights ceded to these feudal lords in 1530 began apace. (See Southey; and Jeudwine.)



MAP 5.—NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA, SHOWING THE FARTHEST EXTENT OF SPAIN IN AMERICA.

(In North America the numeral (1) indicates the Spanish settlement at Nootka; (2) Nashville, Tennessee, the most northerly point reached by De Soto; (3) the country of the Pawnee, in western Nebraska, reached by Coronado and missionaries; (4) the missions of Guale on the coast of Georgia. Virtually all this shaded area was at one time or another administered by Spain (see Appendix IX). In South America (1) indicates Maranham; (2) Bahia; (3) San Paolo of the Paulistas, all in Portuguese America, long administered by the crown of Spain.)

cane, which was the purpose of its colonization in 1530.¹ The narrow coast is backed by a plateau, as is the coast of Africa, but sugar cultivation drew colonization along the coast rather than to the interior, because it was the coast which was ideally available for sugar; moreover, transportation to and from the interior, before the days of the railroad, was tremendously costly. The population of aboriginal Brazil was much less dense than that of aboriginal negro Africa, so, in time, when the Indian labour supply dwindled and the sugar industry grew, negroes from Angola were imported as a slave labour force. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Brazil is as near the European market as is the coast of negro Africa.

After the Portuguese had established a flourishing sugar industry in Brazil in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch and the French West India Companies attempted to wrest the developed northern coast from the Portuguese, for a time with some success. The Dutch at the same time tried to wrest Angola from the Portuguese, because Angola was then the best source of a labour supply for the Brazilian plantation.

For forty years the settlers in the various *capitanias* had a free rein in dealing with the Indians, unobserved by the Portuguese Crown. Occasional planters won the friendship of Indian tribes and employed the Indians as wage labourers. Generally, however, the planters enslaved the natives. When, as a consequence of war, overwork, smallpox and venereal and other diseases, the native labour force began to disappear, slave raiders went to the interior for slaves, as we have before described. In 1570 the Portuguese Crown, carrying out its policy of bringing Brazil under its personal administration, in accord with the Pope's decree of 1538 forbade all enslavement of Indians. The earlier settled portions of the coast through the importation of negro slaves then became veritable negro lands.² But throughout the seventeenth century

¹ Compare the observations by Nieuhuis.

² East Indians from Portuguese India, be it noted, were also imported into Brazil and mingled with the negro slaves as an addition to the ancestral stock of the modern very-mixed Brazilian. (Compare this to the recent importation of Javanese and Hindus into modern British and Dutch Guiana and the island of Trinidad.)

By 1675 Bahia in particular was negro—twenty negroes to one white ! And to-day it is still dominantly negroid.

the northern parts still had a large reservoir of natives who could be made to furnish labour more cheaply than the costly negroes.

THE "ADMINISTRATION" SYSTEM

From 1580 to 1640 Brazil was administered by Spain, Portugal during that period being united to Spain under the one Crown.

In 1611, in response to the cry of the Jesuits in Brazil that the Indians were still being enslaved, the Spanish Crown considered the Indian question there. The result was the adaptation of the *encomienda* policy to Brazilian conditions. The institution was called the *administracoens dos aldeas dos Indios*, "the administration of the villages of the Indians".

Under the new system each Indian group was to retain intact its village life and government. (The villages were called, in the Portuguese, *aldeas*.) The village site, however, was to be the property of some planter. The Indians were to be accounted freemen, and were to work for wages. But they were landless, and were obliged by law to work for the planter whose land they lived on. This planter might sell his land; in such case the Indians were obliged to labour for the new landowner. The wages of the Indians were to be determined by collective bargaining; negotiations would be carried on between the planter and the Indian agents of the government.

The laws of 1611 aimed at the civilization of the natives. Labour was scarce on the coast, and Indians were plentiful in the interior. It was therefore provided that civilian officials were to be appointed to go with bands of soldiers into the interior, describe to the Indians the advantages of living and working on the coast where they would have all the good things of European life, and persuade them to settle in *aldeas* on the coast. These peaceful missions, with the soldiers going along only to protect the agent, were rather successful. The officials mentioned, when returning to the coast with Indians, would become the administrators (Indian agent) for the *aldeas* they formed, one agent to an *aldea*. He would have assisting him a friar or priest to teach the Indians.

Manifestly the *administracoen* system, though historically a revision of the *encomienda* system, with the same motives and objects and having much the same effect, is in form quite different in many important respects. The *encomienda* is one of the world's unique types of labour organization; its progeny, the *administracoen*, is equally unique in its way. Conceivably both systems might be applied with good effect to labour anywhere and everywhere, though, of course, it is not likely that they ever will. Yet we may note that the idea of collective bargaining is nearly universal in dealing with industrial labour to-day.

The *administracoen* system suffered from maladministration. The Indian agents were greedy exploiters in league with the planters. Instead of persuading interior tribes to settle on the coast, raids were directed against the interior Indians and they were brought in by force, like so many slaves. The secular priests assisting the agents were corrupt.

PORTUGUESE MODIFICATIONS

The agitation of the Jesuits led by Vieyra attracted the attention of the Portuguese Crown when Portugal in 1640 again became a distinct nation with its own sovereign. The Portuguese Crown was possessed of as sensitive a Christian conscience as was that of Spain; and on delicate questions was advised by an official Board of Conscience, made up of unconscientious men who generally merely salved the conscience of their sovereign.

In 1655 the Great Junta in Lisbon gave ear to the Jesuits. The Indian policy was somewhat revised. Religious and civil officials were forbidden to receive control of *aldeas*. The Indians were to be obliged to sell their labour only for two months out of every four. Wages were to be paid in advance. In each *capitania* there was to be appointed a Protector of the Indians responsible not to the governor, but directly responsible to the Crown. He was to supervise the agents in the *aldeas*. New *aldeas* were to be formed by Indians from the interior as before, but every embassy to the interior must be accompanied by a Jesuit who would see to it that the Indians should not be coerced. Incidentally the regulations of 1655 gave a monopoly of mission activity

in Brazil to the Jesuits; the other missionary orders in Brazil had proven themselves corrupt.

The Jesuits saw to it that the Indians were no longer exploited. Moreover, they organized many thousands of Indians in mission villages, *misiones* or *reducciones* (reductions), and mission Indians could not be made to labour for colonists. The result was war upon the Jesuits by the colonists. The dramatic Jesuit priest, Vieyra, defied the colonists in the matter of Indian exploitation. He likewise fought against the further introduction of negro slaves, but in despair, in 1661, he was recommending the increased importation of negroes to relieve the pressure for the enslavement of the Indians, just as more than a century before under similar circumstances Las Casas had urged the same.

In 1661 the settlers of Maranhão, the northern province with the largest available supply at that date of Indian labour, revolted. Maranhão, and repeatedly the *capitanias*, expelled the Jesuits. The Crown, impotent, gave supervision of Indian affairs to monks of several orders, taking it out of the hands of the Jesuits. In a few years the Jesuits were back in the saddle again, and in another few years were expelled again by various *capitanias*.

Despite some abuse, the *administracoen* system in Brazil, like the *encomienda* system in Spanish America, worked for the preservation and education of the Indians. In the northern regions where there were still numerous Indians at the time it was put into effect, Indian rather than negro blood is dominant in the population. During the twenty-five years that the Dutch controlled northern Brazil they used the *administracoen* system, a striking fact when we consider the contrasting nature of the Dutch Indian policy in North America.¹

¹ Southey's *History of Brazil*, though old, is not yet superseded as a reliable study based on original sources. The above facts have been elicited from v. 1, Chapters 1, and 2, 9 and 30; and pp. 241, 269, 271, 294, 307, 397-398, 411, 506; and v. 2, pp. 141, 452, seq., 494-508, 529. Cf. Oliveira-Lima, p. 18.

The Jesuits were repeatedly driven out of the *capitanias* as follows: Bahia, 1610; Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1640; Pará and Maranhão, 1661; and again by Maranhão, in 1684. In 1759 they were expelled from all Portuguese dominions as a result of Old World politics, not for their humane work in Brazil. See Pastels, v. 1, 196.

CHAPTER IX

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS: FROM CANADA TO PARAGUAY

" . . . Men of our order, seeking out savages for God and Catholic King. . . ."—FATHER DOBRIZHOFFER, 1745.

" We fired three guns; and sang Te Deum. . . ."—FATHER HENNEPIN, 1681.¹

MISSIONERS ON OLD WORLD FRONTIERS

CHRISTIAN missionaries played a considerable part in the spread of culture in Europe in the days when Germans, Slavs, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians were largely pagan. Irish monks kept learning alive in the British Isles during the period of the Anglo-Saxon and Norse invasions, and passed it on again in their missionary activities in Scotland and England; Irish monks were likewise particularly active in bringing culture and educational organization to the court of Charlemagne, and our university organization even in modern America as a result of their influence still is markedly like the educational structure of the ancient Irish bardic organization.²

Boniface and other English missionaries on the Saxon-Slav frontier in the twelfth century carried on missionary activities and missionary organization strangely similar to that of the missionaries of the Catholic Church among the Indians.³

Christian missionary activities towards the alleviation of the bitterness and cruelty of frontiers does not stand alone, for while Boniface was on the Slav frontier, humane Buddhist missionaries were carrying on exactly similar methods of peacefully disseminating civilization to the Ainus across the Japanese-Ainu frontier.⁴

In Europe, with the Renaissance came something of a

¹ Dobrizhoffer: *Abipones*; and Hennepin: *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 1681, p. 199. (On Father Hennepin, incidentally, see new data in Froideaux.)

² MacNeille: *Celtic Ireland*.

³ Thompson: *German Colonization*.

⁴ Bishop.

decay in missionary activity. Then came the Reformation of a few decades after the opening of the American frontier, and a counter-reformation within the mother Church of Christianity. In the eyes of the Roman Church Europe again required missionaries to convert it; and besides, the East and the West Indies were calling to the Church.

LAS CASAS, THE GREAT DOMINICAN, AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Missionary interest in America came with the arrival of the Dominicans in Haiti and Cuba in 1510. While there they enlisted the Franciscans in a campaign for the protection of the Indians, and they converted Las Casas, who forever stands out as one of the greatest figures in the history of our frontier.

Las Casas, when twenty-eight years old, had come to America with his father in one of Columbus' caravels in 1502. His father became a holder of a *repartimiento* or labour gang of Indians in Haiti. Las Casas was then a licentiate. In 1510 he took holy orders and in that year with a layman partner, De Rentera, took a labour gang or *encomienda* in Cuba. When the Dominican fathers preached, this Cuban priest and *encomendero* scoffed at them. But in that very same year while on a business trip to Jamaica he stopped for a lenten retreat in the Franciscan monastery there, and in his meditations came to feel that the forced-labour system was destructive of the natives and therefore wrong.

Returning to Cuba he convinced his secular partner of the same thing, and both of them voluntarily surrendered their claim on the labour of the village of Indians which they held in *encomienda*. They sold their goods and paid passage out of the sums received for Las Casas to go to Spain and plead with the King to abolish the forced-labour system. In 1522 Las Casas became a Dominican.

He became the Dominicans' debater and pleader in Indian affairs and always held the favour of the sovereign. He was eloquent and a brilliant writer, and was involved in controversies which held the attention of all Spaniards interested in Indian affairs. The most memorable attack upon his theses against the morality and right of the forced-labour

system was that by Sepulveda about the time Charles was prepared to abolish the *encomienda*. Sepulveda attempted to prove Las Casas treasonable or heretical in his thought and expressions. But so much did the court admire the honesty and brilliance of Las Casas that Sepulveda's work was suppressed in Spain!¹

But, as we have pointed out, in our previous two chapters, despite the court's willingness to give ear to them, the missionaries at first had no means of proving that the forced-labour system was not necessary to effect the civilization and conversion of the Indians. They had no definite counter-programme. Ferdinand in 1512, upon hearing of the evils of forced labour, said to a leading Dominican in all seriousness and honesty: "Father, take upon yourself the charge of remedying them. You will thereby be rendering me a good service. I will order adopted whatever you decide upon." The Dominican merely observed: "It is not my profession to meddle in such an arduous matter. I beseech Your Highness not to command me."² Later, when Ximenes gave the Jeronymites a free hand, they too found themselves without a substitute for the *encomienda* system.

By 1536, however, the Dominicans, who had established a monastery in Venezuela, devised a new plan. They wanted to found a state in Venezuela which would be under the administration of the monks. The King was willing but the plan was nipped in the bud by wars between the slavers and the Indians in Venezuela. Then came the successful conversion by the Dominicans of the Guatemalan province of Tuzulutlan, and the emancipation forever of the Tlascalans.

During these years Las Casas was full of fevered activity and the monks coöperated with him. They felt that they had proved the system of forced labour unnecessary for the

¹ MacNutt; Helps. On the Sepulveda controversy see especially Lea, p. 152, seq. The controversy continued from 1547 to 1550. In 1552 Las Casas by request of the official Council of the Indies wrote his *Tratado*, enumerating the sufferings of the Indians under the *encomienda* system, and attempting to prove that all Spaniards who persisted in holding *encomiendas* were by that fact in mortal sin and incapable of absolution until they gave up their grants! See also Las Casas' letter, 1535, in *Collecion de documentos*, v. 77, pp. 464-486; and Fabie's *Vida*, in *Abid*, v. 70. On Las Casas' bibliography see Waldman's rather excellent *Americana*.

² Helps: *Conquest*, v. 1, p. 241. Citation from Wright, p. 142.

education of the natives and continued their efforts towards its abolishment. The result was Charles' attempt in the New Laws of 1542 to abolish it, and the failure of this attempt because of the threat of revolution on the part of those in the Indies who profited from the system.

At this opportune moment of history in the midst of their despair came great inspiration to Las Casas, who now retired from active affairs to become a historian, and to all the monks in the Indies, in the rise of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) organized by Loyola in 1539, and recognized by the Pope in 1543. They brought a new enthusiasm, intelligence, and determination into missionary activity, and immediately became ascendant in missionary affairs. In 1549 Jesuits entered Brazil, and in the same year certain Dominicans consulted with Las Casas and immediately were off to Florida.

THE NEW AIMS OF THE MISSIONARIES

The failure of the New Laws had taught the monks that there was no use longer to seek to free Indians already in the bondage of the existing forced-labour system. They turned their eyes instead to the millions of Indians as yet unsubdued by Spain or Portugal. They would compete with the *conquistadores* for the control and guardianship of these as yet wild pagans. They had the promise of the King that whatever wild Indians they could win over to accept the sovereignty of the Crown would never be turned over to the colonists, that the missionaries should administer the villages of their neophyte Indians.¹ No enterprise in the world's history was ever more vast in its ambitions; and none so vast was ever carried on against larger odds, or with more intelligence, heroism, and energy.

The *conquistadores* were often men of noble blood; so were the monks. The monks had the same vaulting spirit. Many of them were learned men, but not pedants. Like Fonseca, they were able administrators, but they were humane. The tale of their adventures as explorers and as *conquistadores* of souls in the jungles and in the plains and deserts is as moving and vivid a narrative, as full of the heroic, as that of

¹ See the *Recopilacion*, lib. 6, tit. 3, leyes 5 and 15 (1560 and 1588); tit. 5, ley 33 (1538); and in the same *liber*, tit. 5, ley 3 (1607).

the quests of the men of blood and iron in the Americas. It forms a vivid picture which is inseparable from the medieval background to which it belongs. It is a pity that the average American knows so little of their marvellously interesting romance. In our treatment we must confine ourselves here chiefly to the political and economic aspects of their work and select our data accordingly.

FLORIDA AND GEORGIA, 1549-1745

Before the first Dominicans reached Florida in 1549, De Narvaez and De Soto had vainly attempted to conquer there. De Soto had for three years or more with a large army¹ ravaged the territory which is now our southern states, marching through Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, going as far north as Memphis, Tennessee; but he met death and his army met destruction. The first missionaries in 1549 likewise met death and failure,² and until 1565 when the *conquistador* De Aviles pacified Florida, missionary activity was impossible.

De Aviles, conqueror or "pacifier" of Florida, was a humane and wise sort of conqueror. He did little fighting and that only when it was absolutely necessary. By persuasion, backed by the threat of force when necessary, he

¹ De Soto entered Florida with 1500 European men and one Spanish woman, wife of one of the officers; 350 horses, many Indian servants, a large drove of hogs for food, and wheat flour and wine for the sacrament. Very early they lost the wheat flour and had to have the form of mass known as the "dry mass" thenceforth, no communion or consecration, a council of the accompanying priests deciding that corn flour would not do. About forty men out of the more than 1500 survived and arrived in a deplorable condition finally at the Panuco River in Mexico. De Soto's priests made no baptisms or attempts at conversion, the expedition then being considered explorative and preliminary to a definitive conquest. (See Garcilasso, book 3, chapter 5.) I may say here that while De Biedma's and Elva's accounts of De Soto's expedition are useful, Garcilasso's account is basic. Garcilasso has been much maligned; American historians and ethnologists have heretofore insisted in seeing only crude savagery in North America, and have not been able to see Garcilasso's story through their tinted spectacles. Garcilasso's authenticity is supportable anew every day that we learn more from archæology and historical research as to the facts about the pre-European culture of North America.

² The Dominican pioneer, Fray Luis Cancer, had been associated with Las Casas in Tuzulutlan. The Dominicans of 1549 sailed for Florida from Vera Cruz, Mexico, in an unarmed vessel, with no soldiers. Most of them lost their lives. (See Brinton: *Florida*; and Lowery.)

won over the Indian tribes. In order to win the Calusas he himself married the sister of the chief of the tribe! He did not use his power to introduce the *encomienda* forced-labour system. Instead, he encouraged the establishment of missions.¹ Mission activity spread up the coast of what is now the southeastern United States, but was chiefly influential in what is now our state of Florida and the southern portion of Georgia.

Due to the urgent demand for missionaries in many fields, mission establishment was slow in Florida even after De Aviles' pacification. Jesuits began the work in 1565. In 1592 twelve Franciscans were sent out to work parallel with them. From 1606 the missions grew more rapidly. In 1606 there were only six thousand mission Indians. In 1608 there were ten thousand Christianized, with two thousand pagan Indians living in the missions under instruction. In 1612 thirty-two more Franciscans came to Florida. In 1617 there were sixteen thousand Indians in the missions; but in that year, eight thousand, one-half of the total population, died of smallpox.

In 1633 the missions spread to the Apalatchee Indians—cousins of the Creeks—in northwestern Florida, and in the course of the century the whole Apalatchee confederacy was converted and established in prosperous mission villages, each with its stone church. By 1649 Florida was so Christian and so prosperous that the King was considering erecting it into a bishopric. In 1676 twenty-four additional Franciscans were supplied.

During all this period the Bishop of Cuba was the virtual ruler of Florida, and the garrison of Spanish soldiers located at St. Augustine was at the beck and call of the monks in the missions. No European immigration to Florida was permitted; no colonists were sent out. Florida was to be forever a land of Christian Indians. The Church bore one-half the expense of maintaining the small garrison of soldiers for the protection of the missionaries from disaffected or wild tribes; and this garrison could never be used for conquest.²

¹ On Aviles, consult only Ruidiaz' complete documentary collection.

² See Ruidiaz; Brinton; Swanton: *Creeks*; Lowery: *Spanish Settlements*; Dickenson. Bartram: *Travels*, 1791, pp. 99, 144, 184, describes beautiful, ruined avenues and mounds which in some cases apparently are ruined missions.

THE SLAVE-RAIDERS OF CAROLINA DESTROY THE
MISSIONS OF GEORGIA AND FLORIDA

Statistics are not available on the population and wealth of all the districts of Florida in the days of its greatest prosperity about the year 1680. Those available, however, some of which we have already given, suggest that the state of the Florida missions compares favourably with that of California in the eighteenth century.

Soon these achievements were to be destroyed. The first attacks were made upon the missions of what is now the coast of Georgia, then Spanish mission territory. This coast was the home of the Guale Indians; behind them were the Yamasee or Altamaha, whom De Soto visited in April of 1540; and further inland on the piedmont were the Creek Indians. These three peoples were all of kindred linguistic stock; each was a political consolidation of tribes. Below them on the coast were the Timucua tribes of Florida; north, on the Carolina coast, were the Cusabo tribes. Only the Timucua and Guale tribes were Christianized.

Shortly after 1565 Spanish Jesuits had laboured in vain in Guale. In 1587 the Franciscans took over their work. In 1597 the natives broke out in armed revolt against Spanish control and a desultory warfare was conducted for five years, after which permanent peace was assured. In 1655, on this Georgia coast there were four mission villages with churches. They each had names beautiful in their combination of Spanish with Indian. There were San Buenaventura de Boadalquivi; Santo Domingo de Talaje; San Josef de Tapala; and Santa Catarina de Guale. By 1680 in addition there appears on record the mission town of Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato.

It was just about 1670 that a tribe of Indians from the North, probably driven from the vicinity of the "mound-builder" area by Iroquois ravages, was seeking new homes and booty, in the already partly depopulated regions of the Carolinas. On their way south one band in 1655 had invaded Virginia, had given the English a struggle, and had slain the heir of Powhatan and one hundred of his men. These were the cannibal Yuchi Indians. Soon they had done much damage to the missions of the Georgia coast, but the missions

held out until with the Yuchi came southward English slave-raiders from the Carolinas, with Creek Indian auxiliaries.

It is first in 1680 that we read of their activity. In that year three hundred Creek, Cherokee, and Yuchi warriors, led by several English slavers and traders, who furnished their Indian auxiliaries with shotguns and instruction in their use, came down upon the missions. The Spanish mission Indians had no firearms and were defenceless against them.

So we read of such incidents as the raid by the Yamasee under Carolinian English stimulus, when in 1685 they plundered the missions of Santa Catalina, carried off the furnishings of the church and convent of San Francisco, "burned the town, inflicted grievous death on many Indians", and carried back the prisoners to South Carolina for enslavement. In that year Santa Catalina was abandoned and the remnant of its inhabitants removed.

After many such attacks the Spaniards, unable to garrison the Georgia coast and protect the missions, in 1688 transported the remnants of the coast missions to the region of St. Augustine in Florida, where they could have the protection of the firearms of the small Spanish garrison there.¹

COLONEL MOORE DESTROYS APALATCHEE

Invasion by slave-raiding Creeks and Yuchi reached down even into the peninsula. But the missions of West Florida, the "province" of Apalatchee, the most fruitful and flourishing of the missions, were not seriously injured until the outbreak of war between England and Spain. For several years the Carolinians instigated the powerful Creek Confederacy to raid the missions, promising to buy all captives as slaves. In 1704 came the culmination of the destruction with the expedition of Colonel Moore of Carolina.

The Carolinians were particularly grieved by Spanish control of Florida because Florida offered a haven for runaway slaves. Any slave from foreign regions became free on reaching Florida.² It is a fact, of course, that it was politi-

¹ On these facts see Swanton: *Creeks*; and for further information see below, p. 255. On the Yuchi attack on Virginia see below, p. 247.

² See Ley 5, tit. 2, lib. 3, 1550 A.D., of the *Recopilacion*, and below, pp. 306-307.

cally desirable for Carolina to end Spain's control of Florida; but it is certain also that the ruthless destruction of native mission civilization there was unnecessary and criminal, and that it was done by people whose only immediate motive was slave-raiding.

Moore, with an army of only fifty English volunteers—whose pay was to be their plunder—and one thousand Creek Indians, advanced on the Apalatchee mission villages of northern Florida and of what is now southern Georgia. Each of these Indian mission villages possessed a stone church and bell tower, extensive cultivated fields, and good fortifications—all developed by the Indians under the tuition of the monks.

By royal edict the mission Indians had been forbidden the use of firearms; they had to fight the Creeks, armed with English guns, with their hopelessly inadequate bows and arrows. Only thirty Spanish soldiers, under the control and command of the missionaries, were available for the defence of the whole of the “province of Apalatchee”.

The result was the wiping out of the budding civilization of Apalatchee, and the reversion of the country to wilderness—in which, however, in Bartram's day the ruins of the beautiful old churches were still visible in the semi-tropical forests. The English and Creeks deliberately slew six thousand head of cattle, horses, and sheep; and slew and took prisoners from six to seven thousand of the Indians of the missions. The Creek auxiliaries were permitted by the English to burn at the stake fourteen mission Indians *and three Franciscan fathers*.¹ The remnants of the natives of the missions were scattered.

Moore and his Carolinians took fourteen hundred captives. Thirteen hundred of these, however, had surrendered without resistance, and according to Moore's orders from the government these could not be made slaves; Moore and his men then had only one hundred captives available for the slave market. The thirteen hundred were colonized near Charleston, where in 1715 they joined the Yamasee in a war on the Carolinians, and thereupon disappeared from history.

But thirty-five hundred captives had been taken by the Creeks! These plainly were purchased as slaves for the

¹ De Bienville, in Swanton: *Creeks*, p. 123; compare below, p. 399.

Carolina rice and indigo plantations, and for sale to the northern colonies as far north as Massachusetts—where we shall meet them in our next chapter.¹ By 1745 all the mission villages and their stone churches were woodland ruins. All the Christianized aborigines of Georgia and Florida were wiped out, and their places were being taken by pagan Creek immigrants from the north.

LOWER CALIFORNIA: 1680-1765

By 1686 the Jesuits had for some years been working in the unconquerable and unsettled peninsula of Lower California.² In 1686 the viceroy in Mexico City offered the Jesuits temporal as well as spiritual control of the peninsula because they had “with less expense effected more than any armed body of men that ever visited the peninsula. . . .” The last military expedition into the peninsula had cost the equivalent of \$225,000, and effected nothing.³ The viceroy felt that he could well afford to allow the Jesuits forty thousand dollars per annum with which they could purchase initial equipment for the missions, hire soldiers of their own for defence, and so on. The subsidy, however, appears never to have been paid, and the Jesuits depended largely on private donations. In 1700 they pleaded for financial assistance from the Crown; the viceroy then offered them one thousand dollars. This they politely declined “because this amount was too small for the needs of the missions, yet it would, nevertheless, cause benefactors to discontinue further assistance”.⁴

It was pearl fishing which had worked the ruin of Las Casas' plans for the Dominican mission state in Venezuela, away back in 1537. There was pearl fishing also on the coast of

¹ See below, p. 302.

² The southern, or peninsular, California development began a little later than the missionizing of the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, northern Mexico, and Texas, but thenceforth ran parallel with those developments. In 1680 the revolt led by Pope in the Pueblos drove the missionaries out of New Mexico. The missions of Texas, however, prospered. On the earliest Pueblo missions see the excellent (but undocumented) outline of Prince; for much later days, Maas (whose collection of *Viajes* is from the Seville archives, and includes vital and other statistics for 1786-1788, with map). On Texas missions see Bolton, and A. E. Hughes.

³ Engelhardt, v. 1, 71, 75-76, 78; Blackmar, p. 78.

⁴ Engelhardt, v. 1, 81, 87-88.

Lower California. The Jesuits were afraid of its development. They obtained an order from the Crown that there should be no organized pearl fishing there; and no buying or selling of pearls. The Indians might dive for pearls for themselves as individuals; few did. The Jesuits themselves feared to develop the industry even for the profit of the missions. The early hostility to the Jesuits in the peninsula arose from the desire of colonists and capitalists to get at these pearl fisheries.

The unselfish interest of the Spanish Crown in the welfare of the Indians is illustrated in the fact that in 1719 private interests offered eighty thousand dollars to the Crown treasury in exchange for control of the peninsula and the right to exploit the pearl waters. Despite the fact that the missions returned not a cent of profit to the Crown, and were something of an expense, the offer was refused. This is no isolated instance of the Crown's sincerity.¹

Subsequent viceroys of Mexico turned greedy eyes upon the peninsula when the Jesuits finally pacified and missionized the wild tribes there. They repeatedly suppressed royal decrees favouring the Jesuits.² About 1750, miners slipped into the region, bringing syphilis to the Indians. Hoping to cheat the Indians out of their property they stirred them up to discontent with the paternalism of the mission rule, urging them to demand a discontinuance of communism in property and the right to roam about at will and to trade without restriction. This had the effect of unsettling the morale of the missions, for the missionaries, knowing the danger, refused such requests.³

The Jesuits themselves drew no salaries; they had no families to support, no heirs to provide for. They laboured severely themselves. Men of culture as they were, many of them of the nobility, they were willing to put much mission energy and funds into the erection of beautiful village centres, the mission churches. Only the most vulgar utilitarian can condemn them for this. They organized the economy of the older missions so that there was a surplus available from these for the financing of expansion, the creation of and temporary subsidy of new missions. The Catholic missions in America generally paid their own way once they were assisted in their

¹ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 89, 145, 162.

² *Ibid.*, v. 1, 118, 165.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 131-132, 265-266.

initial operations. They did not make the Indians charity wards; they taught them to labour and to produce; to grow their own food; to build their beautiful churches with the labour of their own hands.¹

Despite the handicap of diseases brought from Mexico, the Lower California missions prospered. The non-agricultural wild tribes were made stock-raisers and farmers. Expansion into what is now our state of California was contemplated.

In 1765 the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish dominions as a result of political difficulties in Europe. The Franciscans took their place in California. The government took control of administrative and economic matters, however, from the hands of the missionaries; in one year the secularization nearly ruined the missions, however, and the Franciscans were given the civil power in California which the Jesuits had held.²

CALIFORNIA, 1769-1848

Within four years the Franciscans reached up into what is now the California of the United States. By 1823 they had built missions up to and including San Francisco, twenty-three mission villages in all. In 1773 they turned the missions of the lower peninsula over to the Dominicans, confining their efforts to the newer territory in the north.³

The Indians of California were not agriculturists. They were hunters of wild animal and vegetable food, living in the crudest huts. The Franciscans turned them into relatively prosperous, relatively civilized, farmers and agriculturists.⁴

The California missions not only were self-supporting but produced a surplus for expansion. This was so despite the facts that after about the year 1800 the colonial Mexican government, later the empire, and then the republic, of Mexico, ruthlessly robbed them in one way and another, and that governmental interference with the civil administration of the Franciscans weakened the morale of the missions and spread disease.

Between 1800 and 1819 these Upper California missions

¹ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 93, 99, 101-102, 106, 128, 129; also v. 3, 41-47.

² On the experiments in secularization and break-up of the mission communism by Galvez, agent of the Crown, see Engelhardt, v. 1, pp. 306 seq., 317, 371-372, 325. On Galvez and his work see Priestly.

³ Engelhardt, v. 1, 325.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 3, 194, 339-340.

(only twenty-three villages with twenty thousand Indians !) were called upon to give up to the military, which was now virtually out of the control of the missionaries and doing them more harm than good, commodities to the value of about four hundred thousand dollars; and besides had to furnish much labour gratis to the military and to the settlers which Mexico was now permitting to enter. Yet in this period of exploitation the population of the missions slightly increased (five per cent.); and their wealth in cattle and sheep increased about twenty per cent.

So that in 1819 to each family of five in the missions there was on the average thirty-eight cattle, forty sheep, and one horse. In their fields these Indians, who not long since were primitive hunters, produced to the family of five, eighteen bushels of wheat, six bushels of barley, seven and one-half bushels of corn, and large quantities of cotton, hemp, grapes, olives, vegetables, etc. In 1834, with a mission population including pagan Indians dwelling under instruction in the villages, there were left only fifteen thousand Indians; still they had 424,000 head of cattle, 6,200 horses and mules, 321,000 sheep, goats, and hogs; and extensive orchards, vineyards, workshops, dwellings and other buildings; and in that year they produced 122,000 bushels of wheat and other grains.

In 1908 there were only three thousand of these one-time prosperous tribes left ! and these were in wretched poverty !

The decline began with the weakening of the power of the Crown in Mexico. In 1822 Mexico became a kingdom under the Emperor Iturbide; in 1825 the nation became a-republic. The rulers of the new nation endeavoured to secularize the missions and allot their lands and property to the mission Indians. They stirred up the Indians against the rigid but wise paternalism of the monks. The soldiery irritated the natives and angered them to revolt against the military.¹ The mission Indians often fled to their compatriots in the wilderness. They had been forbidden the use of horses save for ploughing and traction by the missionaries; now they learned to ride and took to horseback marauding, giving up their

¹ In 1824, with their bows and arrows, the Indians of three missions (only) revolted against military oppression (see account in Engelhardt, v. 3, p. 194 seq.).

settled life.¹ They raided the stock of colonists and the military posts. They killed and ate their own stock.²

In 1845 Pio Pico made himself governor of California and defied the Mexican government, which was attempting by this time to stem the tide of disintegration. Pio Pico planned to take most of the mission lands and put the mission Indians on barren reservations.³ Before he could carry all his plans into effect there came the influx of Anglo-Saxons from the United States, the acquisition of California and what is now our Southwest by the United States from Mexico, and the discovery of gold in California with the rush of massacring miners.

The fifteen thousand or so of Indians who were still left in 1848 in their villages could have been brought back to their old stability and progress. But the United States government herded them onto barren reservations which were continually encroached upon; left them to their own resources to decline in prosperity and to decline in numbers.

Naturally, with the decline of the old missions came an end to expansion. Under the United States those of the remaining 20,000 or so of as yet "wild" Indians in the rest of California who survived the wholesale massacres of the 'forty-niners were herded into reservations and left to shift for themselves as best they could, there to rot and die in ignorance and

¹ The object of the missionaries was to prevent the development of equestrianism among the Indians with results possible such as the effect of the horse in the culture of the Plains Indians of the United States and of the Pampas Indians of the Argentine. Horses and horsemen were necessary for the care of the mission herds, but only the special, trusted *vaqueros* were permitted to learn to ride. "By a useful edict," says Dobrizhoffer, "we took care to prevent the Guaranis from possessing horses, to deprive them of the dangerous opportunity of wandering" (Dobriz., v. 1, p. 245). (Compare statistics above, pp. 112, 115.) Governor Sola of California in 1818 complained that "the neophytes, as well as the wild Indians were becoming too expert horsemen" (Engelhardt, v. 3, p. 28). The easiest way to reach an appraisal of the evil effect of the horse in the life of the American Indian is to compare the equestrian Abipones and the horseless Guaranis of the missions, vividly contrasted, for example, in Dobrizhoffer's narratives. Compare also Wissler: *Horse*, and Wills: *Hidatsa*.

² On the causes and effects of this disturbance of the peace of the missions see Engelhardt, v. 1, Chapters 8 and 9; also v. 1, pp. 136-138, 304; v. 3, pp. 28, 31-34, 112, 136-137, 239-242, 340, 343; and v. 4, p. 107.

³ Engelhardt, v. 1, Sec. 4, Chapter 9; v. 3, pp. 239, 339-340; v. 4, sec. 1, chapter 3; sec. 2, chapter 7, and pp. 7, 109, 339; and v. 3, pp. 35-37, 47-51, 66-67. Engelhardt's work is profitable, but laborious and difficult to use without references.

disease, so that to-day where they might under a wise policy be hundreds of thousands there are but several thousand.¹

PARAGUAY, 1609-1765

The greatest achievement of the Jesuit missionaries was in the area now covered by Paraguay in South America, including the adjacent regions of Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina, administered by the government of Buenos Ayres. Preceded in this area by the Franciscans,² who here as in Brazil, were never anything but corrupt and inert, the Jesuits began missionary operations in 1609.³ In 1614, 119 Jesuit missionaries were in action. They were checked by the slaveraiding of the Paulistas or Mamelukos of Brazil until in 1639 the Crown permitted them to arm the mission Indians with firearms for their own protection.⁴

But from 1639 on they were hindered in their work by the demand of the Buenos Ayres government which called for labour from the missions for the erection of fortifications, and for mission Indians to act as soldiers in the defence of the Buenos Ayres region against the Brazilians across the Rio de la Plata. This was an economic drain, and the returning mission soldiers brought disease and sophistication back with them to the missions.⁵

¹ On the mission period see also James, Chapman, Maas, Krmpotic, Herve; and Simpson: *Journey Round the World*, p. 217.

² See, for example, the *Breve Relacion* of Torres Bollo, 1603. This little book was translated into many European languages and was very influential in inspiring clergy and laymen to become missionaries in that early day. In this father's day there were already a few Jesuits as teachers in the few city schools of Paraguay and Tucuman. In 1605 Torres Bollo was made provincial of the Jesuits of Chile and Paraguay. Further, on the initiation of the Jesuit plans of a few years later see principally Pastels, v. 1, pp. 47, 1602-1609.

³ Cunninghamhame Graham, Chapter 4, and pp. 100, 108; and Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, p. 162. The former tells the interesting story of the Franciscan monk, Cardenas, who became Bishop of Paraguay in 1638 and who seriously and deliberately annoyed the Jesuits. Cardenas became rich by having well-to-do dying Indian chiefs will him all their property.

⁴ Father de Mendoza was sent from the missions to Spain to request the Crown to permit the use of firearms in the missions. To support his plea (1639) he wrote the two hundred page tract entitled *Conquista espiritual*. He himself had established three *reducciones* or mission villages and here describes his own and others' work.

⁵ Cunninghamhame Graham, Chapter 4; Pastels; also documents in J. A. Garcia and R. Levillier. Compare data for the Brazilian missions in Southey, v. 1, pp. 405, 448.

In 1763 the Jesuits were expelled by order of the Crown and their work was ended. Beginning with nothing, virtually without aid from the Crown or the colonists, raided by Brazilian slavers, scoured by attacks of several European diseases, exploited by Buenos Ayres, they numbered some thirty rich and prosperous missions with 140,000 Indian population, largely of the Guaraní race and language.¹ To each family of five in the villages there were thirty-five head of cattle, two oxen, two horses, seven sheep; and vast acreage of wheat fields, of orchards, and of fields of the *herba mate* which had been domesticated by the Jesuits and was grown for export as a means of paying for the European goods imported by the missions.²

Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits the missions were made into secular reservations. Inefficiency and dishonesty on the part of the agents soon ruined them. Says Doblas: "The Jesuits were skilful, moderate and economical. . . . The secular governors and the administrators appointed by them besides not having the intelligence of the Jesuit fathers, regarded the goods of the communities as a mine which they might be allowed to work but a short time. It is not strange therefore that the communities were impoverished."³

The missions fell into ruins and their bell towers were swallowed up by the forest. Their inhabitants disappeared from the missions. But they were by this time civilized and Christianized, having been for more generations than were the California Indians under the training of the missionaries; they did not turn back to savagery⁴ but settled in freedom outside

¹ The population of the Spanish cities in old Argentina was largely Indian and partly meztizo. In 1612, Buenos Ayres had 20,000 population; Santiago del Estero, 86,000; Cordova, 60,000; Santa Fe, 25,000; San Miguel, 10,000. (Pastels, v. 1, p. 212.)

This was during the first decade of the settlement of Virginia, and while the "Pilgrims" were still ill at ease in Europe.

See also the excellent map for 1752 in Pastels, v. 2; and statistics on the freeing of civilized commended Indians in *ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 98-99, 1675; and on slave and free Indians and negroes in *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 52.

² Cunninghame Graham, pp. 8-9, 171; Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, pp. 222, 246; compare Salas, pp. 98-99.

³ Doblas, p. 19.

⁴ Cunninghame Graham and others in describing the decline of the missions of Paraguay leave the very misleading impression that the Indians reverted to savagery. The missionaries' work (as in California) was too well done for that; its effects were permanent. The mission towns decayed, but the mission Indians merely moved, it seems, onto farms, to the cities, and so on.

the missions and became part of the ancestors of the million or so of civilized Indians who, still speaking their Guarani tongue, make up the modern population of the republic of Paraguay.¹

THE ARAUCANIANS, 1610-1870

The accomplishment in Paraguay is instructively contrasted with the failure in Chile. By 1610 the *conquistadores* had pacified Chile down to the River Biobio, the American Elbe.² Down to this river the Chilean Indians were under the forced-labour system. But by that date the energy or the capacity of the conquerors waned and the Biobio continued to be the frontier between the Spaniards and their commended Indians and the unconquered Indians of southern Chile, popularly known collectively as the Araucanians.

At the same time that the Jesuits began serious work in Paraguay they began also in Chile, under the leadership of Father Valdivia. Valdivia wanted to do below the Biobio what Las Casas and his Dominicans had done nearly a century

¹ Cunninghame Graham is the best introduction to the study of the Paraguay missions. He draws upon valuable but neglected unpublished documents in the archives of Simancas and Buenos Ayres. *Pastels* is a compilation of abstracts of documents in the archives of Seville of the Indies, not of documents to be had elsewhere. In v. 1, *Pastels* affords notes, however, on as yet untouched materials in the archives of Rome, Santiago de Chile, Asuncion, etc. His survey includes the missions of Peru and Chile as well as those of old Paraguay. The survey is chronological and is as yet far from complete; so far have appeared only three volumes, for 1568-1583 inclusive. Funes' *Ensayo* is the writing of a man who was born and raised in Tucuman and saw the effects of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the mission villages. Hennis' *Efermerides* is an account of the war against removal by the six mission villages which at one time found themselves beyond the Brazilian boundary. Father Hennis (or Ennis) remained behind for the seven years' war with his thirty thousand parishioners or neophytes. The *Commentaries of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* (compare above, p. 90, n. 3, and p. 224) is excellent for contemporary data. De Bourges describes his own visit to the missions in 1712. De Bouganville reproduces merely libellous gossip heard in Buenos Ayres; he did not go to the missions. See also books by Muratori, Lahier, Monera, Montoya, Guevara, and others referred to in Cunninghame Graham; also reference to visits to the missions by Xarque, Muratori, and an anonymous Englishman (in 1678) in Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, p. 14. See also Moses, and Tapie.

² The Biobio is more comparable than the Ohio to the Elbe, as a river frontier. That is, the Biobio was the American Eble; the Eble, the German Biobio. The Ohio was not repeatedly crossed as were these other rivers by resurging of the retreating side of the frontier. Compare the resurging of the Ainu, above, pp. 54-55. On the Elbe see Thompson.

before in Guatemala, and what the missionaries were doing in Paraguay. In 1610 the King, and the viceroy of Peru, in control of Chile, were in despair concerning the impossibility of getting control of the Indians below the Biobio. They gave Father Valdivia free rein, and made his word law on the southern frontier.

Valdivia immediately ordered an end to offensives against the Araucanians; he ordered the army to remain on the Spanish side of the frontier for defence only. Then by peaceable discussion with the Araucanian chiefs he had within two years received permission from them to send missionaries into their country to preach and teach. He promised them that he would demolish the great frontier fort of Paicavi if they would accept the missionaries; and demolish it he did!

As one might expect, and as the missionaries certainly expected, there was some martyrdom of missionaries and some disaffection on the part of some of the independent tribes below the frontier.

The colonists, championed by the governor of Chile, Ribiera, soon were again eager to try to force the southern tribes into subjection and forced labour. Valdivia, with the backing of the Crown, insisted merely on defence of the frontier and forbade the entrance of the army into Indian territory. In 1621, however, Philip II died and his successor gave ear to Ribiera, and from that date on the Chileans continued, in vain, to try to conquer the Araucanians. Father Valdivia, like Las Casas in the former century, weary of effort, retired from the struggle for peace, retired to a convent and died there in 1642 at the ripe age of eighty-one years.

For over two hundred years the frontier line shifted back and forth at the river Biobio,¹ with a story of struggle exactly similar to that between the Saxons and the Wendish Slavs at the river Elbe from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, in Europe. The Araucanians were never conquered, and held

¹ See especially Guevara: *Arauca*, pp. 382-409; and Ercilla. Compare Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, p. 157. Pastels, v. 1, pp. 201-203, abstracts a valuable MS. letter of 1611 from A. de Ribiera, then Governor of Tucuman on the Chilean border, reviewing the then situation on the Chilean frontier, blaming the frontier settlers for the wrath of the Indian brought down upon their heads. He recounts the late destruction by the Indians of those six of the thirty prosperous cities of Chile which had been razed to the ground, and which even in the nineteenth century were wilderness ruin.

all their territory. In 1870 they accepted peacefully the sovereignty of Chile, and traders with disease and alcohol, and farmers with their ploughs, entered their country, but no compulsory training in civilized ways was imposed upon them. Steadily their aboriginal population declined, and continues to decline. To-day there are perhaps twenty or thirty thousand left, objects of the charitable contemplation of a humanitarian administration such as had served the destruction of the Indians of the United States. European colonists move in and displace the natives, and the natives are permitted to move on to decay and disappearance in perfect freedom from any kind of constraint such as that which elsewhere in earlier days under *encomenderos* and missionaries served for the preservation and education of the Indian in the ways of European industry.¹

FRENCH FAILURE AND MARTYRDOM IN NEW YORK AND CANADA

The story of the missions of the French priests in North America is one of heroism and misfortune more than of accomplishment. The Récollets began work on the St. Lawrence in 1615. They were joined by the Jesuits in 1626. Within about fifteen more years they had won over the Huron Indians and established them virtually as a mission state. These missionized Indians of the Huron Confederation of Tribes numbered some thirty thousand population seated in twenty villages.² They were culturally and racially virtually identical with the Iroquois of New York who were their bitterest enemies.

At this time the French and the New York Iroquois were at war. The Iroquois were well supplied with firearms furnished by the Dutch of New Amsterdam. Between 1641 and 1649, in a series of attacks on Montreal and the surrounding region, the Iroquois burnt the Huron villages, slew thousands, and scattered the Hurons in all directions. In

¹ Compare Smith, and Guevara; and article *Chile* in the *Britannica*. Also Policarpo Gazullo for the early period, 1535-1600. Compare the Araucanian wars with those of the terrible Calchaquis, the Pueblo Indians of South America; and of the Abipones and Chiriguano in Lozano (whose sources are given in Book 1, Chapter 2).

² Le Jeune, in *Jesuit Relations*, v. 1 (1636).

the course of further warfare the Hurons at the hands of the Iroquois suffered nearly as woeful a fate as the Florida missions did at the hands of the Creeks.¹

In 1642 Father Jogues, recently beatified with seven other missionary martyrs of the Huron-Iroquois country of Canada and New York, went among the Iroquois of New York and for some forty years or more was followed by other missionaries. But for reasons which we shall make plain in another chapter the New York Indians were incorrigible, and save for the establishment of about two thousand Iroquois at the Canadian mission village of Canawauga, the missions to the Iroquois were productive only of martyrs.²

Those martyred missionaries beatified on June 21, 1926, were Fathers Jogues, Brebœuf, Lalemont, Garnier, Daniel, Chabanel, and the Jesuit lay assistants Lalande and Goupil. All were Frenchmen by birth. It is anticipated that canonization may await one or all. Father Jogues once visited Megapolensis on Manhattan, and met his death in what is now the state of New York.

We may note finally that the French Jesuit missions in Louisiana likewise met merely failure and martyrdom.³

¹ On the Hurons see Hunter, and the *Jesuit Relations*; Rochemonteix; Hughes; Ingraham, and O'Connor.

² In reverencing these priests and laymen one should not overlook the heroism of such as Bressani who were not martyred. Nor such able administrators and interesting personalities as Father Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, a prelate of noble birth who in 1659 came to Canada to rule the church there. It was he, a puritan and ascetic, who declared excommunication for anyone who should bootleg rum to the Indians. More than once his power was such that he had dismissed governors who thwarted his efforts in favour of the missionization of the Indians. In 1663 he himself selected the man to hold the office of governor, who was succeeded by Frontenac in 1673.

³ See Sagard; Shea; O'Connor; Parkman; Swanton: *Creeks*; Harris (in criticism of Parkman; Hughes; Joly).

CHAPTER X

ENSLAVEMENT OF INDIANS IN LATIN AMERICA: A RETROSPECT

"No matter how great the supply, the mortality was greater."—*An unconscious bull by the Jesuit Vieyra.*

THE Latins in America developed their very interesting forced-labour scheme for the handling of the Indians. The missionaries fought it and themselves introduced a sort of forced-labour or compulsory education system, for that, as we shall emphasize in another connection, was what the mission system amounted to. Then there was a third forced-labour system, slavery.

Slavery was generally approved of for the negro. But the Pope and the Crowns of Spain and Portugal frowned upon enslavement of the Indian, and, although the colonists frequently dared both King and Pope, the system of slavery has not loomed large as a factor influencing the fate of the Indian. It did, however, have its influence, and we will devote a brief space, retrospectively, to it.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF SLAVERY

Throughout the greater part of human social and economic history slavery was never thought of as requiring any moral sanction. From the time of Aristotle, however, men began to seek "moral justification" for it, and produced one rationalization after another. By the time America was "discovered", the Portuguese had already begun slave-raiding and slave trading on the African west coast,¹ and the justification to be applied to the enslavement of Indians had already been evolved, that is, that slavery was an expedient by which a barbarous or savage person could be brought under

¹ As early as 1399, negro slaves were bought and sold in Portugal and Spain. By 1474 there were many in Seville. Regulations were provided for the government of negroes and mulattoes in Seville, one of their number being appointed "as their legal protector and judge". See Helps: *Conquest*, v. 1, p. 44; also A. de Saco, who is invaluable also in the study of early Spanish economic history.

the guardianship of a Christian master who would teach him the arts of civilized life and lead him to a Christian salvation.

But this expedient was a rather harsh one which was to be called into play only in the case of barbarians who refused peaceably to be brought under the political control of Christians. That is, if the barbarians forced the Christians to war upon them, they would be taken captive and enslaved. Of course, in this day and later, even Christians taken prisoner in war, or taken for crimes by the State, could be enslaved. Cromwell sent many English and Irish as slaves to the Indies during the Civil War in England and the conquest of Ireland. But this was largely a punitive measure, while the enslavement of savages was rationalized as primarily an educative measure.¹

COLUMBUS INITIATES INDIAN ENSLAVEMENT

Columbus, imitating Portuguese practices, on his first voyage enslaved Indians taken as prisoners of war and sent them to Spain with the statement that he thought a slave trade in Indian captives would serve to make the Indies profitable. This action, in accord with contemporary thought and practice, nevertheless was unauthorized and made the Queen angry. She considered the Indians her vassals, freemen, and to remain such. The question of slavery, however, she referred to juristic advisers. They established the ruling thereafter to be followed in the Americas that there should be no indiscriminate enslavement of the Indians; that only prisoners taken in a "just"² war might be enslaved. A "just" war was any armed hostility between Spanish and Indians in which the fault lay with the Indians.

The authorities in time were to have difficulties with this ruling, in deciding definitely when any given hostilities did constitute a just war. Ferdinand, always sagacious, appreciated this when he was sending out Pedrarias with the

¹ Compare Snow: "Slavery has been justified on the ground that a State may delegate to private persons its functions concerning the uncivilized persons under its sovereignty, as political and civil minors. The situation of slaves has been regarded as resembling that of civilized minors, whom the State requires to be apprenticed to persons expert in an art or science, so that they may be trained in that art or science" (Snow, p. 36).

² On "just" things consider also the *Requirimiento*, above, Chapter 6, pp. 74-76.

Requisition to the Isthmus of Panama. He points out that because of the profit to be derived from the taking of prisoners in a "just" war and selling them as slaves, Pedrarias' men would do everything possible to instigate war with the natives with a view to profits; therefore, said the King, "it appears to me that the soundest opinion in reference to making war will be that of the Bishop and priest, who will be freer from passion and motives of self-interest". But, alas, the Bishop who accompanied Pedrarias and others who accompanied the *conquistadores*, were greedy for gain, and were accomplices in most of the brutalities committed in the name of God and the King. Only the missionary orders are to be acquitted of motives of self-interest.

It may here be pointed out that in Columbus' day there had not yet been developed any of that plantation slavery which was so brutal later in the West Indies and elsewhere. Slaves were wanted in Europe only as household servants, and were uniformly well-treated, and generally emancipated on the death of their owner. They were a household luxury of the rich rather than a source of economic labour.¹

But when the Indians, the native free labour force, began to die off in the West Indies during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the colonists took every opportunity to make war upon the native tribes of the mainland and enslave captives of war. There was always found some explanation to make a war "just". Then began the plantation slavery of the Americas. When the source of Indian slaves in the West Indies also dried up, then the clamour of the planters forced the Crown freely to permit the importation of negro slaves from Portuguese Africa.² The few remaining Indians were absorbed by the immigrant negroes.

¹ Even after the development of negro slavery in America the Spanish (as also the French, Portuguese, and Dutch) slave code was much less harsh than the English. As a result free negroes in the 1700's were as numerous as slave negroes in the Spanish dominions. Spanish masters were always concerned that their negroes should become communicants of the Church. (Compare Bourne: *Spain in America*, pp. 280-281.)

² Up to the time of the treaty of Utrecht (1713) the slave trade was a government monopoly in Spanish dominions and the cost of negroes was enhanced. In early days there was much fear of negro revolts. Ximenes, for instance, argued that the negroes were a warlike race. (Helps: *Conquest*, v. 1, 471; and De Saco.)

NEGRO AND INDIAN

The Crown was led to admit certain numbers of negroes in the beginning as a result of some very curious reasoning by Las Casas and other missionary friends of the Indians. These missionaries were bitterly opposed to any enslavement of the Indians, but had no objection, it seems, to the enslavement of negroes. They maintained that the negro was better fitted for hard labour and servitude than the Indian.¹ It is a fact, of course, that the tropical negro is on the average a full foot taller than the tropical Indian. Moreover, the negro is, without qualification, of the extremest volatile, ebullient, joyous disposition, incomparably more so than the Indian or the white. It is a fact that the Indians of the West Indies were extremely prone to suicide in seeking a way out of their misery.² It must not, however, be concluded that the negro did not suffer in slavery, and was never bitten by melancholy; and there is no evidence that the Indian was extremely inferior as a slave labourer.

The differences we have noted, however, were sufficient to make the missionaries advise the King that if the importation of negro slaves might be permitted the colonists would not be so avariciously inclined toward the Indians, who were, otherwise, their only available labour supply. Later, in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, warring upon the enslavement of the Indians by the settlers, likewise recommended the importation of greater numbers of negroes in order to relieve the pressure upon the Indians.

¹ Las Casas and Viera both so argued. But the first call for abolition of negro slavery as well as of Indian slavery came from the Jesuit Alphonso Sandoval, author of *De Instauranda Æthiopum Salute*. Sandoval, born in Seville, was educated in Peru.

² So also the negro at times; compare below, p. 328, n. 1. For further notes on the communal suicide of commended Indians in the West Indies see Machucha, in *Coleccion de documentos*, v. 71, p. 227; Garcilasso, pt. 1, book 1, chapter 10; and Las Casas.

THE POPE FORBIDS ENSLAVEMENT OF INDIANS, 1538

In 1538, on appeal of these American missionaries, Pope Paul III forbade all enslavement of Indians.¹ The Spaniards of the West Indies were getting their negroes in plenty by this time; and in Mexico and Peru and on the continent generally there were dense native populations who were used by a forced-labour system other than slavery. Slavery of the Indians thenceforth was virtually ended in Spanish America.

THE PORTUGUESE IN BRAZIL

The Papal order, however, had no effect on the settlers of Brazil, who defied even excommunication, and of course in North America the Puritans and others exemplified the fact that the Pope and his advisers were morally in advance of their age and of centuries to follow. (Paul the Third, incidentally, was one of the easy-going, generous, Popes of the Renaissance type.)

Portugal had been too preoccupied with the immensely wealthy Far East to bother about Brazil, discovered for her in 1500 and granted her by donation of the Pope. But in 1530 the Crown took measures to occupy the country and settlers were sent out to the central coast of Brazil. These settlers began immediately enslaving the Indians. In this first-settled territory the Indians, originally not a very dense population, between smallpox, etc., massacre, and overwork on the sugar estates, were soon killed off. Their heavy mortality is what produced the bull of Vieyra, the Jesuit missionary, which we have cited at the head of this chapter.

When the native labour supply failed, negroes were imported as slaves from Angola. India in the region of Goa also furnished a slave supply. This importation, principally of negro slaves, gained impetus in 1570 when for the first time the Portuguese Crown took serious note of the Indian question and forbade enslavement of the Indians, an order which did not at all stop it, but which impeded it in the better-settled sections of the coast.

¹ The time was more than ripe. This Pope, says Helps, "was celebrated for his delay in business, usually waiting for some happy conjuncture of affairs". (Helps: *Las Casas*, p. 212.)

THE PAULISTA SLAVE-RAIDERS

The most notorious group of slave-raiders of this sixteenth-century period were the Paulistas, famous in Brazilian song and story. They were the pioneers and backwoodsmen of Brazil. Nearly all were half-breeds, Portuguese and Indian. Their name was derived from the fact that their base of operations was the state of San Paulo. From their base they would go off to west, southwest, and northwest, slave-raiding. The farther the Indian tribes retreated, the farther would go their enemies.

The raiders were invariably accompanied and reinforced by some friendly tribe of Indians who were willing to join in the raids for whatever privileges and profits might accrue to themselves. A typical expedition would be composed of, say, one hundred of the half-breed Paulistas, and one thousand Indians; and it would be on the road out and back for from three to six months, living off the country; to return to the coastal slave market with about one thousand¹ captives to sell as slaves. Then off again, after a debauch. Neither priest nor monk could check their havoc.²

About 1554 their activities had reached Paraguay. In the Paraguayan region from 1610 on, the Jesuits built up an important Indian mission state with a population of about one hundred thousand. These missions were a favourite hunting ground of the Paulistas. But in 1638, on the request of de Montoya, the Spanish sovereign permitted the mission Indians to own and employ firearms, for the first time. After that date the Paulistas avoided the missions.³

¹ As many as 15,000 mission Indians were enslaved in one year, according to the early *relaciones*.

² For an example of their defiance of the Church consider the narrative of the heroic pursuit of a Paulista army by the fathers Maceta and Mancilla. When this raiding party, with the pursuing priests, reached Sao Paulo the governor of the province was threatened with death for his support of the clergy, and the Paulistas said they would become "debaptized" rather than stop slave-raiding and trading. See Southey, v. 1, p. 346; Pastels, v. 1, pp. 290-293; v. 2, pp. 58-66, 81-82, 110; v. 3, pp. 109 seq.

³ On the early Brazilian slavery see Southey, v. 1, Chapters 1 and 2, and p. 341. In the *Recopilacion*, lib. 6, tit. 2, ley 6 deals with the Paulistas. On the missions see above, Chapter 9.

THE "RANSOMING" PLAN

In 1549 the first Jesuits had arrived in Brazil; their first great leader, Anchieta, arrived in 1553. They found the secular clergy and the other monks already there conniving in the slave-raiding of the colonists, and themselves profiting from it. They were, in the words of one Jesuit, "worse than the devil himself". The Jesuits bent all their energy toward putting an end to slave-raiding.

To circumvent the Jesuits the colonists devised an interesting plan. Slavers would go to the interior and instigate war between Indian tribes, promising to buy from the victors all the captives they could take. The Brazilian Indians usually sacrificed or ate captives, as did the Aztecs. The slavers then argued that they were "ransoming" the captives, saving them from a horrible death. By ransoming them they brought them to the coast, under the influence of civilization and Christianity, and were saving souls for heaven. This "ransoming" was the plan under which Brazilian slave-raiding proceeded during the seventeenth century.¹

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Vieyra led the Jesuits in their war against "ransoming" in the northern coastal regions of Brazil where Indians still were plentiful and "ransoming" continued. In 1655 Vieyra obtained an order that every expedition to the Indian country must take along a Jesuit with authority to settle legal questions in dealing with the Indians. This reduced slave-raiding somewhat.² Then, in 1673, the Portuguese Crown forbade the holding of any Indian as a slave. This at last made an end of slave-raiding in Brazil. But "ransoming" at this date came to the attention of the British colonists in North America, and, as we shall see, was used there as an excuse for slave-raiding after it had been ended in Latin America. It was also adopted by the Dutch of Dutch Guiana in South America.³

¹ Southey, v. 1, Chapter 9; and pp. 269, 294, 307, 371, 397-8, 411. Ley 7, tit. 2, lib. 6, 1618, of the *Recopilacion*, forbids "ransoming" by Spaniards or in Spanish territory. At this time Brazil was under Spanish control. The law refers to the practice as prevalent *even in the Argentine province of Tucuman*, and the state of Rio de Janeiro.

On the secular clergy see also above, p. 122; and the citations introductory to Chapter 22.

² As in the case of Teixeira's expedition on the Amazon, the Jesuits nobly acquitted themselves of their trust.

³ See Roth: *Guiana*.

CHAPTER XI

THE BUSINESS CORPORATION TAKES A HAND IN EMPIRE BUILDING

"But, seeing works of piety and public good are in this age rather commended by all than acted by any, let us come a little near to that which all hearken unto and that, forsooth, is profit."—GORGES: *Brief Narration*, 1658.

"But tell them of planting a Church, of converting ten thousand souls to God, and they are senseless as stones; they stir no more than if men spoke of toys and trifles."—REV. CRASHAW, *Sermon to the Virginia Company*, 1610.¹

A RETROSPECT

IN our chapter introducing the chivalric conquerors of the Spanish peninsula to the American scene we pointed out to the reader something of the background out of which they stepped, something of the social milieu which made their aims and methods and characters what they were. We pointed out, moreover, the all-important fact that it was the Spanish Crown itself which took the initiative in exploiting and conquering America and that never were governmental functions delegated to private business organizations.

The Portuguese Crown did something much like the British

¹ Gorges is here in his concluding paragraph, urging investment in New England. He clearly feels a keen interest himself when he gets to his "but" and talks of profits. Previously, with questionable sincerity he had urged patriotic, religious, and other reasons: "What can be more pleasing to a generous nature than to be exercised in doing public good? especially when his labour and industry tends to the private good and reputation of himself and posterity; and what monument so durable as erecting houses, villages, and towns? and what more pious than advancing of Christian religion amongst people who have not known the excellency thereof?" Gorges founded the first settlements in what is now Maine; he was a member of the business corporation popularly called the Council for New England; he was a practical promoter interested primarily in making money. Yet he lost twenty thousand pounds in his promotions in Maine, losing much more even than the father of the founder of Maryland in his promotions of settlement in Newfoundland.

The Rev. Crashaw preceded his "but" by: "Tell them of getting xx in the c [twenty per cent. profit], Oh, how they bite at it; oh, how it stirs them!" He refers to England's promoters of overseas expansion. See also the Appendix on the real estate prospectuses.

creation of "proprietary" colonies in dividing Brazil into captaincies ("capitanias") but it was not long before the Crown revoked its delegation of powers. And once Charles V of Spain, in 1535, as fully acquainted then, of course, with the possibilities in the use of business corporations as the North Europeans were later to become, did charter a business corporation designed to effect the economic development of Venezuela. But this was a deviation from practice made under very exceptional circumstances and under pressure of the Dominican missionaries to the Indians who would themselves virtually control the American activities of the company; and the company, although reorganized by Las Casas, never began operations.¹ Even in the days of their decline and financial weakness the two kingdoms of the Spanish (Iberian) peninsula refrained from using the business corporation in colonial expansion, insisting instead on continued direct action of the Crown.

THE FINANCIAL WEAKNESS OF SPAIN FROM 1596

Portugal herself had never been sufficiently powerful as an overseas enterpriser to offer actually insuperable barriers to overseas trade and colonization by north European states. It was Spain with her fifteenth-century dominance in Europe who was the serious check.

Toward the end of that century Spain diverted too much of her energy from the Indies in a very costly attempt to suppress the developing heresies of the Protestants in Europe. Thus came the setting of her sun, which fell below the horizon when in 1596 Philip of Spain ruined his credit with the merchants of Europe, in obtaining from the Pope a dispensation from the payment of 14,500,000 ducats which he had borrowed from merchants of Genoa and Spain. This money had been lost in vain attempts to suppress Protestantism in the Netherlands and elsewhere, and Pope and King reasoned

¹ See especially Thacher: *Columbus*, v. 1, on Las Casas, also on German influence on and participation in the colonization of Venezuela, from newly discovered documents, see Humber (two articles). Compare the German element here with that in southern Chile of the nineteenth century, in early Louisiana and Arkansas (see below, p. 258, n. 2), the early Syrian element in Colombia (see Ross: *South of Panama*), and the early Berber (Moorish) element in Central America so frequently referred to in the earliest laws of the *Recopilacion*.

that therefore the merchants should do their Christian duty and bear the loss. Ruined credit thenceforth resulted in an inability to borrow funds adequate for further naval and military operations.

THE NEW FINANCIAL STRENGTH OF NORTH EUROPE

The merchants and towns of the Netherlands on the other hand had much more business sense. They carefully arranged to meet all their obligations arising from expenditures in the wars with Spain. So, keeping their credit good, when they were at last loose from the Spanish fist, they were able to finance their plunge into the East Indian trade which was to make possible the creation of a Dutch empire in the Indies. The British merchants, after peace in 1603, were likewise able to find the money and credit to enable them to set sail for the rich Indies east and west.¹

KING AND MERCHANT BEYOND THE PYRENEES

But while the merchants of the Netherlands and of England (and of the other lands north of the Alps and Pyrenees) were rich and resourceful, the sovereigns were poor and without the ability to face and meet the new and golden opportunities which lay in trade in the waters of the Indies. Side by side with this relative impotence of the sovereign in the face of tremendous opportunities which required heavy financing, there appeared as present a financial and commercial expedient relatively new to northern Europe.

THE DAWN OF MODERN BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

The sovereigns of England, Holland, France, and, later, Russia, were to delegate the initiation and development of overseas empire chiefly to business organizations of this new type. The result was of profound importance in making the story of the frontier different in North America from that of Latin America—so important in results, in fact, that it is necessary that we know something of the nature and development of the business corporation on the frontier in order

¹ See Jeudwine, pp. 157-159; also Hannay.

later to consider its peculiar effects on the course of frontier history and on the fate of the North American Indian.

This typical modern form of business organization is the "company" (Co.) usually spoken of in England as a "limited company" (Ltd.) and in America as a "business corporation" or merely as a "corporation" (Inc.). This modern type of business corporation is virtually nothing more than a "joint-stock company" which has been "chartered" or "incorporated", that is, made a legal entity, a fictitious person, with a life limited only by the terms of the charter and not by the life of its members.

In these joint-stock companies there were in the sixteenth century as to-day, a common or jointly held fund of assets (the "joint stock") owned by the company. In this the members ("freemen" or "associates") of the company evidence their proportionate shares of beneficial interest (or ownership) by the shares of stock they hold (shares of beneficial interest). These stock certificates are transferable at the will of the owner and with the certificate goes not only the interest in the assets of the company, but membership in the company.

The liability of the stockholders of the company for the debts of the company is limited to the amount of their share in the net assets of the company. Their holdings of property outside that business cannot be attached, ordinarily, to pay the debts of the business.¹

This form of organization is an evolution out of the partnership through the limited (limited liability) partnership known even in ancient Babylon. Through development in Rome and medieval Italy the limited partnership widened into the joint-stock company and the ideas of transferability of shares and of incorporation were assimilated to it. Corresponding to the president and directors in business organizations of to-day there were in older days the governor and council. Its first full blossoming appears to have been in the Genoese business organization known as the *Mahona* of the Justinian (organized in 1346) and in the Genoese Bank of St. George which bought out the *Mahona*.²

¹ See Meade on the business corporation of to-day; Scott on the early business corporations of England from 1554 on.

² Hannay; Knight; Davis; Scott; Cheyney.

THE FIRST JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES IN THE NORTH

The reader must not confuse the business corporation we are here interested in with the old type known as gilds, "mysteries", and "companies". Save in the common facts of incorporation and of representative government the gild and the chartered joint-stock company—of different lines of development—had nothing of moment in common.

In the gild, membership was open only to specialists in the line of trade or manufacture the gild was concerned with, and the knowledge required, and membership, were acquired only by years of apprenticeship. Membership could not be transferred and there was no limited liability.¹

The joint-stock company with its unique devices made it possible for the technical expert, the business man or entrepreneur, and the nobleman interested only in investment to come together with their varied talents and interests in a joint enterprise. Despite the fact that in minor matters such as terminology the gild influenced the joint-stock companies, it is serious error to state, as many do, that the latter is in any way an evolution of the former.

The first joint-stock company in Europe north of the Mediterranean lands appears to have been the Muscovy or Russia Company, an English company incorporated in 1554 A.D. That it was a business corporation of the new type instead of a gild such as was the "Merchant Adventurers", then carrying on British trade with the nearby continent, appears to have been due to the influence of Italian business ideas introduced by Sebastian Cabot, then an old man resident in England.²

It was his father, the Italian John Cabot, who, years before Columbus sailed, had come to England to get an opportunity to seek a northwest route to the Far East, and eventually had been blocked by the presence of North

¹ There were trading as well as manufacturing gilds—such as the great Merchant Adventurers.

² On Italian influence in the organization of the Muscovy Company see Scott; on Spanish influence see Hannay. The practice of offering provincial titles of nobility to investors (associates) of a colonizing corporation appears in the Spanish plan for Venezuela mentioned above (pp. 87, 102, 128); and reappears in the English plans for the colonization of Nova Scotia (1624) and of Carolina (1663). Peculiarly enough the titles for Carolina included Landgrave (German) and Cacique (Indian).

America. His was the beginning of that incessant search for a passage through to Asia over a northwest route, a search doomed to failure until the successful flight of an Italian airship directly from Europe to Asia northwest over the arctic seas in 1926.

The purpose of the traders who organized the Muscovy Company under the governorship of the son of John Cabot was to try another northern route to Asia, to try to sail northeast around Scandinavia, Russia, and Siberia and so come to the Pacific. They were, of course, doomed to failure in this object, but they did open up trade direct with Russia and they did tap the overland route to the Far East by way of the route through Russia to the Caspian Sea and Persia.

Immediately after this extension of British overseas trade and this innovation in the form of business organization designed to handle it, English traders, enterprisers, and investors were all enthusiastic over the development of the new era to which the Muscovy Company pointed. Within three decades after the chartering of the Muscovy Company the English Crown had chartered the Turkey or Levant Company with a grant of monopoly of trade with the Near East by way of the Mediterranean, the Eastland Company with a monopoly of trade in the Baltic Sea, the Cathay Company with a monopoly of trade with Asia by way of a northwest passage if such could be discovered, and the African, the Barbary, the Morocco, and other companies designed to develop trade in divers other regions and possess a monopoly of trade with these regions.¹

England's example was followed by the Dutch and in 1594, after two years of agitation by William Usselinx of Antwerp, the first joint-stock company for foreign trade was chartered. The first French companies were chartered in 1598 and 1599.² These first "chartered companies" were not designed to hew out empires abroad for the Crown which chartered them and

¹ On the Cathay and Levant companies see especially Manhart and Rowland. On the companies in general see particularly Scott; also Hannay; Bonnasieux; Cheyney; Jeudwine; Smith; Whiteway; Merriam. On many joint-stock companies which were proposed but never materialized see C. M. Andrews. On the northwest passage see also Biggar; and Markham: *Arctic*, p. 101. On the Merchant Adventurers gild see Linglebach.

² Jamison; Bonnasieux; Biggar.

granted them privileges. North Europe had no crusading zeal and the trader and the investor were content with the profits of trade. So late as 1603, with ships leaving for continuance of the search for the northwest passage to Asia, Queen Elizabeth sent letters to the Emperor of China such as her predecessor of 1552 had sent with the merchants seeking the northeast passage, signifying that all she wanted was a treaty of friendship, with privileges for her merchants.¹ How different from the spirit and aims of the Iberian conquerors as exemplified in the Requisition of 1509!²

But the foreign-trading companies of North Europe soon broadened their field of their own initiative, as it seemed expedient to them, and they came in time to request charters which gave them as private trading companies *privileges which were formerly attributes only of public corporations*. They became what may best be designated "colonizing companies". Apparently the beginning of this transition is represented in the transference of his rights in the Americas by Sir Walter Raleigh to a joint-stock company called the "Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia".

This was in 1587, three years after Raleigh had received feudal privileges in the New World from the Queen. The title of the company indicates that its organizers were conscious of the novelty of their scheme; for it reads as if the organization were a municipal corporation, whereas it was merely a private company like the London company which succeeded it in 1606 and settled Jamestown in the following year. In 1599 James VI of Scotland (who became James I of England in 1603) applied the plan to conquest and colonization on the Scotch Celtic frontier.

The climax of this novel transition of trading companies into colonizing companies came with the organization of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. This company was granted not merely a monopoly of trade with the Far East, but also the right to maintain an army and navy and to wage war, to make peace, to make treaties with foreign

¹ See Burrage on Rosier's voyage. Arber's *Three Books* contains the letter sent by Edward VI in 1552 with the expedition seeking the northeast passage, directed to the Emperor of China. Neither Henry's nor Elizabeth's letters, of course, were ever delivered, any more than were those carried by Columbus to the elusive Chinese sovereigns.

² See above, Chapter 6.

nations in its own name, to conquer or otherwise acquire foreign territories, to rule these territories in its own name, and to mint a coinage for its use in these territories. It had a capital of six and one-half million florins in shares of two thousand florins each. In 1652 it colonized the Cape of Good Hope. By 1669 it was ruling over the Cape, over Java and the rest of what are still the Dutch East Indies, and over Ceylon; it possessed 150 trading ships and forty war vessels, had an army of ten thousand company soldiers, and in that year it paid its usual dividend of forty per cent.¹ The Dutch expansion of privileges awarded by the State to trading companies was soon followed by England, France, and Sweden, and later, by Russia.

As for America in particular, we have seen that in 1587 after the destruction of the Roanoke Colony in North Carolina, a private commercial company took over the privileges of a feudal lord, and had the exclusive right, under the English Crown, to exploit North America. In 1606 its grant of privileges lapsed, and James I divided North America between two new companies. The region south of the Delaware and west to the Pacific Ocean was given to the Virginia Company, a company of merchants of London; and the region north of the Delaware and thence west was given to a company of merchants of Plymouth, the Plymouth Company.

The Virginia Company had its powers enlarged in 1609 and again in 1612. In 1607 its expedition, sent out late in 1606, founded the settlement of Jamestown, the first permanent colony of English in America. Under the powers of their charter, the directors of the company from their London offices governed Virginia until the King took over the government in 1624 and sought through the courts the revocation of the company's charter. The charter was revoked eight years later (1632). The Plymouth Company initiated activities which eventually resulted in the colonization of New England, from 1620 on.

¹ See Tarbox; and Davis: *Essays*, v. 1, Chpt. 2. On ambitions, and enterprise, and proposed enterprise, before Raleigh, see Tarbox, p. 100, n. 73; and *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial, 1574-1660*, pp. 3, 103-104. An especially excellent and interesting study dealing with the origin of the settlement urge, entitled *The Dream of Empire* forms a chapter in Cavanaugh; see also Ogg for chapters on social thought and a valuable bibliography.

The Virginia Company, the first British agency to open relations with the American Indians, was modelled after the East India Company. It was frankly a business corporation, out merely to make profits, and nothing else.¹ More than one hundred of its shareholders were also shareholders in the English East India Company, and the same prominent businessmen were active in both. Thomas Smyth, a prominent businessman of the period, for example, had been a member of the company which took over Raleigh's American rights. After 1606 he was at the same time governor (i.e., in modern parlance, president) of the Russia or Muscovy Company, governor of the East India Company, treasurer of the London Company, governor of the Bermuda Company which in 1610 bought the Bermudas from the London Company, and a director of the Levant or Turkey Company. Interlocking directorates so early!

The Plymouth Company, a business corporation like the London Company, was less energetic. In 1620 its rights were taken over by a company of forty shareholders popularly known by the title the Council for New England, holding rights over all land between 40° N. and 48° N. In that same year the "Pilgrims", organized into an unchartered joint-stock company along with some English businessmen interested only in possible profits, were permitted to settle in New England.² The forty associates of the Council for

¹ Compare Davis, v. 1, Chapter 2, and Scott.

² Until the Warwick patent of 1630 the "Pilgrims" had no rights of government nor title to land; the Compact was an emergency arrangement. In 1621 a patent had been granted by the Council for New England (a business corporation) to Pierce, a London capitalist, his heirs and assigns and to such as he might associate with himself (and he associated the Congregationalists of Leyden with himself). In 1622 the Council granted a new patent to replace that of 1621. In the articles of agreement between the local settlement (the Pilgrims) and the London financiers associated with them, it was agreed that at the end of seven years each colonist should come into possession of a house and garden; and during the seven years each colonist was to devote four days' labour each week for the company, and two for himself. In the beginning the local colony (Plymouth) used communal labour, public control of the food and clothing supplies. In 1627 the London financiers sold out their interest to the Pilgrims, called the "Purchasers", for eighteen hundred pounds payable at two hundred pounds a year for nine years. As security the colonists had to become each one personally bound for the debt. Eight men became owners of the whole of Plymouth by entering into this agreement of sale, so far as the Adventurers' (the London capitalists) liens and titles went. These eight Purchasers of

New England, however, a group of real estate promoters weary of attempting joint action, by lot divided up New England among themselves individually. Some of these individual holders organized joint-stock companies to finance and exploit their shares; others sold out. Cape Ann and its vicinity had fallen by lot to Lord Sheffield, and in 1624 he sold it to a joint-stock company (Winslow, Cushman, etc.); this company shortly, in the same year, sold it to another company, headed by John White of Dorchester, England, which company planned to establish a settlement as a base of supplies for transatlantic fisheries. But after five years' inaction this "Dorchester Company" was enlarged, renamed, and obtained a new charter from Charles I (in 1629) and proceeded to colonize immediately. This joint-stock company was made up of English separatists, the Puritans or Congregationalists. They were "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England".¹

Massachusetts was governed under this joint-stock company charter until 1684, when the charter was revoked,² the govern-

Plymouth Colony then organized a joint-stock company of 156 shareholders to take over their rights. The company within six years paid off the eighteen hundred pounds debt plus six hundred owed to others, *the profits all being made from trade*. All this time the Plymouth colonists constituted "a legal nonentity incapable even of making a contract as a government" (Haynes, p. 67; Goodwin, p. 287). In 1630 a patent was issued to William Bradford, empowering him, if he pleased, to make himself a proprietor or lord of the manor and hold the colonists of Plymouth as his tenants and subordinates; this was virtually a proprietaries patent issued to one man, issued, however, by the Council for New England, not by the Crown, and there remains the question whether the Council had a right to issue it. Only bad dealing on the part of the Congregationalist colony of Plymouth caused the Crown to refuse to ratify a royal charter which had been already made out. (Goodwin; Haynes; McKinley.)

¹ The Puritans were Anglicans (Episcopalians) who endeavoured to Protestantize the Anglican Catholic Church (Church of England). The Puritans in the Episcopalian Church to-day are known as Low Churchmen. When Puritans separated, as they repeatedly did, from the Anglican communion and formed an anarchic congregationalism with Protestant belief, they became "Separatists", known in modern terminology as Congregationalists. The inhabitants of early New England were not properly Puritans; they were outside the Church; the Pilgrims were Separatists or Congregationalists when they set sail for New England; the Massachusetts Bay settlers were Anglican Puritans in England but immediately became Congregationalists when they left for America. However, so long as these facts are understood, we can continue to do these people the usual courtesy of referring to them as Puritans and Pilgrims as is done in the schoolbooks.

² On Massachusetts Colony see, particularly, Haynes.

ing business or colonizing organization dissolved, and Massachusetts was made a Crown colony. Massachusetts for fifty-five years was "a private corporation chartered by the government for purposes of fishing, real estate improvement, and general commerce . . .", and "with the freedom [membership] of a trading company the germ of Massachusetts citizenship is to be found". Citizenship could be had only through membership in the company, and very many residents of the territory held were disfranchised. And instead of Massachusetts and the New England towns being a revival of ancient free Anglo-Saxon institutions on the American frontier they were merely "founded as a result of a simple business arrangement to meet the exigencies of the colonists amid the new environment", without any uniform plan.¹

DUTCH COMPANIES IN NORTH AMERICA

Dutch companies were on the ground in North America almost as soon as the English, and their contributions to the development of frontier or Indian policy were fundamental. In 1598 Dutch traders, either private traders or traders of the Greenland or the East India Companies, built a trading post on Manhattan Island. They possibly continued desultory trade there until the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company in 1607, which company was given a monopoly of trade with all the Americas. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, visited Manhattan while seeking a northwest passage to the Pacific. In 1614 the United New Netherlands Company was organized to develop the possibilities in North America which the West India Company was neglecting. Immediately the new company established a trading post on Manhattan and a fort on the Delaware River (Ft. Nassau) at what is now Gloucester, New Jersey, just opposite Philadelphia. In 1618 it made a treaty, apparently not extant to-day, with the great Iroquois Confederation. In 1621 the West India Company took over again the privileges granted to the New Netherlands Company. It tried to persuade the "Pilgrims" then resident in Leyden, Holland, to settle in America at

¹ Akagi, p. 291; compare, however, his observations on pp. 110, 293.

Manhattan in its interest but failed, and they sailed in 1622 for English business interest.

In 1623 it began to colonize the Hudson with Flemings and Walloons. The patroon plan of encouraging plantation development was introduced in 1629. In 1630 settlement was attempted as far south as Lewes, Delaware. In 1632 a trading post was established in Connecticut in competition with the English of New England. In 1638 the company lost its monopoly of trade, and private trading was permitted. In 1644 a reckoning showed that while its South American enterprise (in Brazil) was profitable, its North American enterprise was netting it a heavy loss.¹

THE SWEDISH COMPANY

In 1626 the Swedes organized the Swedish South Company, for trade not only in America but in Africa and Asia also. In 1636 the New Sweden Company was chartered to operate on the Delaware River in competition with the Dutch West Indian Company which had already made trading post settlements there in 1630. The New Sweden Company began operation on the Delaware in 1638. In 1655 it was driven off by the Dutch West India Company.

FRENCH COMPANIES

In 1629 the New France Company (The Company of One Hundred Associates) was chartered, under the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, for the purposes of developing and governing the St. Lawrence valley and the rest of North America in the interest of France. In 1663 its charter was revoked; and in the next year the French West India Company was chartered by the Crown to take care of French enterprise throughout the Americas, and in West Africa also. Within one year this company had sent two thousand immigrants to the St. Lawrence. In 1674 its charter was revoked by Louis XIV, and Canada (New France) became a Crown colony.

¹ On the Dutch see particularly Murphy; Jameson; O'Callaghan; Broadhead; Johnson; Edmundson, and below, on losses, p. 228.

RUSSIAN COMPANIES

The English had begun search for the northeast passage to the Pacific from Europe, in 1553, as we have seen. It was the privilege, however, of Russia, to discover this and exploit it. The Behring Sea and the coasts of northwestern North America (Alaska, etc.) were first discovered and explored by Behring and Chirikov, in 1741, but progress in exploration was slow, and the first settlement was not made until 1784 (at Kadiak). Meantime the Spaniards, who, of course, looked upon the Russians and other nations as intruders in the Americas, in 1774-1775 explored the northwest coasts, and established a settlement at Nootka, Vancouver Island, in British Columbia, in 1784, which, however, did not last very long.

In 1788 the Russian Crown gave a monopoly of Alaskan trade, with governing powers over the Russian settlements in Alaska, to the Sholikoff Company. In 1799 these rights were turned over to the Russian American Company. In 1861 the last charter of this company expired and Alaska was a Crown colony until its sale to the United States in 1867.¹

COMMERCIALIZED FEUDALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Feudalism had not completely died out in northern Europe when the vogue of the joint-stock company was developing. The practice persisted of delegating almost complete military and governmental powers to feudal lords by the sovereign. This method was particularly used on the marches or frontiers,

¹ On the Swedes see Johnson. On the Russians see Golder; Andrews; and Bancroft. On the French see Biggar; Bonnasieux. For other considerations upon all the above compare Munro; Winsor; Chailly-Bert; the *Nouveaux dictionnaire*; Parker; Bryce; Dobbs; Davidson. On the seignories of New France and the patroons of New Netherlands compare Munro and Broadhead. Brown affords an invaluable documentary collection. Scott, v. 1, pp. 17, 439, 443, goes into an interesting controversy with Adam Smith on the economic aspects of colonizing companies. The introduction to Carr is invaluable. Lucas is especially useful on the Eastland Company and the Merchant Adventurers. See also Morse; Beer; Fisher; Krishna; Byrne; Bruce; Egerton. Compare Mills on the early colonization of Australia and Cory on early colonization in South Africa. On early Virginia and Carolina in addition, see Sioussat; Cooke; Tarbox; Burke; Bassett; Fiske; and Philipps.

wherever there was a frontier to be guarded or to be pushed forward. Feudal manors were established by the Crown even in Canada under the régime of the trading companies (the seignories) and in the Hudson while the West India Company was in power (the patroons). In English North America it went beyond the establishment of mere manors within the areas controlled by trading companies. Actual counties palatine were set up.

The first of these was established in 1634. Then Sir Edward Plowden was made "proprietor" of the Delaware River area ("New Albion")¹ embracing what is now New Jersey, Pennsylvania and part of New York, but effectively, at that date, in the hands of the Dutch West India Company. Plowden organized a joint-stock company to exploit his grant—the New Albion Company. Some time between 1637 and 1642 the company's agents, Youge and Evelyn, began a fort on the Delaware near what is now Philadelphia, but beyond this, save for the writing of a prospectus, neither Plowden nor the New Albion Company did anything to carry out their plans. Shortly later, in the same year, Lord Baltimore was made proprietor of his tract, to be called Maryland, and did proceed with its exploitation.²

¹ These facts were generally ignored by historians who exaggerate Penn's place in history. Apparently Captain Young and his nephew Robert Evelyn were at times agents for both the London or Virginia Company and for the New Albion Company as explorers of the Delaware River Valley. Both lived for several years at Eriwomeck, probably between 1637 and 1642. Here they began the erection of a fort. This site is certainly the Erwames, now Gloucester, New Jersey, just opposite Philadelphia, where in 1614 the Dutch also had built a fort, Fort Nassau. (On Evelyn's fort see Plantagenet, pp. 19, 21, 22.) Apparently a tract on New Albion was published in 1637, and Evelyn's letter, in 1642. This earlier tract is, so far as I can discover, not now extant and never reprinted; bibliographers have no note of it (compare Plantagenet, p. 7, and Chapter 3). (Incidentally note that Waldman's excellent bibliographical study shows no knowledge of the copy of Plantagenet and Evelyn owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia.) On the date of the New Albion patent as being earlier than that of Maryland see Plantagenet, p. 28. W. C. Ford has valuable notes on Young and Evelyn on the Delaware River, 1641 to 1648.

² In 1621 George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, established the settlement of Avalon, in Newfoundland, receiving, in 1623, a charter for the whole southern peninsula of the island, and fishing rights in that locale. He did not visit the settlement personally until 1627. He lost many thousands of pounds sterling in this enterprise, due largely to harassment by the French of Canada, and on abandoning it sailed for Virginia to settle there but was ordered back to England as an un-

In 1664 the Duke of York, brother of the reigning King, was made proprietor of what is now New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, but proceeded immediately to sell New Jersey. In the same year Carolina was granted not to one feudal lord but to six, jointly. They, promptly, constituted themselves a joint-stock company!

The organization of joint-stock companies by the proprietors of New Albion and of the Carolinas exemplifies the fact that the commercialism of the day in north Europe had infested the moth-eaten feudalism of the day. Although the Carolina proprietors prepared for their domain (after Lord Baltimore's example and with the assistance of the philosopher John Locke) a constitution which would make it, in effect, a county palatine,¹ they did not set out, as the Spanish conquerors had done or as would have true feudal lords, to force the native inhabitants to accept their sovereignty. They were "all business". And when Georgia in 1732 was established as a "proprietary" colony, the proprietor was a trust company, organized for charitable purposes, to colonize the poor of England in the New World. Under the rule of the trustees the so-called "governor" of Georgia was merely the local attorney for the trustees resident in England. (Georgia's charter was surrendered in 1752.)²

But a truly quixotic exemplification of commercialized feudalism is the case of the proprietary colony or colonies of New Jersey. We recall how the feudal lord of North

desirable because of his religious and political interests. He then received the gift of Maryland from the King (1634) which on his death in that same year was colonized by his son, the second Lord Baltimore. (At the same time that Baltimore was losing heavily in Newfoundland, Gorges was losing his twenty thousand pounds in Maine, see above, p. 127, n. 1.)

On early real estate promotion prospectuses in general, and the New Albion Company's in particular, see Appendix IV., *The Prospectus of the Seventeenth Century Real Estate Promoter*.

¹ On palatinates, in particular, Durham, Maryland, and Carolina, see Coulomb; C. C. Hall; Surtees; Lapsley; Kellog; Brown; Bassett; and the particularly excellent sketch of personalities by Goodpasture. On proprietary patents in the Caribbean Islands see Williamson. Carolina was chartered first in 1629, but this first charter was surrendered and no colonization attempted.

² McCain.

America, Sir Walter Raleigh, turned over his extensive powers of government to a joint-stock company. When the Duke of York received his extensive New World grants, he immediately ceded his rights in New Jersey to two nobles, Berkeley and Carteret. These two men divided the territory between them. Berkeley sold his rights to two Quakers, Fenwick and Byllynge, the latter a merchant! Fenwick and Byllynge divided their domain between them, Byllynge receiving nine-tenths, and Fenwick one-tenth. The merchant Byllynge became financially embarrassed and turned his rights in New Jersey over to trustees, to be held in trust for his creditors. These trustees were William Penn and two other Quakers, Lawrie and Lucas. These trustees then acquired Fenwick's tenth of what then was called West Jersey.

All this took place between 1664 and 1675. These trustees in 1675 held all the rights of a feudal lord over West Jersey, *the right to make all laws, to admit or expel inhabitants, to imprison, execute, make war, tax, etc., and held title in fee from the Crown to all land.* A curious compound of feudalism and commercialism.

Carteret bequeathed his share of New Jersey, called East Jersey, to eight trustees, to administer for the benefit of his creditors. His rights upon his death were put up *at public auction!* They were bought by William Penn and eleven others associated with himself as a joint-stock company! This company paid £3,400 for East Jersey. Some of the stockholders, later increased to twenty-four by the subdivision and sale of the original twelve shares, were absentees, resident in England, Scotland, and other parts of the Americas. In 1702 the proprietors of both the Jerseys, under pressure, gave back to the Crown the delegated rights of government, for a consideration, and so far as government was concerned New Jersey became a Crown colony. But the proprietors retained ownership of the soil.

CROWN COLONIES

No colony in the Americas was initiated by the Crown.

The Crown stepped in to assume direct control of one colony after another only after the foundations and much of the superstructure had been built. Every colony was established

and put on its feet, and its frontier policies, including its Indian policy, determined once and for all, by private agents to whom the Crown had delegated virtually all the powers of government. And the first and most significant historically, in the development of Indian affairs, of these several agencies were the colonizing business corporations or joint-stock companies.

PART III
THE TRADER

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIAN TRADE AND THE FRENCH POLICY IN NORTH AMERICA

“ You see, my Lord, that the subject we have discussed is to determine who will be master of the Beaver trade to the south and the southwest.”
—*De la Barre to De Seignelay, Nov. 4, 1683.*¹

THE NATURE OF THE “ FUR TRADE ”

THE “ Indian trade ” or “ fur trade ” in North America was an attraction for all traders of whatever nationality in North America and has been a social, economic, and political influence from the beginnings of settlement to the present day.² The trade involved not only the acquisition of furs from the Indians, but giving in exchange for the furs, the products of European manufactured goods such as cloth by the measure, cloaks, beads and metal ornaments, copper and iron kettles, awls, spoons, steel knives, steel hatchets and axes, iron hoes, firearms, powder, and lead for shot. Thus in exchange for a valuable raw material of industry the Europeans offered finished industrial products the demand for which stimulated European industry.

THE LIFE-BLOOD OF FRENCH ENTERPRISE

To the English colonies in North America the Indian trade was important. But merely important. It was not their life-blood, economically. To the Dutch, Swedes, Russians, and French it was indeed the very life-blood of their North American colonies. But of these dominantly fur-trading groups the Russians appear very late and very far away from

¹ In O’Callaghan, v. 9, p. 202.

² In the early days the beaver was of dominant importance; in this present century it is the muskrat. As a result of the shift from beaver to muskrat Louisiana has become the greatest source of furs in North America, producing to-day fifty per cent. of the total (in terms of price). On the North Pacific coast the otter was the Russian interest.

the Atlantic coastal area where North American history was shaped. And the Dutch and Swedes had but a brief stay.

The French were as early on the scene as the English in Virginia, and they remained on the scene until late in the eighteenth century. And although in their tobacco and sugar developments on the lower Mississippi they had something other than the fur trade to live for and by, it is the fur trade with its necessities which moulded French policy on the North American frontier.

Inasmuch as this policy appears to have undergone early developments which later continued to determine its direction independent of influence by or upon the contemporary development of English policy, we shall devote some separate consideration to it, to illuminate the consideration in later chapters of the meeting of the boundaries of the French and the English spheres of influence. Especially in our later chapters on the Iroquois and on Pontiac will we have to consider in more detail the economic aspects of this juxtaposition and contrast.¹

The French Crown and the trading companies, alike in their activities on the St. Lawrence River and in the trans-Allegheny regions, were concerned almost exclusively with the development of the Indian trade. The success of this trade depended upon having the Indians spend as much time as possible in hunting fur-bearing animals, notably the beaver. The beaver furnished the raw material of the important French hat industry. In exchange for the furs of the Indians industrial products such as firearms and ammunition, cloth, copper kettles, iron hoes and knives, and such were paid. French industries and the trading companies were alike concerned in the maintenance of the Indian trade.

ITS INHIBITION OF SETTLEMENT

But the missionaries of New France cared nothing for these interests. They saw that *the development of the fur trade and the civilization of the Indian were incompatible*. The fur trade unsettled the native life. It made him much more of a roamer and less of an agriculturist than he was aborig-

¹ Consult our index under Fur Trade.

inally. The missionaries wanted to see the Indians settled the year round in villages well-equipped with ploughs and hoes, axes, cattle, and orchards. They wanted the Indians to be allowed firearms only for defence of the mission villages. They wanted prohibition of the sale of liquor. But the trading interests urged the Indian out into the wilderness, gave him firearms to hunt with, which the Indian used as much to fight with; and in order better to cheat the Indian, or merely to please him and increase his dependence on them, they sold him intoxicants. The missionaries were often, through the favour of the Crown, a real political power in the French colonies; but so long as the Indian trade was the dominant motive for French colonial development the laws which they obtained to favour the mission policy were rather futile in the face of contrary practice on the part of the traders.

For the trading interests sought by fair means and foul to prevent the development of an agricultural colony in French North America, excepting the case of Louisiana,—which, however, was not under way until the early eighteenth century and was not of great importance. They not only objected to seeing the Indians reduced to a more settled life, but they objected to introducing French farmers. The only immigrants they wanted were men to serve as agents for the trade. Expansion of agricultural settlements would drive away or kill off the fur-bearing animals, and settlement of the Indians would take away the cheapest and best supply of born hunters of these animals. The Crown, and men of vision like Champlain, frequently urged immigration and agricultural development. The New France Company during the period of its government, about thirty-five years, up to 1663, had established a population of only about two thousand French in North America, and these were mostly concerned with trade. The West India Company was chartered partly on the condition that it introduce more and more immigrants, and in one year after receiving its charter in 1664 it had shipped over two thousand more French. But it then neglected the immigration provisions of its charter, and in 1674 the Crown took personal charge of its lands in North America, with somewhat heavier immigration being effected. Immigrants, of course, were not always available even when they were wanted. The Huguenots, French Calvinists, were eager to

colonize and would have established French population in the New World on a parity with the English, but the French Crown, like the Spanish and Portuguese, would rather see Doomsday come than the establishment of Protestant populations in the New World; so Huguenots were not acceptable as immigrants. Continental Protestant people, French and others, had to emigrate to the English colonies, and the English success in colonizing was to a considerable extent due to the colonizing activity of such non-English peoples.

The consequence of all this was that while in 1763 there were about 1,200,000 people in the English colonies, there were only about 80,000 in the whole of French North America !

ITS INFLUENCE ON FRENCH INDIAN POLICY

The extension of the fur trade was not to be effected through conquering the Indian tribes. It could not and need not wait for that, and there was no need of slaves or serfs. Trading posts were established further and further to the westward by agreements between the colonial administration and the various Indian tribes. The Indian tribes were treated as independent nations, but the tribes invariably entered into alliance with the French and permitted the building of fortifications at the trading posts. Of course this method of treating the tribes as sovereign states was merely viewed as a temporary, necessary expedient. It was anticipated that gradually, under the influence of the spread of Catholic Christianity among the Indians, they would in time be brought to submission to the sovereignty and administration of the Crown and its agents. It was a policy of peaceful penetration dictated by the peculiar nature of French interests in America. And, especially through the activity of the mission establishments, beginning on the coast at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, tribe after tribe was gradually and peacefully brought to surrender its sovereignty and submit to French administration, retaining, of course, its tribal government as a village or local government.

In Louisiana in the early eighteenth century where the fur trade was insignificant, the French very likely would have proceeded forcibly to subjugate the natives, but by this time the expanding English colonies and the French each depended

for security against the other on the friendship and alliance of the Indians, and offensive measures against the Indians by the French would merely have thrown the natives to the English side. So, expediency of a new kind dictated the continuance of a policy which had at an earlier date been formulated to meet a different situation.

There was never any buying of land from the Indians of French North America. The trading interests and the government were gladly given land for posts and forts by the Indians who appreciated the advantage of a trade through which they obtained metal kettles, iron hoes, firearms, and so on; and who realized that the French were not planning to cut down the forests and plant the soil. And when an Indian tribe, in the regions of older settlement where French farmers were moving in, accepted French tuition and supervision usually in the person of the missionaries, it appreciated the fact that with a knowledge and use of European agricultural economy it had no need of its hunting lands. The Spanish method was then followed, whereby the natives submitted to the Crown and received title only to their cultivated lands, the hunting grounds becoming Crown or company property and disposed of to French immigrants.¹

¹ So important was the Choctaw alliance to the French that the French in 1700 were paying this nation annuities which were interpreted as payments for the right to cross Choctaw lands, a phenomenon exceptional in French policy. See the anonymous *Early Account*, p. 55.

CHAPTER XIII

CELT AND INDIAN: BRITAIN'S OLD WORLD FRONTIER IN RELATION TO THE NEW

"Her majesty hath good cause to remember that a million [pounds] hath been spent in Ireland not many years since. A better kingdom might have been purchased at a less price."—*Sir Walter Raleigh to the Queen*, 1600.

" . . . I am persuaded (*absit invida verbo*) that the Governor's place here may be as profitable as the Lord Deputie's in Ireland."—*By a Virginia bureaucrat*, 1619¹.

"Dol a dh'arruidh an fhortain do North Carolina."—*Highland Gaelic Song*, 1745.

" . . . And if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them than New England; being nearer; our own; void [depopulated] in some parts; fruitful; of importance for the securing [defence] of our own land; needing our help for their recovering out of blindness and superstition."²

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England and Scotland, united dynastically in 1603,³ were developing frontier policies on the Celtic frontier as well as in the Far East and in America. The experience gained by James VI of Scotland in his attempt to subjugate the "wild" Celtic-speaking inhabitants of the Hebridean Islands off the western coast of Scotland was useful to him when in 1603 he succeeded Queen Elizabeth as King James I of England. The first colonizing business corporation actually to get under way was one chartered by James as King of Scotland in 1599, and was designed to do for a large section of Celtic Scotland what the Virginia Company was to do in Virginia.

¹ John Pory, *Letter*, 1619, in Orig. Narr's., p. 285. Pory was the then Secretary of State in Virginia for the Company. His letter shows him as the original American Babbit or Booster. He was, I suppose, honest, but official perquisites and official *pourboires* were ever on his mind. The poor fellow was very lonely in his colonial post, and begged for European reading matter. On the value of political jobs in early Virginia see Scott, v. 2, 257.

² *Planter's Plea*, 1630, in Force, v. 2, p. 16. The anonymous writer of this tract then tells why New England should receive the emigration rather than Ireland.

³ The parliaments of the two countries did not merge until some years later.

The first English colonizing business corporations designed to effect settlement in Ireland and in America were chartered by this same King several years after he ascended the English throne, in 1606 and 1609.

In these and many other incidents appear the historical relationship of developments on the Celtic frontier of Britain and Britain's frontier in America. There is, for further example, the fact that many of the most important personalities concerned in frontier development were operative on both frontiers. Sir Walter Raleigh held feudal tenure of lands in both Celtic Ireland and Indian America, and failed lamentably in the exploitation of both.¹ John Mason, responsible for the brutal burning and massacre of the Pequot village in Connecticut in 1637, learned his butcher's trade in warring on Scotch clansmen.² Edward Wingfield, first president of the first council of the first colony in America (Virginia), had seen service in Ireland. So had many other of the colonists. "We observed a pathway like to an Irish pass . . .", notes Percy, fighting Indians in Virginia with John Smith. Again, Roger Williams in New England saw that the thick woods and swamps afforded refuge to the Indians in wartime, "like the bogs to the wild Irish". Another observer notes even that the Indian houses were "like the houses of the wild Irish".³

The colonizing activity on both Celtic and American

¹ Writing in the Tower his monumental *History of the World* while waiting for execution, one of the last paragraphs of this great nobleman's was: "'I have considered' (saith Solomon) 'all the works that are under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.' But who believes it, till Death tells it us!" (*History of the World*). He was lamenting the death of his friend, Prince Henry of England.

² See Mason, and below, pp. 168-169, 215.

³ Percy: *Observations*, 1608, in Smith; Williams: *Key*, 1634, p. 74; De Forest, p. 12. We have noted the relationship of companies and personnel on the frontiers in America and the Far East (above, p. 135). We may add that Captain Newport, prominent in early Virginia (see below, p. 178), died in Java in 1619; and Dale, likewise prominent in early Virginia, had bitter experiences in Java and died near India. (Hannay, pp. 57, 150.) The Dutch colonizing corporations in the Old and the New Worlds were also linked in personnel. For example, Hendrik Brower, a director of the Dutch West India Company which settled our Middle Atlantic States, was also a Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (Batavia, Java). It was he who sent agents to inform the Araucanian Indians in 1642 that the Dutch West India Company would come to their aid against the Chileans. (Southey, v. 2, p. 24.) See also the paragraphs quoted at the head of this chapter.

frontiers called for colonists, and the two frontiers competed for them with each other.¹ The first "reservations" were designed for the "wild" Irish of Ulster in 1609. And the first Indian reservation agent in America, Gookin of Massachusetts, like many other American immigrants had seen service in Ireland under Cromwell.² At the same time that the rich and undeveloped fisheries of the Celtic Scotch Hebrides were adding incentive to British expansion there, the rich fisheries off Newfoundland and New England also were an incentive for development on the American frontier.³ Finally, let us note that one of the largest sections of early emigration to the American frontier was from Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland.⁴

All the relationships I have mentioned and many more are important and should be developed in a full comparison of both frontiers. But here we shall go into detail only in several matters which we consider of especially deep underlying significance, especially in making adequate note of the development of frontier-developmental policies by King James VI of Scotland, James I of England.

THE CELTIC LANDS

In and about the year 1600, Celtic-speaking tribes, quite free of all subjection to the Crowns of Scotland and England, held virtually all of Ireland and all of the Scotch Highlands and Islands (the Hebrides). The Scotch clan and the Irish *tuath* or petty kingdom were merely tribes such as typical Indian tribes were. The clan chief was a petty king, lord of all he surveyed. In Scotland and Ireland all told there were perhaps seventy-five of these sovereign states, each at war with its neighbours. The population gathered under one head-chief was often as little as about three thousand and its territory only about ten or twenty square miles. Politically the Celts were about on a level with the Indians of North

¹ Compare Cheyney: *Some English Conditions*. See Smith's strictures on the reluctance of the English poor to emigrate; Morton: *Canaan*, p. 176; and below, pp. 165, 171.

² See Gookin.

³ Consider the fisheries companies, etc., in Scott, v. 3.

⁴ Compare De Villiers on Gregor mac Gregor, "cacique des poyais"; Strieby; MacLean.

America, and were, of course, inferior to those of Peru and Mexico.¹

Although they had a knowledge of agriculture and cattle raising, these arts were very crudely developed. They required five men, for example, to handle a horse and plough.² Nearly the entire Celtic territory was wild woodland. The population was only about twice as dense as that of the Indian population in non-desert United States, and was only about one-seventh or one-eighth that of civilized Scotland and England. Relatively, therefore, despite their use of cattle, these Celts were about as primitive economically as the American Indian in agricultural North America.

Let us note, moreover, that they were as much Nordic in blood as the English were, despite their Celtic speech. The Scotch Hebrideans (islanders) were almost purely Scandinavian in type.³ And the red-hairedness so prominent

¹ I know of course about the Normans in Ireland, the more or less vapourish overlordships in Ireland and Scotland, the Lord of the Isles, and so on, and the fact that most of the Scotch clan chiefs had charter chests filled with documents in which one king and another granted them feudal rights—frequently granting several chiefs the same land! These charters were generally mere “scraps of paper”. The clans of the Hebrides in the sixteenth century were in a relationship to the Scotch Crown about like that of those frontier Indian tribes which frequently treated with the Europeans. The reader interested in making a particularly exact comparison might compare the dispute over the inheritance of clan chiefship lasting in the Clan MacLeod from 1547 to 1792, begun by William na H’uamha’s attempt to make his daughter the clan head (R. C. MacLeod: *Dunvegan*, pp. 90-93) with the troubles surrounding the attempt of a Maryland Indian chief to have his daughter succeed him, likewise in contravention of native law (W. C. MacLeod: *Piscatoway*). Compare also the “medal chiefs of the Indian tribes” (see Woodward: *Silver Gorget*). Wales, Brittany, and Cornwall were then, of course, and the two former are still, Celtic-speaking, and were rather free from Nordic blood. But long before 1600 they were politically and economically assimilated. On the number of tribes in Ireland see MacNielle, p. 122, who here points out that most of the wars were the result of quarrels over inheritance of chiefship. (On Norse-Celtic inheritance compare R. C. MacLeod: *Norse*, and MacNielle, pp. 117, 142-143.)

² On the plough see Adam, p. 169, and Joyce.

³ See especially R. C. MacLeod: *Norsemen*, whose article is in large part based on newly discovered and as yet unpublished documents now in his possession. He points out, among other things, that place names in the Northern Hebrides are fifty per cent. to seventy-five per cent. Scandinavian, the rest Irish (Gaelic)! The names of the Hebridean families, moreover, save for the patronymic *mac* are largely Scandinavian,—perhaps all of them are,—Donald, Ranald, Nicol, Leod, Norman (Thormod), Torquil, Craill, Caskill, etc. The Lewes, and Harris, islands, home of the *siol Leoid*, were particularly thoroughly Nordicized.

in Scotland and Ireland is the result of a large admixture of Danish blood. The Viking raids of the ninth and tenth centuries had given much of the best blood of Scandinavia to these Celtic-speaking peoples.¹

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

In the decades during which civilized Britain was turning to exploitation of North America, these primitive Celts held just about *fifty per cent. of the area of the British Isles*, and they bitterly resisted every attempt of the British sovereigns to extend the frontier of sovereignty, political administration, and economic development.

This frontier problem at home was more serious in some ways than frontier problems abroad. The subdued Celtic lands offered a foothold or base for foreign invasion. And in their uncivilized condition they represented a waste which might be filled with a loyal British civilized population which would add to the wealth, man-power, and defence of Britain, instead of remaining a weak spot in the insular defence.

Note, for illustration, the fact that in 1570 England had a population of only 4,000,000, with a density of seventy-six to the square mile.² France (without Alsace-Lorraine) had a population of 20,000,000, a density of ninety-six to the square mile, and a corresponding superiority in national wealth, for these were the days before the development of coal and iron in the machine industry. London, the metropolis of England, had a population of 120,000 ! The possibilities of the Celtic lands, notably of Ireland, may be seen in the fact that merely through the improvement of agriculture, Ireland, having in 1600 a population of perhaps only 500,000, in 1800 had a population of 4,000,000, while the population of England had increased only to 8,000,000. By 1845, again with practically no development of industrial centres, the Irish population had increased to 8,500,000.

¹ On Celtic Ireland and Scotland see Skene, Joyce, MacNielle, and A. C. Greene. MacNielle makes correction of important errors in Joyce concerning land tenure.

² Less than the population of Spain seventy years earlier (1570), which was then 4,500,000, twenty-two and a half to the square mile.

COLONIZING COMPANIES IN THE HIGHLANDS

James VI of Scotland in 1597 determined on a plan for the subjugation of the Scotch Highland clans. On paper the Highlands and Islands were divided into three royal burghs. The clan chiefs were ordered to report to Edinburgh within a few months on pain of dispossession, and preparations were begun in anticipation of their refusal. Some of the mountain chiefs submitted. The chiefs of the Islands were the most obdurate. They had the advantage of insular position.

Two years later (in June, 1599) the colonizing company method of extending the frontier was devised by James for the Highlands. The Crown's resources were inadequate to the task of conquering the Highlands, nor did there appear to be any feudal noble otherwise qualified who was financially able to undertake the task.

THE FIRST ACTUAL COLONIZING COMPANIES IN NORTH EUROPEAN HISTORY

Two joint-stock companies were organized. One was given title to the lands of the Camerons of Lochiel, the MacDonalds of Glenelg, and the MacLeods of Harris. Another was given title to the largest of the Hebridean islands, the Lewes, the territory of a second MacLeod tribe, the *Sìol Torquil* or MacLeods of Lewes. It was planned to dispose of the rest of the Highlands later when the results of this first experiment appeared.

The natives of the territories turned over to the colonizing companies, were declared outlaws, and the companies had the right to make war upon them and destroy them. The companies planned to make their profits, as did also the Virginia Company later in Virginia, in considerable part from real estate development, that is, by disposing of land to stockholders as dividends. The fisheries were also of economic importance. Money profits would, of course, be distributed as cash dividends to the shareholders of the companies.

The Lewes Company began operations first. The Harris Company delayed operations to await perhaps the results of the Lewes Company's enterprise. Six hundred hired soldiers, a number of "gentlemen volunteers", and artificers

of all sorts for the building of a town, were landed on the Lewes in the autumn of 1599.

At that time there was civil war in the tribe occupying the Lewes. The side led by one Niell made terms with the colonists in order to get their help against the other party, which was led by the MacGilmore family. Niell, after winning a victory over his enemies, and making terms with the colonists, left for Edinburgh to talk things over with the King, "taking along with him also the heads of ten or twelve of the MacGilmores whom he had lately put to death!"¹

Niell, of course, had played a game like that of many Indian chiefs. For a year he watched colonization of his island, lulled by the colonists into such a sense of security that they felt obliged to go to very little further expense for defence. The company was making so much money that it promised to begin payments of rents to the King within a year, instead of at the end of seven years as had been expected. The directors of the company began to sink their whole personal fortunes into the enterprise.

THE MASSACRE OF 1600

Then, in 1600, the storm broke. Niel and his tribesmen massacred the colonists. In the first attack sixty of the colonists were slain. Within a few weeks their town was wiped out and the island cleared. Two noblemen, members of the directorate of the Lewes Company, were captives.²

The stockholders then began to throw good money after bad. In 1602 they again tried to conquer the tribesmen; and in 1605, once more, failing again despite the fact that this time the King's fleet was sent to help them. Other tribes of the islands sent galleys to the assistance of the Lewes tribe. By 1697 some of the members of the company were dead;

¹ The career of this last chief of the Lewes tribe is as thrilling a story as, say, *Treasure Island*. He was sheltered for a time by the chief of the Harris tribe; but finally taken prisoner while disguised in Glasgow, on his way to London with the Harris chief to appeal to King James, and put on trial in Edinburgh for piracy. The indictment in this case is a document remarkable in many ways. It may be consulted in Pitairn: *Criminal Trials*, v. 3, pp. 144, 244 (March 30, 1613), "Trial of Niel MacLeod."

² Compare this with the 1622 massacre in Virginia (below, p. 185).

others had sunk and lost their fortunes. They surrendered their charter. In 1609 a new company was chartered to try the job; it too failed.

EXTERMINATION OF THE LEWES TRIBE

James then adopted a new scheme. The MacKenzie tribe of the mainland had submitted and their chief was made a noble.¹ They had long coveted the island of the Lewes. The King decided to use barbarian against barbarian, armed the MacKenzie chief with a commission of fire and sword, and turned his tribe with its seven hundred swordsmen loose on the Lewes islanders. The Lewes tribe, weakened by years of civil war and strife with colonists, was soon crushed. Some of the lower orders submitted; but the entire ruling clan and the upper classes were by 1626 completely exterminated. A contemporary account by a MacLeod chronicler writes: "And so ends the lamentable historie and decay of meleoid of Lewes together with his trybe the Shiell Thorquill." But a contemporary MacKenzie account speaks of their chief as, "This noble conqueror."²

The land of the Lewes was then colonized by MacKenzies and their septs. But the fisheries were held by the Crown. In 1629 a Dutch company was licensed to exploit the fisheries. John Mason, in 1636, organized a joint-stock company to take over these rights to the fisheries,³ and made much money from the enterprise.

The colonizing company which was to have conquered the Camerons and others never began operations, after witnessing the early massacre of the settlement of the other company.⁴

¹ Kenneth, XIIth chief, raised to the peerage as Lord MacKenzie of Kintail.

² On the above see *Evil Troubles* (The Evil Troubles); and *Genealogy of MacKenzie*. Also *Criminal Trials*, v. 3, pp. 276, 279, 290, 292, 294. Lord Kintail married the daughter of the legitimate chief of the Lewes tribe, daughter of the unfortunate brother of the bastard Niell. On the Lewes troubles see also R. C. MacLeod: *Dunvegan*, pp. 125-126.

³ See John Mason Documents § 35 in Mason; and Scott, v. 3.

⁴ A good outline of the above struggle may be found in Gregory. On the negotiations between Huntley and the King see the *Register of the Privy Council*, June 23, 1607; March 26, April 30, 1607; and *Letters to the King* in the *Denmylne MSS.*, *Advocates Library*, March 26, May 1, June 19, 1607; the *Statutes of Icolmkill*, 1609, are recorded in the *Register of the Privy Council*, July 27, 1610. On the Lewes colonization plan see

A GENERAL EXTERMINATION PLANNED

In 1607 James was sovereign of both England and Scotland, and we shall speak of him now as James I of England, or, of Great Britain. He had just the year before chartered joint-stock companies to colonize Virginia and New England, and was busy organizing the Ulster Plantation, making use there to some extent of the joint-stock company. But he had become disgusted with the colonizing company as an agent of frontier extension in the Highlands of Scotland. He turned then to his more powerful Scotch nobles.

The failure of the Lewes Company lay in the fact that it had come to terms with the barbarous natives and attempted to absorb them into the colony. To James it now appeared that colonization must be preceded by a vigorous military campaign which would exterminate the natives. The Scotch Crown did not have at its command adequate financial or other resources to prosecute such a campaign. The Marquis of Huntley did.¹ James opened negotiations with Huntley with a view to contracting with him for the work.

Meantime the Earl of Argyll was commissioned to² subjugate the MacDonalds, MacNielles, MacIans, and others of the southern Hebrides. But as soon as these clansmen heard of this they took the offensive, raided the coasts of the Lowlands, and struck so much terror everywhere that they remained for the time unmolested. All the northern Hebrides except Lewes and Skye, which were still held on paper by joint-stock companies, were to be given in fee to the Marquis of Huntley. The Marquis was to conquer the islands at his

Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 165; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, v. 4, pp. 138, 160 (June 28, 1598); *Collect de Rebus Albanicus*, v. 1, p. 158; and *Register of the Privy Seal*, v. 79, p. 252.

¹ The Gordon chief had always acknowledged the sovereignty of the Scotch Crown. The chief was made Earl of Huntley first by James II of Scotland in 1449. The Earl whom we write of above was George VI of Huntley; his father, the V, had been High Chancellor of Scotland. In 1594 James VI of Scotland had made war on the Earl and the clan—and the Gordons defeated the king's army! (Huntley and other Catholic Scotch nobles had been suspected of treason). James, after his defeat, pardoned the powerful Gordon chief and raised him to a Marquisate in 1599.

² The Campbells and their Earl of Argyll occupy the lands first taken from the Pictish Kingdom by the Irish invaders (Scots) from Dalriada in Ulster.

own expense. After one year from the signing of the contract he was to begin payment of rents to the Crown.

Huntley replied to these tentative terms that it would take at least nine years to conquer the islands. The Marquis, moreover, was evidently planning to attempt to come to an agreement with the natives as the Lewes Company had done. But James, by insisting on completion of operations within one year, was planning to oblige the Marquis to put all his available forces into immediate and concerted action in the islands. If this were done he thought that he could have the natives exterminated. Moreover, by insisting at the same time on the extermination of the natives, and on payments of rent by the Marquis within a year, it would force the Marquis to bring Lowland immigrants immediately into the islands.

James, speaking from his London throne, through his privy council in Scotland, was very clear on these points. He insisted that it be agreed in writing that if the Marquis left any natives alive on the islands after a year had passed the lands should revert to the Crown and the Marquis get nothing for his expense. To his privy council James wrote that "you are to enjoin the said Marquis that, anent the extirpating of the barbarous people in those bounds he specially undertake and bind himself to extirpate and rout out the chief of Clan Ranald with his whole clan [Mainland MacDonalds] and their followers within the Isles . . . and also the MacNiel of Barra with his clan, and the whole Clan Donald in the north [northern MacDonalds]. . . ." And further, "that he end not his service by agreement with the country people [natives] but by extirpation of them". And finally, "that the said Marquis before the expiring of the year, shall plant those isles with civil people, and under no circumstances with", and here he explains that the immigrants must not be from the subjugated Highland regions of the mainland, but civilized Lowlanders. (This provision he also laid down in the plantation of Ulster.)

Huntley accepted these conditions. His acceptance indicates that the extermination preliminaries were practical. There is no doubt that they could have been carried out by the Lewes Company in 1599. *But in the Scotch colonization projects as in those in America we find always a reluctance on*

the part of the colonizing agencies to take the chance of laying out the large initial expenses involved in carrying on a campaign of subjugation or extermination of the natives. In this financially motivated caution in North European colonial enterprise in America, first evidenced here on the Celtic frontier, we have a glaring contrast with Spanish methods, which called first for subjugation or extermination and then for agreements. Had the Crown of England or of other North European nations like the Crown of Castile managed, directed, and financed its own colonial enterprise instead of delegating it to private interests, it were inevitable that the policy pursued on the North American frontier had been similar to that of Spain.

The Marquis of Huntley was a Catholic, and for this reason, while he was negotiating with the King over the matter of the amount of rents to be paid, the Presbyterians, then all-powerful in Scotland, stepped in, jealous of the possible extension of power of a Catholic, and prevented the signing of the contract and the carrying out of the work. The King then developed a new idea.¹

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

James, often so short of money and credit that he could not regularly pay his own palace servants,² unwilling himself to spend one cent in the extension of his own sovereignty or in the extension of Christianity to the heathen over the frontier, was fertile with ideas as to how to get his subjects to invest in this work. In the same year that he was negotiating with Huntley concerning the Highlands of Scotland, and witnessing the plantation of Jamestown by the London Company, he was talking over plans for the plantation of northern Ireland.

The Scotch Celts never became so thoroughly subjugated that a reservation system could be introduced to take care of them. For this we must look to Ireland. Queen Elizabeth's nobles who received lands and governing powers in Ireland provided they could conquer the natives in the

¹ See Gregory, cited above. But for the quotations I have made and other details see the *Register of the Privy Council*, v. 7, March 26, April 30, and June 23 (1607); also consult Index to the register under *Huntley*; and references cited above, p. 159, n. 4.

² On the Crown finances see Scott, v. 3, and Hannay, pp. 11-12.

territories assigned, generally decided that it would be necessary to exterminate the Irish. In 1594, when Raleigh had been given lands in the New World, the poet Spenser, and other nobles had been assigned lands in Ireland. Spenser, whose family was burned to death in a castle destroyed by the natives, was one of the most enthusiastic advocates of extermination. But neither the Crown nor any feudal lord was wealthy enough to finance the work of extermination.

Instead, to protect the English settlement in and around Dublin (the Pale) annual tribute was paid to the neighbouring Irish chiefs or kings in order to keep them at peace. This tribute was a regular charge on the state.¹ It is decidedly comparable to the annuities paid many Indian tribes. (King William in 1688 likewise bought peace from the Scotch Highlanders.)² Sometimes, late in the sixteenth century, the Irish chiefs were also induced to submit to the Crown's sovereignty by offers of British titles of nobility; but this method was usually a failure because of many broken promises.³ In 1556 and in 1571 "plantation" schemes of some interest were devised for parts of southern Ireland which involved placing the natives in reservations; these were not pushed, however, with sufficient energy to be successful.⁴

In 1603, about the time of Elizabeth's death and James' succession to the throne of England, matters came to a head in Ulster. The native nobility there thought it well to flee the country and go to the Continent. This was the beginning of a never-ending emigration of the Irish nobles,—the Wild Geese,—for, "ransacking all nature for its most desolate image, . . . and its most lamentable cry",⁵ the tribesmen called their fleeing chiefs after the wild geese. In 1605 James declared the lands of Irish Ulster to be Crown domain. In 1607 (the year of the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia), Chichester suggested a reservation system for the leaderless

¹ Ford, p. 64; reference to the Irish State Papers. In Henry VIII's time £740 was paid annually. Compare this with the 70,000 pesos monthly "subsidy" paid nowadays by Mexico to the Yaqui Indians to induce them to keep the peace.

² Johnstone: *Memoirs*.

³ Gwynn, Chpt. 19, and pp. 201-202.

⁴ Gwynn; Ford; MacManus.

⁵ MacManus, p. 470.

natives; or, as an alternative, a campaign of extermination. In 1609 James used this plan in his final scheme for the colonization of Ulster.¹

IRISH RESERVATIONS

The natives of the region, divided into six British counties, were ordered to leave the country immediately or to gather together on reservations. Of course they had nowhere to go, and the order called for death for any found outside reservations after a certain date. The lands assigned to these reservations occupied one-fifth of the whole territory, but they were scattered evenly here and there over the whole of Ulster. The title to the land of each reservation was granted to one or another of the rich English nobles, to be called "servitors"; they were required to contract to erect a fortified castle on their land, to maintain a military force, and to protect the colonists outside the reservations; and to pay a rental to the King. The reservation natives, in order to subsist, had to meet the terms of their "servitors"; they were required to lease the reservation lands from him and cultivate them to pay the rentals demanded. Under the then civilized methods of grazing and agriculture, one-fifth of Ulster would in fact be plenty for furnishing subsistence for the native population.

THE RESERVATIONS OPENED

The entire county of Derry, with its town, was, for the sum of £20,000 and a yearly rental, turned over by the Crown to the Corporation of the City of London. From the cor-

¹ Down and Antrim Counties were not included in the Plantation. These were already largely Highland Scotch and English in population. On the 16th century kinship and intermarriage of the Hebridean Scotch clans and the Irish of these two counties of Ulster see Dunlop: *Sixteenth Century Plans*; Hamilton: *Ulster*; and, for earlier centuries, concerning one Scotch clan (the Lewes and Harris tribes) see R. C. MacLeod: *Norse*. (Some of these tribesmen emigrated and intermarried even to southern France and to Holland.) On the history of an important Ulster Irish clan see Cronnelly: *Clan Eoghan* (read also the preface to volume two). For a remarkable social-historical study, made more than a century ago, a study of the Irish by a Scotch Highlander whose own Gaelic speech enabled him to converse easily with the Irish, see Dewar. Dewar understood the nature of the social process on frontiers.

poration the twelve corporate guilds of the city each took title to a subdivision of the county. The other five counties were divided among wealthy private persons, many of whom organized joint-stock companies for the exploitation of their areas.

The London Corporation in Derry, and the private grantees and stock companies in the other counties contracted to introduce English, Scotch, or Continental immigrants along with cattle, ploughs, and other necessary capital. These immigrants were to lease the land of the grantees. They were forbidden to permit any native Irish on their lands.

Many immigrants were brought in. But pirates infested the channels; shipping of immigrants and capital was costly; and even the scum of the British cities¹ who furnished many of the tenant immigrants, were, curiously enough, reluctant to leave their dirty but to them comfortable hovels for what they considered the wilderness. Those who were willing were often called by the lure of Virginia, where they could meet the expenses of passage by becoming indentured servants, and hope ultimately not to be tenants but owners of land. The bars to the immigration of the now half-civilized Celtic Scotch had to be somewhat lifted. Many French Huguenots came and developed profitable flax growing.² But by 1660 or thereabouts the natives began to trickle off the reservation in large numbers and were accepted as tenants outside the reservations.³ Without chiefs to lead them they were in time economically assimilated, though they never ceased dreaming of revolt. Leasing to natives remained illegal, however, and the natives held leases only year by year, which gave them little incentive to improve their lands.

¹ Contemporary documents from all parties concerned characterize these lower class immigrants as bad stock.

² Cp. above, p. 154, and p. 171.

³ For this leasing to the Irish, and other breaches of contract, the London Corporation Company in 1634 was fined the then enormous sum of £70,000, and forfeited their Irish estates to the Crown (Gwynn, p. 269). The Irish tenants, worthless as agriculturists, were used largely as grazing tenants. These Irish hoped, said Chichester, to be able in time successfully to revolt against the English in Ulster and regain their lands. Their leases were not recognized in law, and were yearly leases only, in contrast to the long-term leases of the colonists. After nineteen years of development (1628) the Ulster plantation had received only seven thousand immigrants; in the same period Virginia received only about two thousand. (See Ford, pp. 41-42, 60, 80, 119, 121; also Gwynn, and Hanna.)

A TREATY WITH THE WILD TRIBES IN SCOTLAND

While the frontier was making headway in Ireland, James was trying out a new plan in the Hebrides. Away back in the eleventh century, William the Conqueror had established a frontier county of England as a county palatine or palatinate, establishing a bishop as its feudal head in possession of almost sovereign powers.¹ James in 1606 had reestablished the episcopate in Scotland. Apparently inspired by the Durham example, in 1608 he created of the isles west of the Scotch mainland a domain under the feudal lordship of Andrew Knox, a clergyman who was first made Bishop of the Isles, and was then given power to conquer and subdue and govern the natives given in his charge.²

But like all the King's agents, the Bishop too looked for compromise. He sailed into the isles with a well-armed vessel; he persuaded an assembly of the clan chiefs on board ship for a conference, and by trickery locked them down under the hatches, took them to Edinburgh dungeons, and there came to terms with them !

The King had ordered that the tribal system of government be utterly and completely abolished. But the Bishop wanted compromise to avoid bloodshed and got it. In 1609 on the Island of Iona (Icolumbkille) he got the signatures of the chiefs to an agreement which later received the approval of the King. The treaty was signed by the chiefs of the MacLeans, MacDonalds, MacKinnons, MacLeods of Harris, MacQuarries, MacFies, MacAllens, and others.

In Virginia the London Company and the Indian tribes were making treaties which did not demand submission to the English Crown. These Celtic tribes were required to submit to the Crown's sovereignty, and stop internecine warfare, but they were allowed to retain their tribal organization for administrative purposes, and in other respects the treaty is remarkably similar to typical early Indian treaties.

The treaty, among other things, observed that one of the causes of continued barbarism among the tribesmen was the heavy use of whiskey. So the treaty provides for virtual prohibition. Sale or transportation of liquor in the isles was

¹ See Surtees, and above, pp. 139 *et seq.*

² See Mason, pp. 9-11.



MAP 6.—THE PRINCIPAL SCOTCH CELTIC TRIBES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

(The black are the MacLeod; the checkered, the MacLean; the cross-hatched, the MacKenzie; the horizontally-lined, the MacDonald; the horizontally-lined with dots, the Campbells; the isolated interior group marked by heavy cross-bars, the Gordon; the cross-hatched with crosses in the squares, the Cameron. For others see Appendix X.)

forbidden. Home brew alone was permitted, save that the chiefs might import a little good whiskey or wine for their personal use. It was also argued that the introduction of firearms among these barbarians who for ages past had used only the sword and dagger and bow and arrow was terribly destructive in their internecine wars. So the use of firearms even in hunting was forbidden !

One of the cleverest stipulations agreed that the eldest children of the chiefs and nobles be educated in English schools, under the direction of the Crown though at the expense of their parents. In time this effected some Anglicization of the chiefs. Incidentally, trial marriage, a native custom, was forbidden; and the tribes were required to submit in religion to the established Episcopal Church, to build churches, and support a clergy. Hitherto, they had been Catholics, first Celtic, then Roman.

And, last, the bards or *seannachies* were forbidden to sing to remind the tribesmen of their ancient, primitive glory, and the chiefs of their age-long genealogies. The chiefs were even forbidden to support them, and the bards were to be doomed to starvation or manual labour—and silence.¹

JOHN MASON IN SCOTLAND AND IN AMERICA

Naturally this treaty was often broken, and in 1625 the troublesome MacIans had to be exterminated,² while as late as 1633 the new population of the Lewes was still giving trouble.³ In fact immediately in 1610, serious revolts had broken out and these brought John Mason on the scene. The Bishop required help and the King could not afford it. Mason, a wealthy English commoner, seeking the royal favour, at a cost of £2,000, equipped ships of war and commanded them in the service of the Bishop for fourteen months, until 1612. His £2,000 expenditure was considered a loan to the King's treasury; the King promised to give Mason lands in Ireland in payment, but Mason never got either these lands or his money. But in 1615 Mason became governor of Newfoundland for the joint-stock company which

¹ For this treaty and environing circumstances see the documents cited above, p. 159; but especially R. C. MacLeod: *Dunvegan*, 129-136.

² Gregory, pp. 410-411, 418.

³ Scott, v. 3, 369.

had acquired title to it. Then he and Gorges acquired title to lands in New England and he himself became the founder of what is now the state of New Hampshire. In 1647 he was the leader of the massacre of the Pequots in Connecticut.¹

THE END OF SCOTCH TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The tribal organization remained in existence all through the Scotch Highlands until their revolt in the interest of the Pretender in 1745, when the government suppressed the tribal system, forbade the use of the native costume, worked for the suppression of the Gaelic language, and so on.² The disheartened tribesmen, sometimes headed by their chiefs and retaining their clan organization even in foreign parts for a time, then began a large-scale emigration to the Carolinas, Canada, and other parts.³

Those who remained at home showed themselves incapable of rapidly assimilating the agricultural methods of civilized peoples. They acted not at all as Nordics are supposed to act according to the pseudo-mythology of Stoddard and Grant.⁴ The Highlands were civilized economically only as a result of the importation of tenants from the Lowlands.⁵

THE PURITANS ON THE CELTIC FRONTIER: EXTERMINATION; AND RESERVATIONS

Once in the course of the development of the frontier *did the sovereign directly prosecute its extension, and we see immediately the absence of the timid policy of hedging and compromise exhibited by private agents on the Celtic and Indian frontiers.*

¹ See the Mason documents.

² The '45 revolt of the Highlands has about it much of the atmosphere of despair and reaction which we find on the Indian frontier under similar circumstances. In 1744, for example, a meeting of the chiefs of the MacDonalds, MacKinnons, and MacLeods of Harris and of Raasay at Portree, Skye, "agreed to discontinue and discountenance the use of brandy, tea, and tobacco" (innovations from the other side of the frontier). On Celtic costume in Scotland see MacKay.

³ Compare the Gaelic song cited in our chapter heading.

⁴ *The Passing of the Great Race; The Rising Tide of Colour; The Revolt against Civilisation*; and Stoddard's childish *Saturday Evening Post* articles *ad nauseam*.

⁵ Consider the discussion and data in Adam; R. C. MacLeod; and N. MacLeod (Introduction).

The plantation of Ulster effected the end of any serious native problem there. But the other three regions of Ireland remained tribal and barbarian (although Catholic in religion). These three provinces were subjugated by the Puritan dictator, Oliver Cromwell, who had no doubt read the book on Spanish Indian massacres which so affectionately had been dedicated to him¹ by the nephew of John Milton, the poet who made Satan a hero.

From 1642 to 1651 Charles I and the Protestant Parliamentarians fought each other in a civil war. From 1651 to 1660 Cromwell, exactly in the fashion of Lenin, Mussolini, *et al.*, to-day, was a zealous, haughty dictator, whose strength was in the army. In 1660, the masses of the English people, sick to the death of evangelical fanaticism, restored the Stuarts in the person of Charles II and took bloody revenge on the fanatical regicides.

During his dictatorship Cromwell suppressed religious freedom as rigorously as did his fellow Puritans in America. Anglicans, Jews, and Catholics were forbidden to worship unless they wished to worship in Presbyterian or Congregationalist churches. He went with his army into Ireland determined not only to wipe out the tribal system but the native religion, and to force the natives to submit to the English Parliament and his dictatorship and to the Congregationalist religious belief and organization.

The butchery he proceeded with there, even in the light of the ethics then generally prevalent in Europe, was more than in any way could be condoned. But it was successful. "The Curse of Cromwell" brought civil government to Ireland. At a terrible cost in human suffering, however. Over eighty thousand natives were shipped to the West Indies as chattel slaves, there to toil alongside the negroes, and alongside the Indians enslaved and shipped abroad by the Puritans of New England in the same period. And of the native population of at most one million, about one-fourth died by the sword and by starvation.²

¹ See below, p. 343.

² In 1651, Cromwell defeated Charles and his Highlanders at Worcester. In that battle the MacLeod clan alone lost one thousand men killed and captive. The captives were shipped off as slaves to the West Indies, with Irish and Indian and many English Royalists. (R. C. MacLeod: *Dunvegan*, p. 154.) I am told that to-day there are negroes in the West Indies who speak English with an Irish accent.

Even at this Cromwell did not attain all his ends. For although in 1654 the hand-picked Parliament denied it officially, it was evident that the object of Cromwell and the hope of Parliament was the extermination of the million natives of wild Ireland !

Resistance ending on the part of the natives, open extermination was no longer planned or hoped for. A unique reservation scheme was devised, which was planned to result in the death of hundreds of thousands. In September, 1653, order was given that all natives still living in the two provinces of the east and south should get out and emigrate to the western province, Connaught. Any native found outside Connaught by May 1, 1654, was to be put to death. The Puritans apparently anticipated a substitute on May Day for the May Pole which they so detested.¹ Those who were not executed on May 1, if they reached Connaught would probably starve, for barren, stony Connaught had all the population it could support. The natives started to trek to their great reservation in the West, but before the coming May so many exceptions to the rule had been made that most of them never had to leave. It had been soon realized that native labour was necessary for the east and south, immigrants enough not being available.²

So much for a frontier intimately linked with that which we shall now consider at much greater length.

¹ On their aversion to the Maypole in New England see Morton's delightful satire, with his own description of an old-style English Maypole celebration held near Plymouth.

² See Gwynn; MacManus; compare above, pp. 154, 165.

CHAPTER XIV

OLD VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND: 1606-1633

“Of parroquets I have seen many in the winter. . . . Some of our colony who have seen East Indian parrots affirm how they are like that kind, which hath given us somewhat the more hope of the nearness of the South Sea, these parrots by all probability, likely enough coming from some of the countries upon that sea.”—STRACHEY, 1612.

“My Lord—From this discourse, it is clear that the long-looked-for discovery of the Indian Sea does nearly approach.”—*Baron Talbot on the same subject*, 1702.

PROSPECTS IN VIRGINIA, 1607

THE Virginia Company of merchants of London, in the same year that it was chartered (1606) sent three small ships with one hundred colonists to Virginia.¹ The colonists arrived in the Spring of 1607 and established Jamestown. At the time Jamestown was brought into existence French and Spanish settlements were each some days' journey distant and their activities and policies I have not discovered to be of appreciable effect on the Indian policy evolved in early Virginia.

Much more was this Indian policy influenced by the expediencies of business finance as practised in London in that day, by the colonizing experience of King James and other Britishers interested in Virginia, obtained on the Celtic frontier, and to no inconsiderable extent, it would seem, by the fact that the directors of the Virginia Company were in intimate contact with the workings of the East India Company in India, Ceylon, Java and other parts of the Far East. As we shall see, they seemed to think of the Virginia Indian tribes in terms of the monarchies of the Far East.

Trade with the Indians was not, apparently, expected to be of great moment; in time the Indian trade, especially in the hinterland, gave rise to conflicts of policy between the trading

¹ The total tonnage of the three ships which brought the first colonists to Virginia was only one hundred and sixty tons (one was only twenty tons). These three vessels carried one hundred colonists. (See below, p. 189, n. 1.)

interests and the tobacco planters.¹ The colony anticipated the industrial exploitation of the country with the labour of imported white indentured servants, not with native (Indian) labour.²

When Strachey, secretary of the colony, wrote a description of it, he made much mention of forest products but none of the possibilities of tobacco culture—envisaged later by Rolfe. Tobacco became of moment only after 1614, and it was then that imported negro slave labour became considerably relied upon. It was thought that gold mines would be found. In the meantime the forest offered pitch, sassafras,³ and other products desired in England.

Small local settlements of whites were expected to develop, with a consequent increase in land values and profits accruing therefore to the stockholders of the Virginia Company to whom pro rata property dividends in the form of land, as well as cash dividends, were eventually to be declared, after a period in which the land was to be held in common, that is, by the corporation.

The Virginia Company and its colony from the beginning and for decades thereafter counted much on the likelihood of discovering the Pacific just on the other side of the highlands back of the tidewater. Continually they sought and longed for this "South Sea", or "Indian Ocean".

In the instructions given the departing colonists in 1606 they were urged to seek it. About this time Champlain also was seeking it for the French by way of Lake Champlain, and again, by way of the Great Lakes and the Ottawa River. John Smith hoped for it. Powhatan tried to disillusion him and the others in Virginia in his day. In 1684 Yonge sailed

¹ See below, p. 364.

² The first supplies of colonists were about one-half "gentlemen"; they also included jewellers, gold refiners, and one perfumer (!), all ready for finds of pearl fisheries and gold mines, possibly on the shores of the South Sea. There were also a number of non-English, Polish industrial artisans chiefly, who eventually caused the colony trouble. The surname of the Poles apparently became Poole! Here we may note the fact brought out by Hrdlicka, *Old Americans*, in connection with this early Polish immigration that the "Old Americans", the founders, were chiefly not Nordic, but brunette brachycephals (Central European or Alpine type), of Irish, German, French Huguenot, and similar origin.

³ On the significance of sassafras as an example of early interests which I shall make note of in more detail, see Appendix V.

up the Delaware River hoping to find a navigable passage to the Pacific. And still, in 1651, a map of Virginia shows the Pacific Ocean coming up under the west slopes of the Allegheny Mountains and the map-maker gives an old estimate that the Pacific (the South Seas) is about one hundred and fifty miles west of the Falls of the James River. Later, in 1669-1670, a traveller in the hinterland of Virginia still thought the desired sea was so near. A year later Father Hennepin, for the French, canoed on the Mississippi River, and, dispelling the Virginian dream, still sought the Pacific nearby and thought Japan was nearly contiguous with New France. In 1702, despite the available news concerning the Mississippi, the Virginia colony, still not reaching past the Fall line, yet dreamed awhile of the Pacific nearby and China just beyond. The Carolina parrakeets, or miniature parrots, found in great flocks as far north as the Schuylkill River, the early colonists thought were birds from the nearby Pacific shores.

All this longing for the South Sea was due, of course, to the expectation that a short-cut from the Spice Islands and Cathay overland through Virginia to England might be realized, promoting the growth of trade in Virginia and the profit of the Virginia Company. For, writes the author of *A Perfect Description* in 1649, "by such a discovery the planters of Virginia shall gain the rich trade of the East Indies, and so cause it to be driven through the Continent of Virginia, part by land and part by water, and in a most gainful way and safe, and far less expensive and dangerous than now is".¹

¹ See Strachey, 1612, and Talbot (from his introduction to the translation of Lederer), 1702, or parrakeets and the Pacific, in our chapter heading above. Powhatan in reply to Smith said: "But for any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have from my people are false." (This was during the preliminaries of the coronation incident considered below.) See also the *Instructions*, 1606, in Smith (Arber's edition, p. xxxix); W. S. in Smith's *Proceedings*, p. 29. On Yonge see the Massachusetts Historical Collections, ser. 4, v. 9, p. 81, n. 1. The 1651 map referred to is in *The Discovery of New Britain* published by John Stephenson in London; the estimate of miles is apparently based on estimates made by Strachey in 1612. See also Lederer, p. 26; Hennepin: *Discovery*, p. 212; the *Perfect Description*, Force, v. 2, 1649, pp. 8, 13-14. The author of this tract writes that in 1623, a learned mathematician, Briggs, wrote a pamphlet showing the certainty of the nearness of the Pacific Ocean to the Alleghenies and presented it to the then Governor of the Virginia Company, the Earl of Southampton. Perhaps someone may uncover this old manuscript.

The company had no intention to lay out large sums of money in the forcible extension of the sovereignty of the British Crown over the natives, nor in their conversion to Christianity. It was directed by businessmen who were content to make profitable beginnings of industry on a small scale at first. It was anticipated that the natives might have to be fought in order to make them give up enough land for a beginning of the colony;¹ but it developed that the natives were willing enough to help the settlement get started inasmuch as they wanted a European trading post in their country. Such a post would not only give them, the local Indians, the metal tools and kettles which they desired themselves, but would also give them a chance to profit by acting as middle-men between the local Europeans and remoter native tribes.

The colonists soon found themselves in danger of starvation. By displays of force, by cajolery, and by promises of future trade to their mutual profit, they succeeded in getting some of the surplus stores of maize or corn of the Indians and managed through this expedient to survive the first several years (1607-1612) of experimentation.

POWHATAN: EMPEROR, 1607

By virtue of his office, power, personality, and policy, Powhatan² had a considerable effect on the course of British development in America. He is of more significance in American history than many minor European characters about whom whole volumes are occasionally written. His office was as truly that of an emperor as that of the Old World emperors with whom the East India Company had to deal, just as the tribal civil rulers under him were kings. The

¹ See the *Instructions*, 1606, in Smith. The colonists were advised to settle one hundred miles up-river, and "you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast. . . ." This, and the company's anticipation of "divisions", or dividends, in land shows anticipation of some violence. (On land "divisions" or dividends see Scott, v. 1, pp. 184-185.) Compare on possible conquest, Percy's *Narrative* in Smith. The background of these anticipations may be appreciated in reading Sir Walter Raleigh's extremely interesting discursus on the right of Christians to conquer heathen on pp. 120-133 of his *Considerations on the Voyage to Guiana* printed with his *History of the World*.

² Accent on the last syllable.

relative meagreness of their estates as compared with those of Old World rulers does not change this fact.¹

He was not only an emperor in fact but he had the demeanour of one born to the purple. Although he was rudely dressed as compared with wealthier Old World potentates, or with those of richer Indian Mexico, even the English colonists in Virginia in his presence sensed the man's finely contained power and princeliness. And since this native potentate was not possessed of any "great outward ornament and munificence", the English themselves were sometimes surprised at their instinctive sense of his princeliness.

It "oftentimes strikes awe, and sufficient wonder, in our people presenting themselves before him," said one of them. "And . . . it is to be wondered at how such a barbarous and uncivilized prince . . . should take unto him a form and ostentation of such majesty as he expresseth," he exclaims. Then this writer, none other than the first secretary of the colony, tries to explain this to him strange phenomenon in the light of the contemporary theory of the divine right of kings. In all hereditary rulers, barbarian or civilized, he reasons, God must place a sort of divinity which gleams through the eyes.²

Powhatan was an old man of seventy or so when Jamestown was settled in 1607, and he had been a ruler since several decades before the settlement. He had inherited his mother's brother's office of overlord over five or six little kingdoms. By constant warlike aggressiveness he was expanding his domain even up to 1607. But with age, a desire for peace and quiet consolidation of his gains had come. He was an old man who wanted rest. In 1607 he was ruling over about thirty petty kings or rulers of tribes, over an area of about five thousand square miles of tidewater Virginia, the whole region with which the colony was concerned in its early decades, and over a population of about 10,000. Two of the tribes—the relatively democratically organized Nansemunds and Chickahominies—retained a large measure of autonomy.

¹ On Powhatan's dominions and neighbouring potentates see MacLeod: *The State and Piscatoway*; v. 13, 1895, of Johns Hopkins Studies in Political Science; Sams; Mooney; Bushnell; Speck; Gerard; Beverley; Harriot; Strachey; Willoughby. And see the list of tribes in Appendix I below.

² Strachey, pp. 52-53 (1612).

When angered at a weaker or subordinate king, Powhatan would go to extremes of ruthlessness to assert his own power. In one case he deposed a tribal king, relegating him to a position of chief of a village in his former kingdom, and replacing him in the kingship with one of his own (Powhatan's) sons by one of his two hundred wives, making the wife regent. In two other cases he massacred rebellious tribesmen and scattered the remnants among more loyal tribes, repopulating their territory with loyal subjects under the rulership of one of his own sons. With his own hands he strangled the king of the Chowan tribe.¹

Powhatan was apparently glad to have an English trading community settled in his territory. He profited in trade, to the disadvantage of neighbouring enemy tribes whom he would not permit to trade with the English.² He always endeavoured to keep the colony from making contacts with powerful neighbouring Indian peoples, fearing that as a consequence he would lose his monopoly of the English trade, and fearing also that the English sought to league themselves with these enemies of his in order the easier to destroy his power in the Virginia tidewater.

Powhatan wanted in his territory a small group of English from whose presence he could profit, and he wanted them near him and not near his enemies. He would fight rather than permit those English to aggrandize themselves at his expense or to make contacts with his bitterest enemies, the Siouхан tribes of the Virginia piedmont who were accessible by way of the Falls of the James River.

Once when John Smith was rather too imperiously demanding a supply of corn from him, the old Emperor explained something of his desire to keep peace if the English would remain within limits. He said: "I am an old man, and must soon die, and the succession must descend in order to my brothers and then to my two sisters and their daughters. I wish their experience was equal to mine, and that your love to us might not be less than ours to you. Why should you

¹ Stated in E. Bland: *Discovery*, 1650; reprinted in Alvord: *First Explorations*, p. 122.

² Strachey, p. 103; compare MacLeod: *Trade Restrictions*. Copper was Powhatan's principal desire in the English trade, and he did, says Strachey, "monopolize all the copper brought into Virginia by the English".

take by force from us that which you can obtain by love? Why should you destroy us who have provided you with food? What can you gain by war? We can hide our provisions and fly into the woods, and then you must, consequently, almost famish through wronging your friends. You see us unarmed, and willing to supply your wants if you will come in a friendly manner and not with swords and guns as if to invade an enemy. I am not so simple as not to know that it is better to eat good meat, be well, and sleep quietly with my women and children, to laugh and be merry with the English, and being their friend, to have copper hatchets and whatever else I want, than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and to be hunted so that I cannot rest, eat, or sleep, and so, in this miserable manner to end my miserable life. And, Captain Smith, this might soon be your fate too through your rashness and unadvisedness. I therefore exhort you to peaceable councils.”¹

KING JAMES ORDERS POWHATAN CROWNED: 1608

In 1608, about one year after the establishment of the colony, the directors of the company in London, hearing of the power of Powhatan, instead of deciding to war upon him, decided to acknowledge him as an independent sovereign under their protection.

We have only the colonists' record of this affair. The action is reported as being taken in the name of King James and the presents as being sent by the King. We read in Smith's history of the arrival of Captain Newport in Virginia with instructions. He brought with him certain presents for Powhatan, and a copper crown. The whole of the subsequent developments were carried through with the utmost seriousness and sincerity, as indeed they should have been, considering the power of the native ruler, and the fact that he was indeed a king and emperor of however petty a state, and that copper was the gold of Indian Virginia.

The presents were “costly” and consisted of a “basin, ewer, bed” and other furniture of English make. The crown

¹ Smith. Various considerations indicate that Powhatan was expressing his real feelings here.

was a copper substitute, of English type, presumably, for the diadem of feathers which the chiefs of the southeastern tribes wore. John Smith was sent by Newport, the agent of the company, to Powhatan to request him to come to Jamestown to receive presents from King James. Powhatan was then at his court, twelve miles by land but one hundred miles by river from Jamestown. Powhatan was on his dignity, and suspicious; he replied: "If your king has sent me presents, I am also a king and this is my land. Eight days I will wait [here] to receive them. Your father¹ is to come to me, not I to him; nor yet to your fort: neither will I bite at your bait."

Suspicion was roused partly because Newport had suggested that Powhatan should accept English assistance against his Siouxan enemies in the piedmont above the falls, and had also requested information as to the route to the territory of the Atquanachukes Indians, a party of whom had slain an Englishman. When these requests had been made, Powhatan said, as to his enemies of the piedmont;—"I can revenge my own injuries."²

So the ambassador of King James of England had to go to Powhatan. The furniture was evidently abundant, for he had to take it by water in a pinnace, a long journey. The embassy included Captain Smith and fifty colonists.

All was set for the coronation at Powhatan's own stone-age court. Adequate interpreters were not available and Powhatan did not quite understand what it was all about. He was afraid of treachery. The fifty colonists carried dangerous-looking firearms, loaded—but only for a salute. So, in the words of a witness: "all things being set for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought; his ewer, basin, bed, and furniture set up, his scarlet cloak (with much ado) put on him (being persuaded by Nammontacke that they would do him no harm). But a foul trouble there was to make him kneel to receive his crown. He, neither knowing the majesty nor meaning of a crown,³ nor bending of the

¹ Honorary, referring to Captain Newport.

² *Proceedings*, in Smith, p. 134 seq.

³ This colonist is somewhat in error here. Indian nobilities over a large part of the Americas wore coronets of feathers as ornamental and as emblematic of rank. Compare Wissler: *Man and Nature*, chapter on featherwork; and a description in MacLeod: *Southeast Temple Officials*.

knee, required so many persuasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and Newport put the crown on his head; when, by the warning of a pistol, the boats were prepared with such a volley of shot that the king started up in a horrible fear, till he saw all was well. Then, remembering himself, to congratulate their kindness, he gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain Newport."

In the opinion of the colonist describing the facts, the outlay of money was a waste; this sort of pampering of the natives only made them too hard to deal with, making them value their power and their goods and land too highly: "As for the coronation of Powhatan, and his presents of ewer, basin, bed, clothes, and such costly novelties, they had been much better well-spared than so ill-spent, for we had his favour much better only for a poor piece of copper till this stately kind of soliciting made him so much overvalue himself that he respected us as nothing at all."¹ Powhatan actually made use of his copper crown!²

JOHN SMITH EXPERIMENTS IN CONQUEST: 1609

In 1609 under Smith's presidency in the colony and under his direction, 120 men were sent under Captain West to establish a colony at the Falls of the James River, the border of the lands of Powhatan, near contact with Powhatan's piedmont enemies. Right at the falls was the village named Powhatan, from which the name of the Emperor was derived. This village was the seat of the tribe from which, presumably, sprang the native dynasty of which Powhatan and his brothers were the then representatives.

¹ W. S. writing in Chapter 7 of Smith's *Proceedings*. On the fact that the crown was of copper see Strachey, p. 80.

² Spelman, in Smith, p. cxii. Later, a house after the European fashion was built for Opechanckeno by the colonial officials as a present; furnished; and with the usual locks and keys for the doors. The old chief never got over his delight with the locks, and according to the Rev. Whitaker (*Purchas*, v. 19) used to keep locking and unlocking his doors all day from sheer delight in the mystery of the mechanism. See also the anonymous *Virginia and Maryland*, 1655, p. 17, for note of the British recognition of the kingly authority of Virginia Indian rulers. Bushnell in his notes in *Native Tribes*, 1922, gives the photograph of a cloak worn by Powhatan, now in an Oxford museum; it is very likely the cloak given by Powhatan to Captain Newport.

The colony found settling at the falls full of difficulties, and they looked with envy upon the native village located there. So the 120 colonists moved into the village, just as eleven years later the Pilgrims were merely to move onto the site of a New England Indian village. The village of Powhatan which Smith's men occupied was stockaded, for defence against the enemy Sioux of the piedmont. It had three hundred acres of cornfields and vegetable gardens. The villagers or tribesmen numbered at this time perhaps two hundred population,¹ and must have possessed about one hundred or more square miles of surrounding hunting territory some of which with European methods could be reduced to tillage.

Smith now, after the *fait accompli*, entered into negotiations with the Emperor in order to legalize his high-handedness. He proposed to Powhatan the following:

That the English be considered as frontier defenders of Powhatan's empire, against the tribes of the piedmont:

That, in consideration of this, and to make the plan feasible, Powhatan relinquish to the English his claims to sovereignty over the occupied village, its hunting grounds and fields, and its inhabitants, in return for a lump sum paid in copper; and that the inhabitants of the village be under the English administration:

That, in consideration of the protection from the piedmont tribes afforded them by the English, the villagers pay a yearly tribute, payable per household in food products, and:

That, in addition to the tribute, the natives of the village on demand sell corn to the settlers at a stipulated or fixed price, payable in copper—one inch square of copper for a bushel of corn.

But Powhatan refused . . . "both this excellent place and these good conditions did those furies refuse, condemning both him [Smith], his kind care, and authority. The worst they could do to show their spite, they did." But the colonists remained, successfully, it seems, fighting off attacks by the Indians. In one of these attacks, the leader West was killed.

¹ Strachey said Kecoughtan's fields of maize measured two to three thousand acres (pp. 35, 60) and the population before the massacre by Powhatan, numbered, he said, about one thousand. The Powhatan tribe or village numbered only fifty warriors (about 200 population). See Appendix I.

The colonists then quarrelling among themselves (as did the Norse of the first American colony of Europeans)¹ packed up and returned to Jamestown. At the same time a band of 120 armed men was sent, apparently to take possession of the village of the Nansanund tribe, but of its development and apparent failure we have no notes.²

It is apparent that in these early days the London Company and, somewhat on their own initiative, its local agents, were experimenting in their relations with the Indians. But matters dragged along in a desultory fashion, the native tribes continued as independent political organizations, and the natives continued to cede land freely to the few hundreds of colonists, without any formal written agreements. There was no purchasing of land from the Indians.³

For years afterwards the natives of one or another of the thirty tribes were often exasperated, but the sulky and crafty old Emperor, tied to the colony by his desire for the trade in copper, wishing peace and comfort for himself, managed to prevent outbreak by any of the tribes under his sovereignty. In 1612 came a union of blood to increase Powhatan's desire for a peaceful development of relations with the British.

POCAHONTAS: A DIPLOMATIC MARRIAGE, 1612, AND AN ECONOMIC CHANGE

With the romantic side of Pocahontas' history the general reader is well acquainted. This young woman was also a prosaic but important agency in the prevention of a general attack by the Indians upon the infant colony, and she and her historically and socially significant husband are worthy

¹ West and others were killed in the fighting, by the Indians. In speaking of Indian poetry and song Strachey wrote concerning "another scornful song they made of us the last year at the Falls, in manner of triumph, at what time they killed Captain William West, our Lord General's nephew, and two or three more. . . ." The Indians took two prisoners. Strachey gives the song in full (p. 79).

² Smith: *Proceedings*.

³ Strachey mentions the possibility of buying land from the natives (p. 19), and erroneously says that Powhatan sold the village of Powhatan to West (p. 48). Strachey was apparently insincere in the matter of the possible buying, as the context of his whole chapter will show. Nevertheless the idea of the possibility was there. Strachey's remarks indicate directly that there were people in England—by whom no writings apparently are extant—at that early date, who were opposed to expropriation of the Indians.

of particular note. Strachey, the first secretary of the colony, in 1612 wrote an account of the colony shortly before the marriage of Pocahontas and Rolfe. The marriage was not then, apparently, anticipated since he does not mention Rolfe at all. However, the secretary had, like others at Jamestown, seen much of the little daughter of Powhatan.

She was "a well-featured but wanton young girl," he wrote. That she was pretty in her Indian way is evidenced not by the crude block prints with which the reader is usually furnished, but by the original portrait in oils made of her on her visit to England in 1614. As for the rest, which Strachey substantiates, her childhood name, Pocahontas or Pocahunta, apparently means "Little Wanton".¹

In 1610 she was married off by her father to an Indian called "Kocoum". Presumably her husband was a native noble, but presumably also one of low rank since Strachey calls him "a private captain", and since, according to the usual matrilineal rule of inheritance of the Indians, being a daughter and not a sister of a king, she would not be herself of high rank, not a princess. Apparently it was when married to the Indian that her name was changed to Amonate.² In 1612, her husband being either dead or divorced, she married Rolfe, who was a widower with one child. In early Virginia there was no race prejudice, but there appears to have been some slight scandalous gossip about Rolfe's marriage to the Indian girl.

Rolfe explained himself in a letter to Dale, an authority in the colony. This letter has never been accurately reprinted in the popular histories. The generally known version is very corrupt. In the original manuscript Rolfe explains that he wants to marry Pocahontas not because of "carnal affection" but: "for the good of the plantation, the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ an unbelieving creature, namely Pocahuntas".

¹ Strachey, pp. 54, 65, 111; compare Rolfe's letter below; and notes in Tooker and Gerard. (Tooker's etymology, like all conjectural Algonkian etymology, is not to be trusted far.) A photograph of Pocahontas' portrait is reproduced in Gabriel: *Pageant*, v. 1. On Pocahontas and her husband see also neglected data in the *Records of the Virginia Company*, v. 2, p. 52.

² Strachey.

His letter shows him to be, apparently, in love with her, but nevertheless somewhat of a dolt. He goes on to say that Pocahontas is one "whose education has been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation cursed. . . ."

Worse still, he compares her unfavourably, in a sense, with the loose women of contemporary Virginia! He argues against some slander not definitely specified: "Now if the vulgar sort, who square all men's actions by the base rule of their own filthiness, shall tax or taunt me in this my godly labour, let them know it is not my hungry appetite to gorge myself with incontinency. Sure (if I would and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfy such desire, though not without a seared conscience, yet with Christians more pleasing to the eye and less fearful in the offence unlawfully committed."

Was there ever a pretty heathen less flattered in the loving than this poor victim of Rolfe's religious alibi!¹

Powhatan did not attend the ceremony at Jamestown, but Pocahontas' sister Cleopatra was probably there, as was her uncle Opachisco, presumably a brother of her mother's.² She had a child, by Rolfe, ancestor of a line of eminent Virginians, and died of tuberculosis in England two years after her marriage.

Her influence, I suspect, was economic as well as political. For it was after her marriage to Rolfe that Rolfe learned how to cultivate tobacco,³ and despite the opposition of King James to the weed, from thence on tobacco made Virginia, economically. Doubtless the inspiration and technique of cultivation of this Indian crop came to Rolfe through his Indian wife.⁴

¹ The original letter was printed for the first time in 1914 in the *Virginia Magazine*, from which I make my citations.

² We may add here that one son of Powhatan's was Namontack. Namontack was sent on a visit to England with Machumps, the brother of one of Powhatan's wives. On the return journey on board ship Machumps murdered Powhatan's son. On Namontack's visit to England see Brown: *Genesis*, p. 172; on the murder, Stith, p. 115. Tomacoma, also called Uttamatamakin, one of Powhatan's "councillors" also visited England, with Dale, and was a frequent visitor at Master Doctor Goldstone's in 1616; see Purchas, v. 4, p. 1774. Nantaquas was another son of Powhatan's.

³ Compare below, pp. 189-90

⁴ After his wife's death Rolfe occasionally visited Opechanckenno, his uncle by marriage (see *Records . . . Virginia Company*).

THE END OF PEACE AND THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE
COMPANY—OPECHANCKENO

From 1612 to 1622 the British exploitation of Virginia, now profitable by reason of the tobacco export crop, went on in peace and quiet under the peace policy established by the old Emperor. In 1622 a storm broke, attended by massacre and the ruin of the London Company. A change in policy had been initiated by Opechanckeno.¹

Trouble had begun to brew, more or less secretly, as early as 1613. In that year the Chikahominies had voluntarily asked to be permitted to submit to the sovereignty of the British Crown, and to its protection; they were accepted, and thenceforth were to pay a nominal tribute each year, the equivalent being returned to them in English goods. This move on their part was dictated by their fear that Powhatan would eventually succeed in conquering them if they were not protected by the English. In 1616 they fell out with the settlers for some reason and troops were sent from Jamestown to make war on them.

Opechanckeno, second brother of Powhatan, an ambitious old man also about seventy years old, was in line to inherit Powhatan's crown, if he lived long enough. Meanwhile, being without a kingdom of his own, he saw now an opportunity to get a crown. The Chickahominies were ruled by a council of oligarchs, without a head chief or king (as were also the Nansemunds, who, however, were subject to Powhatan's overlordship). Opechanckeno now quickly arranged with the English that no peace would be offered the Chickahominies save through his mediation; then he persuaded these Indians they would always fare better at the hands of the English if they had him as king. Opechanckeno was thereupon chosen as their first king by the Chickahominies.

Now king of a tribe definitely leagued with the English, Opechanckeno seems to have turned his eye to Powhatan's crown, for, three years later (in 1616) it was reported that the Emperor had "removed south" in fear that his younger brother was preparing to depose him with the aid of the English.²

¹ Accent on the third syllable.

² Purchas, v. 19 (see index). It was in this same year (1616) that Sir Thomas Gates lent four hundred bushels of corn to some chiefs in the neighbourhood of Jamestown, "for repayment of which he took a mortgage of their whole countries" (Burke, p. 178, n. 1).

In 1618 Powhatan died and was succeeded by his next brother, Opitchapan.¹ Powhatan died at the age of over eighty years; Opitchapan and Opechanckenno were nearly as old. Opitchapan was the less energetic, and in some way or other after 1618 Opechanckenno was the real ruler of the little Indian empire. Soon it was to appear that Opechanckenno was opposed to the peace Powhatan had established with the English. Why he changed the established policy we have no means of knowing. It was evidenced without warning in the massacre of 1622.

THE TWELVE YEARS' WAR OF EXTERMINATION: 1622-1634

In 1622 the non-Indian population of Virginia numbered less than four thousand whites plus a very few negro slaves. The plantations were widely scattered from the sea to the falls. On March 21, 1622, a native informer warned the English that a massacre was planned for the next day, and some English in the outlying settlements had time to retire to Jamestown. On noon of March 22 the Indians made an attack simultaneously on all the settlements. The massacre raged for one hour.

In that one hour, 347 men, women, and children were slain. Seventy-three were killed in St. Martin's hundred, seven miles from Jamestown; twenty-two were killed on John Berkeley's plantation sixty-six miles away. Subsequent to this first attack one hundred other whites were slain. The economic devastation was as serious as the loss of life.

The settlers fell back on Jamestown to concentrate their defence against a renewal of the attack, and for some years they remained concentrated. The eighty little settlements were reduced to six larger settlements. A call for aid was made to the London Company headquarters in London, and the company appealed to the King, but the colonists were left to their own resources. The colonists concentrated their forces and in April were putting up an able defence.

As the summer drew on they devised a clever plan to trick the Indians. They offered them peace and forgiveness, and permission to return to their old villages and cornfields and thus to begin their planting. The Indians had failed in their

¹ Accents on second and last syllables. He is also called Itopatin.

object of extermination of the English and accepted, no doubt expecting to massacre again after harvest. Then, in the late summer, when the corn of the natives was ripening, and the natives thought that they were to be forgiven their attempt to exterminate the colonists, the English made a surprise attack and massacre simultaneously on all the Indian villages. No quarter was given to men, women, or children. All the Indian villages were burnt down, and the ripening corn was all destroyed. The surviving Indians faced starvation for the coming winter.

Twelve years of guerilla warfare followed, with occasional pitched battles, in one of which, at Pamunkey, a thousand or more native warriors faced the English. In 1628 the governor again attempted to persuade the Indians, on promise of forgetting the past and resuming the *status quo ante*, to resume life in their old villages, cultivating their old fields; he openly avowed to the settlers that his plan was merely to massacre the natives again as had been done in late summer of 1622. This time the Indians refused and continued the war. Tribe after tribe during the twelve years' war reached the verge of extermination. The colony and the company suffered economically and financially, coming, indeed, to virtual ruin. The company was insolvent; in 1624 the Crown took from it the government of the colony; in 1634 its charter was revoked.

We know that at the end of the first two years of the war (1624), the population of the colony had been reduced to 1,253 whites and twenty-two negroes!¹ Yet, to achieve this meagre result, in the sixteen years of peaceful growth preceding the massacre the enormous sum of £200,000 had been invested in the development of the colony by the more than one thousand stockholders of the company!²

At last, in 1634, the year of the revocation of the company's charter, peace on honourable terms was offered the remnants of the Indians by the King. The Indians again settled down (for ten years) under the emperorship of old Opechanckenos.³

¹ Scott, v. 2, 286.

² *Ibid.*, v. 1, 184-185. The common lands were divided for "divisions" or dividends in 1616. The colony was not self-supporting until 1619, when twenty thousand pounds of tobacco were exported.

³ On the 1622 massacre and after see *The Records of the Virginia Company*, v. 2, 115-116, 483; Burke; Smith. In 1622 a tract describing the massacre and discussing it was published in London; see below, p. 301.

Meanwhile the development of New England was overshadowing that of Virginia in importance.

THE SETTLEMENT OF PLYMOUTH

The Pilgrims in 1620 came to a region not unfamiliar to English readers, fishers, traders, slavers, explorers, and businessmen. They had knowledge of how, rather easily and peacefully, the Virginia colonists had possessed themselves of seats in Virginia, and since it was yet two years before war began in Virginia, the Pilgrims undoubtedly expected no trouble from the Indians. Otherwise it is doubtful if they would have come, inasmuch as a principal reason for their wanting to leave Holland appears to have been the fear of a new Spanish attack on the Netherlands.

John Smith, "Admiral of New England", had been along the coast in 1614 and mapped it. He even visited the Indian village of Patuxet and renamed the site, calling it Plymouth, thereby saving the Pilgrims even the trouble of finding a name for the site on which they were to settle. Champlain had been to Plymouth harbour and mapped it, giving even the soundings.¹

The Pilgrims came as members and American representatives of a business company with headquarters in England. The English members financed the enterprise and were interested not in the Congregational or Separatist religious heresy of the Pilgrims but in the profits which these heretics could squeeze out of the New England fisheries and the Indian trade. It was not for a few years, until after they had got rid of the control of investing capitalists in England, and later, when Puritanism became a political power in England, that the

¹ See Champlain, with map. T. Morton: *Canan*, p. 31, tells the story of some French sailors who, some years before the 1620 arrival of the Pilgrims, were taken prisoner by the Indians for committing certain crimes. These Boston Bay Indians enslaved the Frenchmen and made them labour in carrying firewood and water. Eventually the prisoners were released. At this time the great auk inhabited the islands of Boston Bay but these sailors and others killed off this rare penguin by about 1620 (Morton, p. 131). On the Indian requirements of firewood which these French captives had to supply compare Morton, p. 138, and notes on firewood in MacLeod: *Fuel*, and *Slavery*. On naming and renaming of Indian sites and English settlements before 1616 see John Smith's *Description of New England*, 1616.

Pilgrims and their kin of Massachusetts Bay became less humble, their egotism broke into full blossom, and they became self-styled the Chosen People in the New Canaan.

By virtue too of their commercial connections and interests the Pilgrims travelled in the *Mayflower*, one of the most luxurious merchant ships in the English service.¹ Fortunate, too, they were in that God had sent smallpox ahead of them nearly to depopulate Massachusetts and to wipe out the population of Patuxet or Plymouth village, upon the site of which and within whose cornfields they sate themselves down. And still more fortunate were they in that God had not exactly exterminated the Patuxet villagers but had left one alive, the Indian Tisquantum.

This Indian was one of twenty captured for the slave trade by the trader Hunt, who had been along that coast in 1614 or thereabouts. Tisquantum had not been sold into the West Indian trade but was taken to England where he lived with John Slanie, a merchant, for two years, and then was sent back to America where, by some good fortune, he escaped the plague. When the Pilgrims arrived he was resident in the hinterland but came to the coast and surprised and delighted the Pilgrims by greeting them in English!

Tisquantum was thenceforth a veritable guardian angel, serving as interpreter and diplomat for the handful of English in their relations with the surviving Indians, until after some years the Indians murdered him for his artfulness and treachery.² In between his earlier diplomatic activities, Tisquantum even taught the Pilgrims how to save them-

¹ Goodwin, p. 46. The *Mayflower* was one hundred and eighty tons (one hundred and twenty tons of the modern rating). Drake's largest vessel on his circumnavigation was only one hundred and twenty tons. The Jamestown settlers came over in three ships of twenty, forty, and one hundred tons. The Maryland colonists in 1634 came in ships of fifty and one hundred tons. Columbus' three ships were fifty, fifty, and one hundred tons each. The size of the usual ship between 1500 and 1650 apparently was not on the increase.

² On Tisquantum (Tisquanto or Squanto) see particularly Purchas, v. 19, especially p. 333. The index to Purchas' modern reprint, unfortunately (v. 22), does not realize that Squanto and Tisquanto are the same person. Gorges (v. 1, p. 8; v. 2, p. 212) in his *Description and Discovery* says Tisquantum was not one of Hunt's slaves but one of Weymouth's captives; this is not unlikely. (See also Johnson: *Wonder-Working*.)

selves from starvation by raising maize, an Indian crop (Indian corn).¹

The Pilgrims numbered only three hundred in 1629, at which date there were as yet only 270 whites and negroes in Dutch Manhattan, and about twelve hundred in Virginia.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

In 1629 a band of Puritans, or "Low Church" Episcopalians, also as part of a business company, came from England and established the Massachusetts Bay Colony—Salem first, then Boston. As soon as they left England, they too severed themselves from the Anglican communion and became Separatists (Congregationalists).

This year marks the beginning of the greatest of all migrations of English to America. Almost all the Englishmen who were ever to emigrate to America in the seventeenth century came between 1628 and 1640, twenty thousand of them; and most of them sailed for New England.²

EARLY NEW ENGLAND INDIAN POLICY

From as early as the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 there seems to have been some sentimental objection in England to the preëmption of land belonging to the American Indian.³ No one appears to have paid much attention to it.

The two colonies of Congregationalists in New England followed the Virginian system of treating with the Indian

¹ Compare Wissler: *Agriculture*, and Winthrop: *Journal*; E. Johnson: *Wonder-Working*, p. 120. Johnson points out that although the New Englanders took their first lessons in maize culture in 1620, it was sixteen years before they thoroughly mastered it (1636) and improved on Indian methods by using work animals (probably merely cultivating extensively rather than intensively as the Indians did). In the 1620's one man could cultivate only four acres of maize; in 1636, with the aid of two oxen one man could cultivate thirty acres.

² Cheyney, *Conditions*, p. 228.

³ See Strachey, above, p. 182, n. 3. Note also that in 1623, for Maine, that Christopher Levett (p. 273) observes that his settlement is on land which the Indians gave him freely and informally, that is, without an exchange of documents, etc. He notes that he is pleased to obtain "the consent of those whom I conceive have a *natural* right of inheritance. . . ." (My italics.) See also Levett's chapter concerned solely with Indian relations. Levett's account is in Winship's *Sailor's Narratives*.

tribes as sovereign nations. The news of the massacre of 1622 in Virginia made them uneasy and cautious, but unaggressive. There was no buying of land from the Indians, any more than there was in Virginia. The native population, thinned out by disease, placed little value on the woodland spaces which the settlers asked for or took over, and were content as a reward to have the English near them to afford them the opportunity of trade.

Sometimes, even, delegations from the more distant tribes came to request the establishment of trading colonies in their territory, much in the spirit of those Susquehannocks who asked the Swedes to settle in their territory, offered them land free and "promised that, whenever we would send our people there to settle said land, they would supply all the Swedish people with venison and maize for a year without any remuneration; on the condition that they could buy from us there cloth, guns, and other merchandise, which they now purchase from the English and Hollanders, and that we would settle blacksmiths and tanners among them who could make their guns and other things for good pay."¹

When the Massachusetts Colony in 1633 finally formulated its attitude to the question of Indian land titles—something which, it seems, early Virginia did not feel the need of doing—it appeared to be virtually the attitude taken by the Spanish Crown.

In that year the General Court ordered:

"It is declared and ordered by this Court, and authority thereof, that what lands any of the Indians in this jurisdiction have possessed and improved, by subduing the same, they have just right unto according to Genesis, 1 : 38, 9 : 1; and Psalm 115 : 16."

Continuing, basing itself on the same extremely vague Biblical verses, the order states that the uncultivated Indian hunting grounds are public domain; that the English Crown and its agents have the right to allot it for use to any and all, English or Indian; that the Indians may receive allotments of this land for extension of their own maize fields and vegetable gardens "according to the custom of the English in like case"; or, "upon their request to the General Court,

¹ Johnson: *Swedes*, v. 2, 569.

they shall have grant of lands undisposed of for a plantation as the English have".¹

The Biblical passage behind this order is the command of God to his chosen people to "go forth and replenish the earth" and "have command over the birds of the air and the beasts of the field".

Naturally under such rulings title to land in America could be obtained by individuals only by grant from the colonial authorities. The grantees then might take possession of the land as best they could. If they had to drive the Indian off, well and good. After a few years in New England the humanitarian agitation of Roger Williams made for a general diffusion of the new Dutch practice of getting the Indians off the land by having them sell it. The origin and spread of this method of land purchasing we must now consider.

¹ *Records . . . Mass. Bay Colony*, pp. 394, 400.

CHAPTER XV

JACOB AND ESAU, OR WHY THE EUROPEANS BOUGHT INDIAN LAND

"Esau was a hunter; while Jacob led a settled life. Now Jacob one day was making pottage and his brother Esau came in from the hunt very faint. And Esau said to Jacob: Give me to eat of thy pottage, I pray thee, for I am very faint. . . . But Jacob said: Sell me first thy birthright. Esau exclaimed: What use can it be to me, this birthright, for I am faint to the point of death! Jacob again urged him:—Sell! And Esau sold his birthright to Jacob. Then did Jacob give bread and pottage to his brother."¹

AS early as 1598,² Dutch traders had operated in New York at the mouth of the Hudson, and on the New York and New Jersey shores of the harbour. In 1614 a permanent trading post, with four houses, was established there.³ No settlement of agriculturists, however, was developed until after the Dutch West India Company in 1623 was given monopoly control of what was then called New Netherlands. The company was of course interested primarily in trade with the Indians for furs and, like the French traders, wanted only that minimum of agriculturist development required to supply food to the trading posts. But in 1629 they were obliged by the home government to cede rights to the patroons or lords of manors who, like the lords of the seignories in Canada, were expected to build up a permanent

¹ *Genesis*, Chapter 25.

The ancient Chinese also understood this weakness of the primitive man on the frontier and had experience with it. Of the Tso-chuan, the Jung, and the Ti, wild tribes of the north of Chihli and neighbouring areas, an old document referring to events about 714 B.C. says that they "were continually changing their residence, and were fond of exchanging land for goods". "This latter weakness," observes Hirth, "was probably the reason for the Chinese buying the barbarians off their territory, whenever an appeal to arms failed, and of finally driving them into the Mongolian steppe, their later home. This is also probably one of the reasons why the feudal states occupying the boundaries facing uncivilized barbarians have grown so powerful as compared with the emperor's own dominions, which lay in the middle of the empire." (Hirth: *China, Chou Dynasty*, p. 188.)

² See *Report to West India Company*, December 15, 1644, Appendix E, of O'Callaghan: *Hist. of New Netherlands*.

³ O'Callaghan: *History*, v. 1, pp. 99 seq.

Dutch population in the New World, which would, among other things, serve to hold territory for Holland against the expanding New England English population which was soon to move slowly down the shores of Connecticut and Long Island.

In 1618 the United New Netherlands Company, which had preceded the West India Company, had made a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Iroquois Confederation of New York.¹ Thenceforth the Dutch drew most of their furs from the Iroquois and the Iroquois depended upon them for a supply of rum, firearms, and ammunition. But the Indians most intimately concerned with Dutch establishment were the Mahickans, Manhattans, Wappingers, and other of the coastal Algonkian tribes, and for the story of relations with these we must depend chiefly on the story of the West India Company in 1623 and later.

In 1626 the West India Company instructed its New Netherlands agents formally to acquire title to lands from the Indians by purchase. Whether an earlier order to this effect ever was made cannot be learned. The fact remains that in 1623 Peter Minuit, then in charge for the company in the New Netherlands, had already made a purchase of land, and informed the home office in Amsterdam of his purchase. His letter was received and filed, without any feeling on the part of the directors, so far as the extant records indicate, that anything particularly noteworthy had occurred.² Yet this purchase was something new in the history of the American Indian frontier, and something destined significantly to affect its history.

This first purchase was that of the island of Manhattan, now the site of much of New York City, then a twenty thousand acre tract of woodland. The price paid was goods valued at sixty gulden, the equivalent of twenty-four dollars in United States money of to-day but, in the then purchasing power of money, worth perhaps about the equivalent of two thousand dollars to-day. This was a sum probably representing the real value of the land in that day, aside from the value of the trading-post site already held by the Dutch.

¹ O'Callaghan: *History*, p. 78.

² *Holland Documents*, v. 1, of O'Callaghan: *Documents*; and compare O'Callaghan: *History*, v. 1, p. 103.

The Indians made a good trade, for they undoubtedly retained the right to continue to hunt over the island.

Concerning the reason why the Dutch introduced this practice, extant documents do not afford sufficient basis for anything but deduction.¹ We have notice, however, of verbal and written controversy between the Dutch, and between the Swedes and the English over the title to lands.² From these it becomes very clear that the Dutch, and later the Swedes, felt that they would have a legal controversy with other Europeans concerning their right to settle and trade in North America. They had little chance of sustaining a claim themselves on the basis of right of discovery, which the English at first rested their case on; or donation from the Pope, upon which the Spanish claim rested. So they had to find something else. They decided to argue, against the claims of Spanish and English, that the Indian tribes or nations were owners of the land—as of course they were. This title could be obtained from the natives, they contended, only by conquest, or by gift or purchase. The Swedes, arriving in 1638, with the same theory as the Dutch, in their disputes with the Dutch over lands, admitted Dutch claims when a deed of transfer to the Dutch from the Indians could be

¹ In considering the above development, we should remember that the Dutch West India Company had been modelled on the Dutch East India Company and its charter empowered it, concerning the American Indians, to "make contracts, engagements, and alliances, with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended therein. . . ." This was all the sovereign state cared to say about the natives. There was no particular urging of any preference between conquest and real estate methods of eviction. (See the *Charter*, Sec. II, Appendix A, in O'Callaghan: *History*.)

² See especially a chapter in Lindstrom; and observations in De Vries' *Notes*, p. 203; also MacLeod: *Lenape*. Wouter Van Twiller, then director for the West India Company at Manhattan, protesting, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, October 4, 1633, against English attempts to establish a settlement on the Connecticut, stated that: "It is not the intent of the States to take the land from the poor natives, as the King of Spain hath done by the Pope's donation, but rather to take it from the said natives at some reasonable and convenient price, which, God be praised, we have done hitherto." How much this is sheer hypocrisy I cannot say. It seems that the worthy director did not at this time know that the governor of Plymouth Colony had at last imitated Dutch practice and bought the lands needed for the settlement of Windsor, Connecticut. The English, however, bought the land from the tribe which had been defeated and dispossessed by the Pequots, and by this act added to the grievances which finally led to the war between Pequot and English.

produced as evidence of transfer; and the Dutch likewise formally admitted the validity of Swedish titles when so evidenced.

But the English, with whom the Dutch were constantly at odds in later days over rights to settle, refused to concede Dutch claims. They argued to the effect that the English Crown had preëmpted North America; that the lands of North America were considered by them as Crown lands to be disposed of only as the Crown saw fit. Title to lands in the Americas could be derived only through grant of the Crown. *Even the Indians could obtain title only by grants from the British sovereign.* The Indian "title", such as it might be, had no legal standing in English law, and the Indians therefore could not give any title to anyone which would be recognized by the Crown or its agents. This of course merely amounted to a statement that North America was a sphere of influence, or protectorate, of the British Crown and that all other than English must keep out. All the disputants, of course, recognized that all their legal wordiness was diplomatic prettiness which could be settled only by the arbitrament of comparative shows of force or by actual war, the issues to be settled by formal treaties pending still further issues of war. The Dutch finally drove the Swedes out, with all their weighty parchment deeds, in 1654, and finally the English drove the Dutch out, in 1664.¹

But meantime, no war developing to settle the argument, this practice of formally acquiring title to land evidenced by formal deeds spread to New England; a practice, however, which was not recognized as official by the New England colonies.

It was adopted in New England, it seems, merely as a result of humanitarian propaganda based on a peculiar sense of justice which found food in the example set by the Dutch. New England's policy was quite different from the Dutch policy, whereby no Dutchman was considered to hold title

¹ The Dutch East India Company at the Cape in South Africa, forced by virtue of desire to avoid an immediate issue of arms with the Hottentot Africans, were, about this time, holding formal treaties with the native tribes, giving them money or goods in exchange for land and privileges and even paying a stated tax to the local tribe for each ship entering the harbour at the Cape! (See Bosman, pp. 362-367, 375). In South America (northern Brazil), the Dutch West India Company adopted Portuguese colonial policy.

under the Dutch law solely by grant from Dutch authorities, but must *first* acquire title from the Indians.¹ However, Dutch and New England practices were similar in that, with regard to Indian transfers of title to land to settlers (rather than to the state), such transfers were not admitted as valid unless the state likewise granted the same land to the settler, giving him complete title.

THE DUTCH INVASION OF CONNECTICUT

It was in 1633 that the first disputes between the Dutch and the New England English arose over the land question; and not until about 1654 are there recorded disputes with the Swedes. But before 1633 the Dutch West India Company practices had evidently struck some of the English directors of the New England settlements as feasible and humane. For in 1629, at the time the Dutch were ordering the patroons to get title to land from the Indians, in two successive letters the directorate of the New England Company wrote Governor Endicott of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to this effect: "If any of the savages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you to endeavour to purchase their title, in order that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion. Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."² This was, of course, not mandatory. And it is a fact that at this early period the English did not know that the Indians had a well-defined system of land ownership of their own, such as I

¹ Compare De Vries: *Notes*, p. 206. But the Dutch now regularly bought land. When, in 1629 the patroon system was introduced on the Hudson to facilitate colonization as distinct from mere trade, the prospective patroons were not granted title to any land until the Indians had relinquished to the prospective patroon their title to that particular land. The patroon would be ordered to select a given tract on which he desired to establish his manor, and then, if he could arrange to purchase it from the Indian owners, and did, under the Dutch regulations full title might be had to the territory purchased from the Indians. "The Patroons of New Netherland shall be bound to purchase from the Lords Sachems in New Netherland, the soil where they propose to plant their Colonies, and shall acquire such right thereunto as they will agree for with the said Sachems." A Dutch title, nevertheless, to the land, could be derived only by Dutch authority, not by mere purchase from the Indian owners. (*New Project*, 1634, Section 27; in O'Callaghan: *Hist. of New Netherlands*, v. 1, p. 99.)

² *Records . . . Mass. Bay Colony*, April 17 seq., 1629, pp. 394, 400.

described in an earlier chapter. Roger Williams first noted the facts of their land tenure in 1634, but only gradually did others take note of them.

Not until 1633 when Dutch invasion and land purchasing reached the Connecticut Valley was this suggestion followed. The Dutch then bought land from the Pequots in the vicinity of what is now Hartford.

Plymouth Colony thereupon sent Holmes as agent to purchase land above Hartford (at Windsor) where a post could be established which would intercept the fur trade down river to the Dutch, for in these early days, although the New England English hoped to found a permanent agricultural settlement in America, still their profits were largely from trade with the Indians.

There was dispute between Indians as to the ownership of these Connecticut Valley lands. The Pequots from whom the Dutch had bought them had conquered, dispossessed, and driven out the previous native owners. The English then refused to recognize the validity of the Pequot claim of title by conquest, legally reinstated the former owners, and bought the land from them. This served, eventually, among other things, to bring on the war between the English colonies and the Pequots in 1637.¹

It is clear that in this time of rivalry between petty colonial settlements who formulated policies independently of Crown control, policies were in an undeveloped, chaotic, formative state. This will become more clear, however, as we proceed.

This early instance of purchase of land title from the Indians was unprecedented; it was clearly a mere expedient aiming at a temporary circumvention of Dutch ambitions, pending the arbitrament of Old World or New World war. The official attitude of all the colonies save those of the Dutch remained as before, as described in our previous chapter.

¹ The Dutch fort in Connecticut was named the Fort of Good Hope. Compare the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa; *Weltvrede* ("Universal Peace") the actual capital of Java and the Dutch East Indies; and *Buitenzorg* ("Free from Care"), in Java; these Old World names were designed by the East India Company. Father White in his *Relatio* (Orig. Narr's.), p. 42, says that "To avoid occasion of dislike" the Maryland settlers of St. Mary's in 1634 "bought" their first thirty square miles of land from the Indians (the Piscatoway nation). This apparently was merely present-giving without formal deed making.

THE INFLUENCE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

But under the sentimental influence of Roger Williams, an apparently not inconsiderable feeling in favour of recognizing the validity of Indian titles¹ made for the spread of the practice of purchase on the part of settlers who had already recovered English titles.

Williams was an errant character, of many whimsicalities, always at war with the established order, always seeking points of attack upon it; a man of great intelligence and much common sense, but, like so many Congregationalists of that day, spiritually at odds with himself.

In 1633 he became obsessed with the idea that King James had no right or power to claim ownership of the North American lands occupied and owned by Indians; that, therefore, in the concession of lands and governing powers represented by the patents of the Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and other colonies, the King was granting things beyond his power to grant; that these patents therefore were invalid from the point of view of true Christians such as the Puritans professed to be. The English could justly occupy lands in the Americas only by purchasing those lands from their rightful owners, the Indians.

These claims caused alarm, for they struck at the very foundations of the colonial governments which drew their authority from grants by the Crown. Williams was promptly got rid of and left to establish a colony of his own in what is now Rhode Island. He began by purchasing land from the Indians.²

Williams' example was soon followed by settlers all over

¹ See above, p. 182, n. 3, and p. 200.

² See Dexter, Bradford, Chapin, and Akagi; and Carpenter for some notes on Williams' 1633 attack on the patent. Akagi points out (compare pp. 22, 27) that Rhode Island was the only colony in which the charter followed the acquisition of land. Williams, it seems, is historically a much overrated person. He was, for example, capable of such vulgarity in print as his doggerel (p. 127 of the *Key*) which describes "Papists" so, "... men have mixed with beasts, and so, Brought forth that monstrous race". To judge from his voluminous doggerel, the man was devoid of fineness. It is curious in this connection that the *Key*, so full of this stuff, was "Passed by John Langley the Censor", which official describes the manuscript, which is a sort of Indian grammar with footnotes on Indian customs, as "these thirty chapters of the American language, to me wholly unknown".

the New England colonies. The first of these was probably Elizabeth Pool, who bought the site of Taunton in 1637. In 1644 the site of Harvard College was so bought from the natives. Boston, Charleston, Salem, Dorchester, and other towns had not purchased their sites from the natives; but in time they got the descendants of the original native owners together and got deeds for the land. Boston peninsula was not so bought until about 1670.¹ An Indian deed was in time finally acquired even for the site of Plymouth.² So, in 1676 just before the outbreak of King Philip's War, Governor Winslow of Plymouth could say, honestly: "I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors."³ The same could probably be said in the other New England colonies.

But it must again be reiterated, that the New Englanders, with the exception of those of Roger Williams' colony, did not consider the Indian title to the land a legally recognizable title. Indian lands were public domain, to be taken from the native occupants by force or by guile. Formal purchasing was unofficial. A deed from the Indians to land was no deed in the eyes of the law, however much the Indians might be expected to recognize it as evidence that they should get out. Title to land in the colonies could be derived ultimately only by grant of the Crown.

Then why this purchasing from the Indians in New England?

It seems to be intelligible chiefly in the light of the development of a peculiar pecuniary conception of justice arising in the first place by imitation of the example of the Dutch and persisting as a result of the tender and misguided humanitarianism of Roger Williams—a pecuniary sense of justice much like that of the ancient herder-agriculturist Hebrew who "honestly" cheated his hunter brother.

¹ Compare also, the late land purchase on the Boston Peninsula. The settlers there "never troubled Chicktaubut, the native suzerain, to make a deed of it, though he never objected to the occupation. Half a century later, when Andros came, they thought of the native owners. They got Chicktaubut's grandson, and obtained a deed. *This they gravely recorded in 1708!*" (Winsor: *Boston*; and Weedon, v. 1, p. 29.)

² Compare Winsor: *Boston*.

³ Cited in Goodwin, p. 198, n. 1.

These facts may well be illustrated from the statement of Fiske, in his history of Brookfield, Massachusetts, written in 1660. He is concerned to show how "just" the Brookfield settlers were to the Indian owners of the site of Brookfield. These settlers had full title to the lands because they had already received grant of them from the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony. But "*in order that they might have a just and equitable as well as a legal right to the land* [!], they purchased it from the natives who claimed and possessed it, and it was transferred to them by deed". And, our author immediately observes: "God, the God of Justice, sitteth on his throne, judging right." (*Italics in the original.*)¹ But for the sentimentality initiated by Roger Williams, expressing itself in the medium of a pecuniary culture, this nonsense of land purchasing might have ended with the Dutch West India Company and never taken root in the English colonies.

SPREAD TO THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

While this inconsistency between official legal interpretation of the status of Indian land titles and voluntary buying of them by colonists was becoming the invariable practice in New England, it was being initiated in the southern colonies. Instituted by Clayborne in 1638² on the disputed Kent Isle, further officially unauthorized purchases in Maryland are known to have been made before 1649. An Act of Assembly of April 21 of that year declared that no validity rested in title to land acquired through purchase from the Indians; title must be acquired from the colonial authority.

In this act we find the first legislative recognition of the fact—to annoy the authorities of all the colonies for many decades—that ambitious settlers, unable to get grant of lands from the authorities, bought land of the Indians and thereupon proffered this Indian deed as evidence that they held title to land derived from the original owners.

Virginian legislative enactments in 1655, 1657, 1658, and again, 1660 repeatedly reiterated the refusal of the colonial

¹ Fiske: *Brookfield*, compare in this, pp. 258-259, 268, 271.

² In 1638, in the Chesapeake, formerly included under the Virginia patent, but then under Maryland, Clayborne privately and without authority bought Kent Isle, off the Eastern Shore of Maryland, from the Indians, his title being challenged by the authorities of Maryland.

government to recognize any standing in law for an Indian title. The enactments were called forth by the spread of the practice of purchase even by those who had already received grants of lands from the colony. Immediately upon the establishment of Carolina in 1663, colonists receiving title to land from the colony purchased also the Indian rights to their lands and this practice received the approval of the colonial authorities.¹

When the English succeeded the Dutch in the Middle Atlantic region in 1664, they immediately abolished the Dutch regulations concerning land titles, introducing instead a practice which involved purchase from the Indians by the colonial government and then the grant of the purchased land to the colonists. In 1676 William Penn and his fellow West Jersey stockholders ordered that "presents" be given the Indians for lands ceded by them to the colony. In 1682 Penn continued in Pennsylvania the practice introduced there under the régime of the Duke of York from 1664 on.

The Indian wars of 1676-1677 cost the settlers of Maine £8,000, plus much indirect loss. In 1677 on making peace, a peculiar arrangement was made. The settlers agreed to *rent* their lands from the Indian owners; an annual rental of one peck of corn for each family of Indian claimants!²

LAWS AGAINST UNAUTHORIZED PURCHASING

In 1700 Pennsylvania, in 1703 New Jersey, and in 1723 Maryland again, by legislative enactment recognized the fact that unsanctioned private purchasing of Indian lands was continuing, and forbade it, insisting again that absolutely no recognition would be given to an Indian title so secured.

These frequent laws against private purchasing usually provided for the grant of the lands so acquired to those who had paid the Indians for them, but forbade the continuance of the practice. The concession to those already guilty was, sometimes, designed to quiet the discontent of poor, land-hungry settlers on the edge of the frontier; some-

¹ Compare also a Quaker influence in the Carolinas the *Col. Rec. of North Carolina*, July 8, 1715; and Swanton: *Creeks*, 1924, p. 69.

² Mather: *Decennium*; Ellis: *War*, p. 314. So also Watauga, the first settlement in Tennessee, leased its lands from the Cherokees. Compare also concerning French and Choctaw, above, p. 151.

times as a concession to influential personages who had broken the law in the past.

The official opposition to private purchasing was not only based on the legal interpretation of the nature of colonial land titles, and on the fact that such unauthorized private purchase deprived the colonies of profits.¹ It was, notably in early New England, aimed at a control of the expansion of the frontier of settlement, a desire to keep settlement solid or compact. Settlements rambling loosely into the interior were harder to keep under the watchful eyes of the central authority, and they were less capable of resisting a concerted Indian attack.² The disregard of settlers of the desirability of a solid white line against the Red or Indian, several times resulted in the inability of the outlying regions to stand up under Indian attacks and ended in a sudden retraction of white boundaries until a solid line was obtained.³

RÉSUMÉ OF FORMS OF PURCHASE

Leaving aside the historically unimportant renting of Indian lands by the Maine settlers, we may very briefly resume the general outline of the several practices with regard to purchases of land from the Indians which appeared fully developed before the great Indian wars of 1675-1676.

The Dutch made grant of particular lands held by Indians upon condition of the grantee liquidating the Indian claim. The English colonies generally, during the period that the Dutch held the Middle Atlantic area, made grant of Indian lands to settlers and, if the lands were not lands confiscated from the Indians in war, the settlers might, if they chose, buy the Indians off. The English successors of the Dutch in the Middle Atlantic colonies evolved the third type of practice, whereby the colony bought land wholesale from the Indians, then granted it piecemeal to settlers, there being then no need for individual settlers or groups of settlers to bargain with the Indians.

¹ See the preambles to the enactments mentioned in *Laws . . . Indians*, under the dates given.

² Compare especially for New England Akagi, p. 27; and Turner: *Frontier*.

³ See above, p. 186, and pp. 228, 229.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF INDIAN LAND PURCHASING

It was this third type of procedure in the liquidation of Indian claims to title to land in North America which, becoming popular in the colonies, was adopted by the British Crown when the King took control of Indian affairs from the several colonies, and which was adopted by the United States of America upon their confederation and union.

Under the final form of liquidation of Indian title, the colonial authorities, the King, and the United States continued to stand firm against the recognition of any validity in the Indian claim to Indian lands. Why then the payment of purchase money to the Indians in exchange for a formal quitting of their claim? In time the United States Supreme Court, trying to resolve the inconsistencies of theory and practice, referred to the purchase from the Indians as the purchase merely of their "right of occupancy".

But in 1675 the authorities of the colony of New York knew better why the inconsistency existed and persisted. In reply to a realty promoter, who claimed title to certain lands because he had got an Indian deed to them, for a price, they insisted that "though it hath been and still is the usual practice of all proprietors to give the Indians some recompense for their land and *seem* to purchase it from them, yet it is not done for want of sufficient title from the King or prince who hath the right of discovery, but out of prudence and Christian charity" (my italics).

"Lest otherwise," they add, "the Indians might have destroyed the first planters (who are usually too few to defend themselves), or refuse all commerce and conversation with the planters, and, thereby, all hopes of converting them to the Christian faith would be lost."¹

Although these councillors are in error if they mean to explain colonial practice of the earlier types in the first half of the century, it is a fact that in their own day the spoiled children of the forest had been taught to look upon purchase money as their rightful due and would fight to the death to get their little mess of pottage—rum, powder, shot, and a few trifles—in exchange for their lands.

The legal wrangling of realty speculators such as Nicols—

¹ O'Callaghan: *Documents*, v. 13, 486, concerning Nicols' claims.

whose claims were disposed of, as described above, in 1675—continued under the direct control of Indian affairs by the King, and on under the régime of the United States, until the Supreme Court of the United States ended it for all time in a decision handed down in 1823.

These speculators realized the inconsistency of the claims of the European settlements to the lands of the Indians by virtue of the King's ultimate and full title, and the actual practice of purchasing of these lands by the King's agents; they hoped to have the court finally concede that the Indian tribes, being sovereign nationalities, held full title to their lands and could transfer such full title.

One of the many illuminative arguments presented by these speculators who took the chance of buying land from the Indians and contending in vain for the quality of their title, is that made by Samuel Wharton. A consideration of his and later reasonings will take us chronologically somewhat ahead of our narrative, but after all they are best dealt with here in their social-historical setting.

Wharton was associated with a number of other speculators in the Indiana Company which had bought from the Iroquois Confederation a tract of land in the Ohio Valley which they named Indiana. This was just before the outbreak of the Revolution. Wharton and his associates then had to press their claim before the State of New York, which state claimed title to all lands ever held or claimed by the Iroquois, and, since the Iroquois claimed title by virtue of conquest over all lands on the north side of the Ohio—the Northwest Territory—the State of New York claimed title to those lands. Wharton's claims were also pressed before the Virginia legislature, because the State of Virginia claimed these very same lands by virtue of grant by the Crown to the colony of Virginia. Virginia, and later New York, refused to recognize the Indiana Company's title.

Wharton then, in 1781, wrote, or had written for himself, a pamphlet to support the claims of the Indiana Company. It was published in Philadelphia under the title of "Plain Facts: Being an Examination into the Rights of the Indian Nations of America to Their Respective Countries; And a Vindication of the Grant of the Six United Nations of Indians to the Proprietors of Indiana Against the Decision of the

Legislature of Virginia; Together with Authentic Documents Proving That the Territory Westward of the Allegheny Mountains Never Belonged to Virginia, etc."

Such eminent persons as Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry, for reasons of their own, gave their names and influence in support of Wharton's arguments. His arguments were logical and consistent, and rested on fact. But the legislatures and courts cared not a rap for logic; and the fact that Wharton and others, aiming to take advantage of the situation to their own profit, could point out the inconsistencies in the official Indian land policy troubled them not one whit.

Wharton, for example, points out that, although New York claimed sovereignty over the Iroquois and their lands, every New York official knew that, in fact, the Iroquois Confederation was an independent state; "that they are subject to their own laws; that they have no magistrates appointed over them by our king; that they have no representatives in our assemblies; that their own consent is necessary to engage them in a war on our side; that they have the power of life and death, peace and war, in their own councils, without being accountable to us." And so on, concluding that "Upon the whole, therefore, as the Indian Nations of America are unquestionably entitled to all the rights of 'full property' in their several countries it results as a necessary and final conclusion that they have an indefeasible right freely to sell, and to grant any person whatsoever; and that all sales and conveyances made by any Indian tribe or nation of their lands, are, in every respect, sufficient to afford the most valid and perfect title to the same." Wharton so continues, and takes the logical position that the Indiana Company were British subjects purchasing land in foreign dominions.¹

After several decades more of such bickerings the Supreme Court ended them with the decision handed down in 1823,

¹ See Wharton. Wharton was ancestor of a prominent Pennsylvania family of iron-masters, one of whom founded and endowed the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. The tract claimed by the Indiana Company is mapped in Alvord: *Mississippi Valley* (a masterly study). Wharton finds some support for his reasoning in Evans: *Essays*, 1756.

With Wharton's tract compare some discussion in that—of a like lengthy title—written on the Iroquois by the eminent W. H. Harrison, in 1838.

written by Chief Justice Marshall. This decision was the first and only thorough legal appraisal of the official policy with regard to Indian lands, and in it logic and legal fictions are thrown overboard in favour of common sense. The indications, however, are that the court had difficulty to find or invent a terminology to describe the facts in other than a very bald fashion. The court speaks (and I italicize several words and add several others in brackets by way of interpretation for the reader): "It has never been contended that the Indian title amounted to nothing. Their right of possession has never been questioned. The claim of [the United States] government extends to *the complete ultimate title charged with this right of possession*, and to the exclusive power of acquiring that right."

And, by way of justification: "However this restriction may be opposed to natural right and the usages of civilized nations, yet, if it be indispensable to that system under which the country has been settled, and be adapted to the actual condition of the two peoples [white and Indian] it may, *perhaps*, be supported by reason [logic], and certainly, [anyway] cannot be rejected by the courts."

Yet, despite this interpretation of existing practices, in 1846, twenty-three years later, the Attorney-General of the United States in his report to the President of the United States very truly writes that ". . . there is nothing in the whole compass of our laws so hard to bring within any precise definition or logical or scientific arrangement, as the relation in which the Indian stands to the United States".

But of this more in succeeding chapters, where we will meet with the innovation in practice attempted by Georgia and other southern states and effected by British Columbia. Meantime we will revert to other early developments on the Indian frontier.¹

¹ The contrast of the logical consistency of Latin Indian policies with the utter inconsistencies of those of the Anglo-Saxon in North America may afford an historian of human thought an interesting theme.

Snow, in his sixth chapter, gives a very weak discussion of the problems I have tried to compass above; Thomas, in Royce, pp. 535 seq., is better informed. For Marshall's decision the reader may readily consult the bound volumes of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

By contagion the land-purchase complex in the early 19th century affected even the Spanish governors of Florida and of Louisiana, adopted as an expedient to keep the alliance of the tribes who were spoiled by

the gratuities of the neighbouring British ! (See Thomas, in Royce: *Land Cessions*, pp. 543-544, July 29, 1811, seq.)

It must also be admitted that in exceptional cases the Spaniards, notably in the 16th century in Florida, Araucania, Tucuman, and Paraguay, distributed presents in Indian treaties, but the Spaniards never ratified any treaty with the Indian tribes which did not provide for their submission to Spanish law and authority; and the distribution of presents was not considered purchase.

CHAPTER XVI

WARS OF 1637-1644, NORTH AND SOUTH

“The dissemination of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was followed by astonishing results. The unlearned could search the Scriptures for their rule of conduct without the intervention of a priesthood, and an upheaval of the human mind followed.”—PROFESSOR COOKE.

“*En masse* the Puritans were a rude sort, and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that these savage carnivals, carried on without much danger to themselves, were tinged with fanaticism. . . .”—SYLVESTER.

THE first Indian war in New England was precipitated after the initiation and early development of the practice of purchasing lands from the Indians. This war, in turn, was followed by the initiation of a new social expedient, the *Indian reservation*. A résumé of the development of these early wars is of value in itself in exhibiting the factors making for the gradual decline of American Indian political power on the Atlantic Coast and the consequent gradual ascendancy of European political power in the same area.

NEW ENGLAND: 1637

THE HOSTILITY OF THE PEQUOTS

Plymouth Colony was not settled until 1620, thirteen years later than Jamestown; and Massachusetts Bay Colony was not settled until 1629. New England's first Indian struggle did not take place until fifteen years after the 1622 massacre in Virginia. Of this massacre the New Englanders had received full details, and were continually in fear that their Indians would likewise conspire against them and take them unawares.¹

By 1637 there were probably about twenty thousand British settlers on the New England coast and in the valley of the Connecticut River, *two-thirds of whom were in Massachusetts Bay Colony* where were the principal towns of Salem and Boston.

In the Connecticut River Valley there were only three or

¹ Compare, for example, Vincentius, p. 37; and John Smith: *New England's Trials*, in Arber, Letter of July 16, 1622, from Plymouth.

four thousand persons; in the plantations which make up the present State of Rhode Island, about one thousand; and Plymouth Colony had about three thousand.

A few years later (1643) when the United Colonies of New England was formed, including the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, there was a population of 23,500 in all four colonies. *That is, just about the same population as was comprised under the government of the Confederation of Tribes of the Iroquois of New York!*

In alliance with the English colonies were the Massachusetts tribe, the Wampanoag tribe, and the Narragansetts. The Narragansetts occupied what is now the State of Rhode Island; the other two tribes mentioned were just behind the Plymouth and Massachusetts towns. The Pequots of Connecticut, who as yet stood outside the English alliance, were now becoming a problem, since the English were now moving into the Connecticut River Valley.

In 1633 the Pequots had been offended by Plymouth Colony because this colony had disputed the Pequot right to the lands on which the city of Hartford is now situated. The Dutch had bought land in this region, acknowledging the Pequot right by conquest over the Indians who till recently had held it; Plymouth's idea in controverting the Pequot claim was to find grounds for disputing the Dutch claim.

Soon after this in 1633 the Pequots were at war with the Dutch in Connecticut. In this same year they murdered two dissolute Virginia traders who had come north to Connecticut, Stone and Norton. Apparently these two traders had attempted to kidnap two Indians. The Pequots furthermore insisted that they thought these two traders were Dutchmen. At the moment the New England English made no protest concerning the murders.

At this time the Pequots were at the height of their power. The plague of years before had left the Pequots and the Narragansetts the only two real Indian powers in New England; and Pequot and Narragansett were rivals and bitter enemies, constantly at war with each other. Up until 1633, the Pequots had demonstrated their superiority over the Narragansetts, but in these post-European days a supply of firearms and ammunition was necessary in Indian wars.

The Dutch supply of firearms being cut off from the Pequots, these Indians now made overtures to Massachusetts, desiring that the Massachusetts people should settle in the Connecticut Valley and trade with them. In November, 1634, a treaty of friendship was signed between Massachusetts and the Pequots; the Pequots promised to surrender the murderers of Stone and Norton whenever Massachusetts should require them. Settlers poured into the Connecticut valley. The Pequots, however, did not appear to take their friendship with Massachusetts seriously, and Massachusetts was concerned over the arrogant independence of this powerful tribe. The Pequots were now, it appears, again getting arms and goods from the Dutch. From 1633 on, however, the Narragansetts continued to get the better of them in their wars over the extension of their respective territorial borders.

Late in 1635 Massachusetts sent agents to demand the murderers before referred to, and authorized the agents to threaten war if the Pequots should refuse to give them up. The Pequots, angered, refused. The next year the trader Oldham, a Massachusetts citizen, was murdered on Block Island, which had till recently been under Pequot jurisdiction, but which was now under the Narragansetts.

There is no evidence that the Pequots committed the murder, but it is apparent that Massachusetts felt that such murders would continue so long as a powerful Indian tribe was permitted to scorn an English demand for the old murderers of Stone and Oldham. The facts of Massachusetts' subsequent dealings with the Pequots would indicate, moreover, that Massachusetts was not inclined to trust the Pequots at all, and was more or less determined to precipitate war with this tribe.

Our records for this period are inadequate; but it is very significant that the Massachusetts agents sent out with armed men to demand murderers of the Pequots made no serious attempt to open negotiations directly with Sassacus, the Pequot king; yet they knew that in serious dealings with an Indian tribe, in New England at any rate, their negotiations must be with the King, and not with whatever local chiefs their ambassadors should first come across.

Sassacus all this time did not appear, but waited developments in his capital village in the hinterland beyond the

Mystic River. He kept the peace, but meanwhile there were several murders of English settlers in Connecticut which were blamed on the Pequots. Late in 1636 after the murder of Oldham, without negotiations with Sassacus and without making serious attempts to accomplish such negotiations, Massachusetts, under Governor Winthrop's order, sent an army of one hundred men under General Endicott and Captains Underhill and Turner, to Block Island. These were ordered to put to death all the men on Block Island, to burn the native villages and destroy the cornfields there, in revenge for the murder of Oldham. Then they were to proceed to Connecticut, demand from the Pequots the murderers of Stone and Norton, and other English, and damages of one thousand fathoms of wampum, a large sum, and a number of Pequot children as hostages. War was to be threatened if the ultimatum was refused.

Block Island was attacked and devastated. But when the Massachusetts soldiers reached Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut, the English there received them coldly. Connecticut and Plymouth considered the Massachusetts move ill-advised. After a bootless conference with some minor Pequot chiefs the Massachusetts men returned to Boston, having delivered their threat. Both Massachusetts and the Pequots now openly began to prepare for war; and neither apparently cared to avert the imminent final break.

ROGER WILLIAMS IN THE BREACH:—AND SAVES NEW ENGLAND

In the winter of this year, 1636, Sassacus made overtures of peace and alliance to his enemies, the Narragansetts. The Pequot ambassadors argued "that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would in time deprive them of it, if they were suffered to grow and increase. And if the Narragansetts assisted the English to subdue them [the Pequots] they would but make way for their own overthrow; for if they [the Pequots] were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them [the Narragansetts]. . . ." This was a master stroke of diplomacy on the part of Sassacus. It struck fear into the breasts of the Massachusetts officials.

They had courted a break with the Pequots because they counted on playing off the Narragansetts, their own allies, against their hereditary enemies, the Pequots. They could not feel sure of the Narragansetts now that the Pequots had offered to heal old wounds. In the spring of 1630 the Narragansetts had planned a massacre of the Massachusetts English, and changed their minds only when they saw that their plan had leaked out and the English were prepared. Since then they were glad of an English alliance chiefly to offset the power of the Pequots. If the Pequots became friends with them again an English alliance would be less valuable to the Narragansetts.

Massachusetts, in her extremity, realized that Roger Williams was now her only hope for the prevention of an alliance of the Narragansetts and Pequots against her. Williams alone had influence among the Narragansetts. But would he help? In October of the year before (1635) Williams had been convicted of heresy and sedition and ordered to leave Massachusetts within six weeks! In January, 1636, Governor Winthrop was convicted of the crime of having shown "too much lenity in this matter" and Underhill had been sent to re-arrest Williams. But Williams had flown the Massachusetts jurisdiction, as he had been ordered to do. He found refuge with the king of a native state. First he had gone to Massasoit and his Wampanoags; then, in order to get away from Plymouth jurisdiction, he had gone to Canonicus, who, with his uncle Miantonomo, shared the rulership of the Narragansetts. Canonicus gave Williams shelter, and a present of land for himself and whatever other heretics he should invite to join him.

Williams did magnanimously forgive Massachusetts and set out for Canonicus' capital village, where the Pequot ambassadors were then in conference. For three days and nights of the cold winter he risked his life there in using his personal influence with Canonicus against the Pequot ambassadors. The result was that the Narragansetts dismissed the Pequots and prepared to assist Massachusetts in a war against them. The Pequots immediately opened the war by attacking the fort of Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River, and Massachusetts sent Mason and Underhill with relief for the garrison there.

THE ORIGINS OF NORTH AMERICAN UNION, 1637

Massachusetts had until this time stood alone in her dispute with the Pequots. The confederation of the United Colonies of New England was not as yet formed. Each colony was busy seeking its own aggrandizement without regard for the welfare of the others. Massachusetts now began correspondence with Plymouth, seeking to have her aid in war on the Pequots, and eventually, during the spring, Plymouth agreed to join.

On May 11, 1637, Connecticut, seeing that the Pequots were determined to continue the desultory murdering of settlers which they now had begun, decided to declare war and take the offensive. Uncas, a discontented Pequot chief, head of the Mohegan band of Pequots, jealous of his relative Sassacus, now came with seventy of his Mohegan warriors and offered his aid against his own people and king. Then Connecticut wrote to Massachusetts, that, inasmuch as Massachusetts had precipitated the war, it behoved her to prepare an offensive. Plymouth and Massachusetts now joined Connecticut, with their allies, the Narragansetts.

BURNT SACRIFICE OF SWEET SAVOUR IN NEW CANAAN

Plymouth immediately sent out her quota, forty soldiers, to assist the two hundred men whom the Connecticut settlements could muster. *One thousand Narragansett warriors joined them, exactly balancing the one thousand warriors which the Pequots could muster.* Massachusetts promised two hundred soldiers, but these were late in entering the field. Her first quota was delayed because it had been found that some who were not Congregationalists in good standing had been mustered in and it took time formally to muster them out; it was thought that God would not favour an army which contained heretics. All this time the Dutch of Manhattan gave passive encouragement to the English in this war on their own old enemies, the Pequots.

The first real "engagement" was a massacre by the forty Plymouth men under Mason and Underhill, assisted by thirty-seven from Connecticut, and backed by the seventy Mohegans and by the one thousand Narragansetts. Arriving

on the Connecticut River, the Plymouth army and its allies set out for a palisaded Pequot village¹ on what is now Pequot Hill, near the Mystic River. At sunrise of June 5, 1637, while all the four or five hundred Indian villagers soundly slept, unsentinelled, the enemies came upon the village and surprised it.

Mason conceived the idea of setting fire to it, and himself carried the idea into execution. His associate, Underhill, thus exultingly and gloatingly describes the consequent burning alive and slaughter of all the men, women and children in the village: "Most courageously these Pequots behaved themselves. . . . Many courageous fellows were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the palisades so that they were scorched and burned with the very flame, and were deprived of their very arms—in that the fire burnt their bowstrings; and so perished valiantly. Mercy did they deserve for their valour, could we have had opportunity to have bestowed it. Many were burned in the fort, both men, women, and children. Others, forced out, came in troops to the Indians, twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword. Down fell men, women, and children; those that escaped us fell into the hands of the Indians that were in the rear of us. It is reported by themselves that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and doleful was the bloody sight to the view of young soldiers who never had been in war, to see so many souls lie gasping on the ground, so thick in some places that you could hardly pass along.

"It may be demanded, Why should you be so furious? (as some have said). Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would refer you to David's war. . . . *Sometimes the Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents. . . . We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings*" (my italics).

The Indian allies, observes Underhill, came to him, delighted with the "victory", "and greatly admired the manner of

¹ For a description of the Pequot Fort (sometimes referred to as Fort Mystic), see particularly Vincentius, pp. 38-39; also Morton's *Memorial*, and Mather's *Magnalia*; and Underhill, pp. 24-25.

Englishman's fight", but protested that it was "too furious, and slays too many". Bradford wrote of the massacre in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*: "It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and stench thereof. But the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice and they gave praise thereof to God. . . ."¹ When Mather heard of the massacre, he entered his pulpit and gave praise to God, thanking him "that *on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell*".² Niles adds quaintly: "Thus did God judge among the heathen, filling their place with dead bodies."³ After this massacre of "Fort Mystic", the Pequots of the next village above, the seat of Sassacus, near New London, destroyed their own village and retreated; they also slew all of Uncas' relatives among them.

SEQUELS: AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPOILS

By the end of June, the Massachusetts forces under Captain Stoughton at last entered Connecticut. They came upon Sassacus and his own band settled temporarily near a swamp; the Indians numbered about eighty men and two hundred women and children. On the approach of the English the Indians fled into the swamp, and were surrounded. Thirty men, and the women and children were taken captive. The men captives Stoughton ordered to be slain in cold blood. The boys were shipped to be sold in Bermuda as slaves. The women and girls were used as slaves in Massachusetts.⁴ All told, now, about seven hundred Pequots had been slain, or enslaved, about one-fifth of the whole tribe. *Scarcely an English life had been lost.*

The survivors met various fates. Some fled from New England. One group sought haven on the west side of Delaware River not far above what is now Philadelphia;⁵ others are reported as having settled in the hinterland of Virginia. Sassacus, attended by about forty warriors and taking with him an immense quantity of wampum money,

¹ Underhill, pp. 24-25. On Mason as an agent of God, see Niles. For Mason's life and letters see Tuttle.

² Ellis, p. 231; Houghton, p. 2.

³ Niles, 166.

⁴ Compare above, re Stoughton, p. 296.

⁵ MacLeod: *Lenape*.

fled for haven among the Mohawks in New York. After some months, for some reason of state, the Mohawks put him to death. Those Pequots who elected to remain in New England were given peace, but made to pay a large tribute of wampum annually, and were put under the sovereignty of Uncas, one of their own royal family who had fought against them, and all of whose relatives they had executed.

Some few were put under the sovereignty of Canonicus, virtual ruler of the Narragansetts. Canonicus was angered that Uncas, and not he, should have been favoured with sovereignty over most of the Pequots; he had furnished one thousand warriors for the English, and Uncas only seventy; while the Pequots hated Uncas more than they could ever hate a foreign sovereign. Canonicus, angered, began to plot against the English. Of the ensuing difficulties we shall speak later.¹

RÉSUMÉ

The Pequots had not massacred any English settlements. The Puritans had nothing serious to revenge on the Pequots. Everything in the ample details of the attacks on the Pequots which we have for our information indicates that the two massacres which constituted the only noteworthy engagements of the war were not prompted by any military necessity whatsoever. At this time there were only thirty-six firearms among the Pequots. And, as a matter of fact, there was no squeamish contemporary justification attempted. The Puritans felt that they were carrying on war according to the instructions and examples given them in the wars of the Chosen People against the heathen in the Old Testament.

A recent historian of colonial America, unguardedly overlooking all these facts, in a pæan of praise for the Protestant Reformation, naïvely avers that: "The dissemination of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was followed by astonishing results. The unlearned could search the Scriptures for their rule of conduct without the intervention of a priesthood, and an upheaval of the human mind followed."²

¹ See Sylvester, Drake, Thacher, Stone, Underhill, Vincent, Niles; and Gardener, who was at this time the commander of Fort Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River.

² Cooke: *Virginia*, p. 8.

How true this was in New England—and in Ireland under Cromwell!

It is significant that some time after all this Hebraic brutality in the name of a God who had long since disapproved of burnt sacrifices, King Charles I sent Uncas "a bible, to show him the way to heaven, and a sword, to defend him from his enemies".¹ It may be possible to find some intelligent explanation of the psychology of the Pilgrim Fathers and their associates and immediate descendants. I feel that an excellent beginning has been made by one of their historians who, after saying some words in a vain attempt to find excuses for their tendency to massacre without provocation, finally concludes: "It is barely possible that in the consummation of these killings of the Pequots that the intolerancy of the Puritan found a natural vent, and that he carried on this work with a grim satisfaction. *En masse*, the Puritans were a rude sort, and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that these savage carnivals, carried on without much risk to themselves, were tinged with fanaticism, as was the Jesuit whose hand consummated the massacre of St. Bartholomew."²

"As against the English bullet, the arrow of the Indian was an unavailing weapon; and one can imagine the exultant mood which contracted the muscles of the finger that pulled the trigger of the English musket. These men were of an adventurous spirit, as were most of their fellows at home, and not too much is to be expected of them. In every man is the latent disposition of retaliation, and it is only as the process of civilization is perfected that men overcome this disposition to revenge themselves upon others for injuries received at their hands. So it is not strange that these people, originally of the commoner stock of England, which, at that time, was more or less acquainted with atrocities of warfare, should have entered into the hunting of their own kind, though of a different colour, with the murderous zeal which apparently actuated them in their conflict with the Indians.

¹ Stone, *Uncas*.

² In Florida, and in northern Brazil, during the French occupation, in the late seventeenth century, the Huguenots massacred goodly numbers of Catholics. (Compare Southey, v. 1, p. 321; and Lowery.)

"These colonists, by their long English training, were accustomed to the lording of others over them. . . . Many of them had left the Old Country for the New with the anticipation that, once among the wilds of New England, their personal liberties would be more ample, and that, once there, they might follow out their own personal inclinations."¹

The Puritan's "personal inclinations", notably during the Pequot War, were of a very distasteful sort.

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NEW ENGLAND, 1637-1644

After the destruction of the Pequot power in New England, the massacring proclivities of the Puritans gave rise to some general feeling that now would be a good time to exterminate all the Indians. On Oct. 16, 1640, Winthrop's *Journal* notes: "The General Court of Massachusetts received a letter from the Magistrates of Connecticut, New Haven, and Aquidneck [Rhode Island] wherein they declared their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being of the cursed race of Ham; and their desire of our mutual accord, in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness."

The authorities of the colonies thus stood firmly against such inopportune and suicidal violence, with its biblical rationalization, and made use of some most interesting diplomatic expediency, instead, in handling the Indian problem.

It had been a clever move on their part to have preserved Uncas as a native political force to balance the power of Canonicus and the Narragansetts. Uncas' power was based on his sovereignty over that small Pequot band known as

¹ Sylvester, v. 1, p. 296 seq.

If one is not committed to faithful belief in any solemn myths about the New England Separatists, it is possible to get many a laugh out of Thomas Morton's *New England's Canaan*, published in 1637, but written in 1634, or earlier, dating back to 1622. Morton came to the Massachusetts Bay region in June, 1622, with thirty indentured servants, and provisions, to establish a fur-trading depot independent of the Separatists colony at Plymouth. He tells the story of Merry-Mount and its May Pole celebration, and the clash of the joyful colonists or traders there with the pious settlers of Plymouth, ending in the deportation of its founder. Morton's book is largely low comedy and should be understood as such; but it is also veritable history. Morton himself was not only a jolly roisterer, but also a good churchman, and something of a classical scholar. His book is, taken for the type it is, one of the great documents of American history.

the Mohegans including the other Pequot remnants given over to his tender mercies. The old rivalry of Narragansett and Pequot for power and territory continued between Canonicus and his heirs, and Uncas; and this rivalry was aggravated by the anger of the Narragansetts in seeing power over the conquered Pequots having gone to Uncas instead of to themselves.

Uncas was weaker than the Narragansetts. He would have soon been crushed by them, but for the fact that the English realized that they must have Indian to set off against Indian in order to prevent concerted action by the natives in any conspiracy against the English settlements such as occurred in Virginia, where the tribes were united under one king, and consequently took care to warn off the Narragansetts from war on Uncas by assuring Uncas of English assistance in case of war.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

While playing off one native power against the other the English took steps to bring about unity among themselves in case of further war with the Indians. In 1638, after the Pequot War in which they had for the first time coöperated with one another, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven began discussion of the possibilities of a confederation of New England colonies. Among the most urgent objects to be attained was this problem of presenting a united front against the Indians; there was with this also the problem of better organizing the Indian trade and pushing this Indian trade against the enterprise of the Dutch traders just below them. The federation was consummated in 1643, and called The United Colonies of New England. Heretical Rhode Island was not asked to join. The union lasted until 1689, when for three years, Andros was governor for the Crown of all the New England colonies. The United Colonies handled negotiations with the Indians throughout King Philip's War in 1675 and 1676, and directed the military operations during that war.

THE EXECUTION OF THE NARRAGANSETT KING

At the time the English colonies were preparing to unite for diplomatic action in common, and for the common defence, Miantonomo,¹ no doubt in part inspired by this fact, sought desperately to get alliances with sufficient tribes to enable him to crush Uncas and then lead all the Indians of New England against the English. He hoped even to get the alliance of the Mohawks. He visited the tribes of Indians on Long Island; to them he is reported to have said (in 1642): "Brothers, we must be one, as the English are, or we shall soon all be destroyed. You know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, and our plains were full of deer and turkeys, and our caves and rivers were full of fish. But, brothers, since the English have seized upon our country, they cut down the grass with scythes, and the trees with axes. Their cows and horses eat up the grass, and their hogs spoil our beds of clams; and finally we shall starve to death! Therefore stand not in your own light, I beseech you, but resolve with us to act like men. All the sachems both of the east and the west have joined with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them at a day appointed. . . . And when you see the three fires that will be made at the end of forty days hence, in a clear night, then act as we act, and the next day fall on them and kill men, women and children; but no cows, for they must be killed as we need them, till the deer come again."²

An informer among these Long Island Indians carried this news, and the English prepared for trouble, causing Miantonomo to give over his plan. After failing in an attempt to have Uncas assassinated, Miantonomo at last resolved to meet Uncas in battle. This came in 1643. He and Uncas, with something more than five hundred warriors each, faced

¹ Before the arrival of the English the Narragansett king was Tah-tassack. He had a son and a daughter; being able to find no suitably royal matches for them he married brother to sister. Their eldest son, Canonicus, was the king in 1620. Soon after this date Canonicus delegated most of his authority to his nephew and heir-apparent Miantonomo. In 1622, and again, in 1632, the Narragansetts were on the verge of war with the English, but each time changed their minds. And as we have seen they had considered joining the Pequots in 1637, were it not for the influence of Williams.

² Gardener.

each other in an open plain. Uncas wanted single combat with his enemy, after the fashion of Sohrab and Rustem, but Miantonomo refused. The two native armies then fought. Miantonomo wore a heavy suit of English armour,¹ foolishly enough, and was taken captive. His warriors fled.

Uncas hesitated to slay his captive, although according to Indian usage he had a right to. He realized that all his acts must be justified to the English, for upon his English alliance he depended for security against the Narragansetts and all the other Indians of New England, and so, he decided to consult with the commissioners of the United Colonies.

The commissioners were unable to decide whether it was "just and right" to permit Uncas to slay his captive. Since a conference or convocation of all the Congregationalist clergy of New England was then meeting in Boston they put the task of reaching a decision up to the clergy. The clergy, unfortunately, hated Miantonomo because of his readiness, evidenced in the case of Williams and Groton and others, to shelter heretics unwanted in the more respectable colonies united in the union of the four orthodox colonies. But whatever their motives they showed none of the hesitancy of the civil authorities in this matter.

They recommended that Uncas put his royal captive to death. Uncas was then ordered to kill Miantonomo if he chose; if not, to turn him over to the officials of the United Colonies. He was, however, ordered that if he were to kill him, the execution was to be held "in his own jurisdiction; not in the English plantations". They guaranteed to send a New England army to defend him if the Narragansetts attempted to revenge the death of their king. So Uncas took his captive beyond the edge of the English jurisdiction and had him tomahawked.

Thence the balance swung gently in New England until the scales fell against the Indians in 1676. But in the very next year bitter wars raged from the Connecticut River all the way south to the edge of Spanish settlements in what is now Georgia.

¹ The "Skeleton in Armour," famous in Longfellow's poem, is not a Norseman but merely the skeleton of an Indian who died in his armour; see the *American Anthropologist*, 1888.

THE NEW NETHERLANDS, 1643, 1644
THE FIRST SCALP BOUNTY, AND THE MOHAWK
MASSACRE

Governor Kieft, and his successor, Governor Stuyvesant, the Manhattan representatives of the Dutch West India Company,¹ were restless under their directors' restraint of their crusading spirits. Kieft at one time went so far as on his own authority to attempt to end the era of diplomacy and peace with the tribes of the Hudson and of Long Island, and begin their subjugation. His resources were inadequate to the task, however, and he ruined the company's chances of ever getting a profit out of its New York enterprise. This attempt we shall here consider.

In 1640 the Algonkian tribes of the lower Hudson had not yet been quite subdued by the conquering Iroquois. In that year Governor Kieft suddenly anticipated the Iroquois, and ordered that these lower river Algonkian should pay the Manhattan government a yearly tribute in maize. The Indians refused, and Kieft was not prepared to enforce his prematurely given order.²

In 1641, falling out with some Raritan Indians (Delawares of Lenape of upper New Jersey), Kieft offered the first of the notorious head or scalp bounties. He offered, publicly, ten fathoms of wampum (legal currency, equivalent to about ten gulden or four dollars) for each head of a Raritan brought in by anyone. In 1642 some of these local Indians killed a Dutch farmer who had killed an Indian woman for stealing his peaches. They refused to surrender the taker of blood revenge to Kieft, and again Kieft felt unequal to the task of attempting to enforce his demand.

In February, 1643, a band of ninety Mohawk warriors raided the villages of the Tappan and Wechquasqueeck Algonkians because they refused to submit to the Iroquois Confederacy and pay it tribute. In the battle seventy of

¹ The Swedes never fought the Indians. Swedish diplomacy is more expediently summarized in our consideration of the Lenape or Delawares, below.

² O'Callaghan: *History of New Netherlands*, v. 1, p. 224. This was without orders or authority from the company, apparently, although Kieft stated that he had such orders.

the Algonkians were slain and many taken captive. The rest fled to Manhattan for shelter by the Dutch, were treated well there for a few days, and then removed to join the Hackensacks in their large village of one thousand population, and the Pavonia Indians, the better to resist the Iroquois.

THE PAVONIA MASSACRE: 1643

At this time in the council and population of the New Netherlands were two opposed groups. One led by De Vries, and supported by the larger part of the colonists, counselled friendship and moderation with the Indians, continued buying of land, and so on. The other party, chief among whom was Kieft's secretary, Van Tienhoven, wanted either to subjugate or to exterminate the coastal Algonkian tribes.

Now, after the Indians, retreating from the Iroquois, had left Manhattan for Hackensack and Pavonia, Kieft and his council happened, on February 28, to have a very drunken party. The advocates of violence in the council at this affair persuaded Kieft that now would be an opportune time to punish the river Algonkians for having refused to surrender the murderers of the Dutch murderer in 1642. They suggested a massacre as a fit form of punishment, and Kieft gave the order.

After they had sobered up they still thought well of the plan. Kieft did hesitate for a short time, but his evil councillors assured him that his doubt of God's approval of such a course was foolish, and that "not only God but the opportunity should be taken into consideration"!¹

So, Kieft, praying that "our God may bless the expedition", sent off his councillors with an armed body of men in the dead of the night, to attack the sleeping Indian villagers. Eighty Indians were slain while they slept, and thirty were taken prisoners. The heads of the slain were brought back to Manhattan as trophies.

The settler, De Vries, hostile to Governor Kieft's policy of

¹ So his priests told Alvar Nunez, (see above, p. 116), when he asked at a certain time concerning the "justness" of an attack he was planning upon some Indians, saying, "It is not only right, but expedient".

murder, was an eyewitness of the events surrounding the massacre. He has left in his journal a description of some of these. It reads almost like a passage from the Old Testament: "I remained that night at the governor's sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen, when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking, and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. . . . When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering that they had done a deed of Roman valour, in murdering so many in their sleep; *where infants were torn from their mothers' breasts and hacked to pieces in the presence of their parents and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings were bound to small boards and then cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavoured to save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land but made both parents and children drown, children from five to six years of age, and also some decrepit persons.* Many fled from this scene, and concealed themselves amid the neighbouring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to beg a piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves; but they were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the water. . . . Some came by our lands in the country with their hands, some with their legs, cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms, and others had such horrible cuts and gashes that worse than they were could never happen. . . . After this exploit the soldiers were rewarded for their services, and Director Kieft thanked them by taking them by the hand and congratulating them."¹ (Director Kieft's portrait in oils may be seen to-day, honourably hung, in the governor's room of the capitol in Albany, New York.)

It is memorable, this scene of the governor standing on the steps of the primitive predecessor of the city hall of the New York City of to-day, practising that official hand-shaking which has become a great American vice, reviewing, on "The-Island-Where-We-All-Became-Drunk",² the eighty gory

¹ De Vries: *Notes*.

² See above, p. 134.

heads with sightless eyes and the thirty prisoners whom he was to doom shortly to worse than death.

More vivid still, perhaps, is the picture of the aged mother of Kieft's secretary, Van Tienhoven (who had both a wife and a mistress in the colony). When the many heads of the murdered Hackensack Indians were laid on the street for public view, the old mother displayed her keen elation over the exploits of her murderously-inclined son by kicking the heads like footballs about the street.¹ Then Kieft and Van Tienhoven and some of the councillors enjoyed a spectacle. They ordered their soldiers to torture their prisoners² in a horrible, perverted fashion which even in Spanish law in the Indies a century earlier was considered unmentionable:—"cortarles las partes que honestamente no se pueden nombrar".³

THE RESULTING WAR, AND THE STAMFORD MASSACRE

The next morning the surviving Indians, who thought they had experienced another attack from the Mohawks, learned to their amazement that it was the Dutch, who had but a few days before sheltered them. They immediately determined and prepared to revenge their dead relatives. The Dutch farmers of Long Island, now that the director was in an obliging mood, requested Kieft for permission likewise to massacre the villages of Long Island Indians. Before anything could be done about this, however, fifteen hundred warriors of eleven river tribes, of about five thousand population, began their attacks on the Dutch settlements.

The war raged throughout 1643. The hostile tribes attacked even the English settlers of western Connecticut, probably mistaking them for Dutch, killing some eighteen English in the town of Stamford. The Dutch then carried their arms into Connecticut.

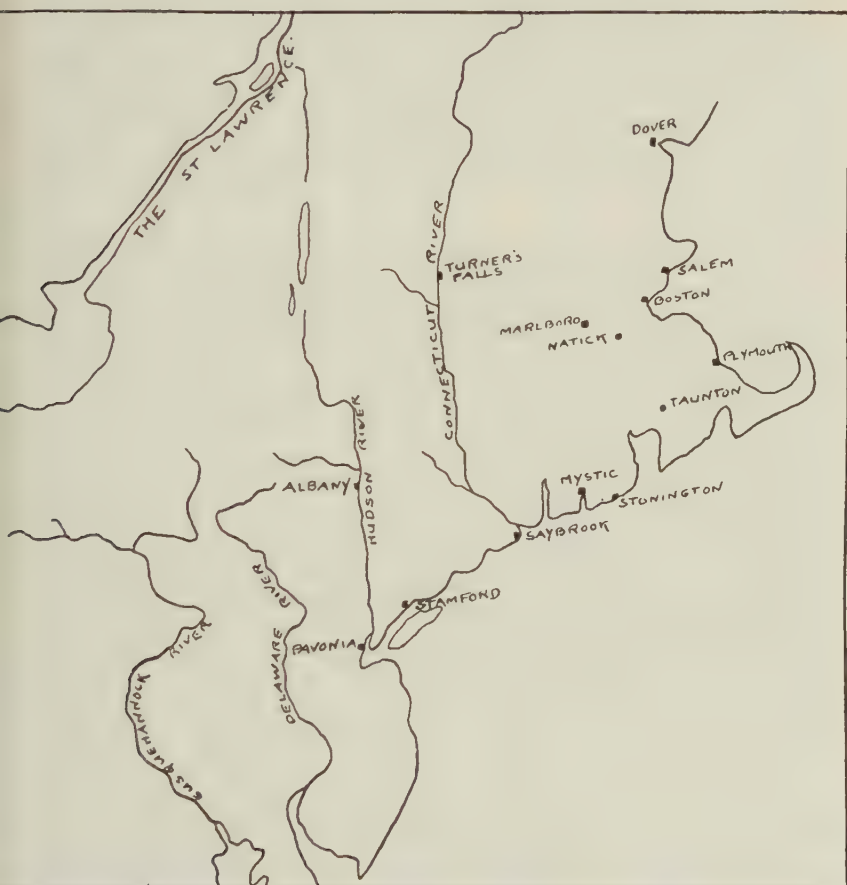
Their expedition there was captained by the notorious Underhill, hero of the Pequot War, who was now in the employ of the Dutch West India Company. His under-officer was

¹ Ruttenber, p. 108.

² De Vries, p. 208; O'Callaghan: *Documentary History*, v. 4, p. 105.

³ *Recopilación*, lib. 7, tit. 5, ley 23. Compare Southey, v. 2, pp. 380-81, 102-103, 127, 153 (1643), for Dutch lack of chivalry in their wars with the Portuguese in Brazil.

Ensign Van Dyke. Underhill and his men emulated the 1637 massacre of the Pequots. They surprised at dawn the Indian village near Stamford, Connecticut, set fire to it, and



MAP. 7.—TO ILLUSTRATE THE WARS OF 1643-1676.
(With the sites of the principal massacres.)

put to the sword and to the flames the five hundred men, women, and children there resident. For this, a day of Thanksgiving was proclaimed in the churches of Manhattan.¹

¹ Sylvester, v. 1; and Ruttenber, pp. 113, 115-118.

THE ECONOMIC RESULTS OF THE WAR

Underhill's blow is significant because it virtually ended Indian resistance. Peace was signed in April, 1644. This was just as the war burst into flame to the south in Virginia. One-fifth of the population of the hostile tribes had been slain in battle and massacre. Besides the one-thousand slain, many more died from the insidious after-effects of war—the shortage of corn, the spread of disease, and so on. But the Dutch West India Company and its colony also suffered terribly.

As in Virginia after the 1622 massacre there was a retraction of the area of settlement, of the line of the frontier. Only one settlement remained at a distance from Manhattan; that was Van Rennsalaer's place at Albany (Fort Orange), "which experienced no trouble and enjoyed peace, because they continued to sell firearms and powder to the Indians even during the war against us. . . ."¹

The West India Company, seeing their New Netherlands settlement near ruin, appointed a committee of its members to investigate affairs in the colony. They reported on December 15, 1644. They point out the dismal fact that, despite the fact that Dutch traders of one company or another had been cultivating the Indian trade on Manhattan since 1598, the Dutch West India Company year by year was only losing on its enterprise there. From 1623 to 1644 the company had lost 555,000 guilders in the New Netherlands.

It was, however, thought best to continue with the enterprise even at a loss, because of the company's moral obligation to protect settlers already there. The report explained further that trouble with the Indians arose from the too thin diffusion of settlement. In the beginning of the enterprise the Indian trade was a monopoly of the company; but subsequently settlers had been allowed to trade freely with the Indians. The result had been an increased emigration of Dutch to take advantage of the new opportunities to profit, and an increased emigration of English settlers from New England and Virginia;

¹ For the continuance into the next century of this villainous practice by the Dutch trading community of Albany consider below, pp. 240, 279, n. 1, and p. 345, n. 1.

and "the colonists, . . . with a view each to push forward his own advantage, separated themselves from one another and settled far in the interior, the better to drive trade with the Indians. . . ."

The committee recommended that the retraction of settlement resulting from the war be continued, in order that the frontier settlers should be more immediately under control of the authorities and that irritating contacts with the aborigines should be lessened.¹

EXTERMINATION RECONSIDERED

The Indians maintained their old status of free nations after the war. So, despite the colony's losses, Kieft, personally embittered against the natives—one of the original "Indian haters"—recommended their extermination. He told the committee "that to restore peace and quiet through the country the Indians who waged war on us should by force of arms be utterly destroyed and exterminated". He did not recommend any alternative such as subjugation. But the commonalty of the colony disagreed with the director. They had more to lose than he by an Indian war, and they estimated the Indian population and strength as greater than Kieft did. They told the committee that they "considered their extermination impossible", and recommended the continued conciliation of the natives.

So the committee advised the directors of the company in Holland that "the advice of the present director to utterly exterminate them by no means be adopted". "It would not be impolitic . . . to adopt the advice of the commonalty and to endeavour by all means to appease and satisfy the Indians." Further, they advised that the directors order back home, to Holland, "the director and council who are responsible for that bloody exploit of the 28 of February, 1643, to justify and vindicate their administration. . . ."

It is interesting and instructive to note this recommendation "by all means to appease and satisfy the Indians", not only because extermination was impracticable and unchristian

¹ On other aspects of this problem of concentration of the frontier consider above, pp. 186, 203, 228.

but because: "it would be injurious to the company, since it would necessitate so heavy an expenditure on so uncertain an event and so little appearance of profit".¹

THE OLD EMPEROR IN VIRGINIA WARS AGAIN, 1644

Opechankeno kept the peace in Virginia from 1634 to 1644. Meantime, as his own subjects declined in numbers and the white tobacco planters increased to perhaps ten thousand or so, the old emperor, now well over ninety years of age, waited "the day".

Why he chose April 18, 1644, we cannot be certain. We can be reasonably sure that he knew of the Pequot Wars in New England and the wars in the New Netherlands; but he waited until the very month in which peace was being negotiated in the New Netherlands.²

¹ *Report*, Appendix E, O'Callaghan: *History of the New Netherlands*. This report is an especially valuable document.

For Kieft's point of view, see the apologetic *Journal of New Netherland*, 1647. See also, for further developments, the *Instructions*, 1645, of the West India Company, in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, v. 1, p. 495 seq.

The Dutch West India Company was meanwhile busy in northern Brazil and it was, relatively, little interested in the New Netherlands.

Spain's wars on Portugal included the plan of attempting first to control Angola, thereby cutting off Brazil from her source of negro slaves, for Brazil "could not subsist without negroes". What would be ruined would be the business of producing sugar, which was Brazil's life. And while thus controlling Angola to the disadvantage of Brazil, Spain might also get negroes cheaply for her mines in Peru and elsewhere in the New World which at the time were being worked by free Indians under the *mita* system.

The Dutch West India Company in its wars on the Portuguese in northern Brazil likewise aimed at Angola, the only noteworthy base of supplies for negroes, hoping thereby to ruin the Brazilian sugar industry by stopping an adequate supply of labour, and then to supply the European sugar market with Dutch sugars grown on Dutch plantations in the conquered area in Brazil. But when the Dutch West India Company finally conquered northern Brazil with its sugar plantations (from Lagos to Potengi), some of their other plans failed and negroes became scarce and dear and Indians in *administraceons* had to be depended on as a labour supply.

As in North America, the few Dutch missionaries sent out under the protection of the Dutch West India Company to Brazil during the quarter-century of Dutch control there, did not go out to the Indians in the wilds, but contented themselves, here, with attempting to convert already Christianized Indians from their Catholic faith to evangelical Protestantism. (See Southey, v. 1, p. 645 (1638); v. 2, pp. 214-215, 219, 224 (1648).)

² See below, pp. 244 seq.

More important is the fact that Opechanckenno knew of the Civil War in England. A narrator writing in 1649 says concerning the 1644 massacre in Virginia and "the great king" Opechanckenno: "Those that are planters there write that the occasion of the Indians doing so wicked an act was: that some of them confessed that their great king was informed by some English that all was under the sword in England, their native country, and such divisions in our land; that now was his time, or never, to root out all the English; for those that they could not surprise and kill . . . the rest would be in want, and, having no supplies from their own country, . . . be suddenly consumed and famished."¹

In 1644 although Opechanckenno's tribesmen were fewer in numbers, they probably had a better supply of firearms than in 1622. Bootlegging of firearms in the Indian trade had continued in Virginia, and the Dutch and Swedes of the New Netherlands and New Sweden surreptitiously furnished firearms for Maryland and Virginia tribes. Just before the outbreak of massacre in Virginia in 1644, Plantagenet, describing the Delaware River Valley, made note of the Dutch war of 1643 and blamed its seriousness on the fact that the Dutch permitted their Indians to buy firearms. And at the same time he was worried about their influence on the Indians of Maryland and the South, exclaiming that the Dutch "in general endanger all his Majestie's adjoining countries, most wickedly, feloniously, and traiterously, contrary to the Marine and Admiralty Laws of all Christians, sell by whole-sale guns, powder, and shot, and ammunition to the Indians, instructing them in the use of our fights and arms. . . ."²

THE MASSACRE, AND THE MURDER OF OPECHANCKENO

On April 18, 1644, the Virginia Indians fell on the outlying settlements, murdering all they could. About five hundred colonists were slain this time—by, of course, much smaller bands of warriors than were on hand in 1622, and out of a much larger population of settlers. The Indian attack fell largely on the settlements at the heads of the James River

¹ *A Perfect Description*, 1649, p. 11. John Rolfe visited Opechanckenno occasionally (see above, p. 184, n. 4).

² Plantagenet, pp. 18-19.

and the Pamunkey River, and on the south side of the James.

Opechanckenno, carried about in a litter by his attendants, with eyelids so aged that, in order that he might see, his servants had to raise them for him, himself directed the offensive at the head of the York or Pamunkey River.

This remarkable native king was now nearly one hundred years old. His maturity had covered the period of Sir Walter Raleigh's attempts at colonization (1583, 1585) on the nearby coast, and the settlement of Jamestown (1607). He had not come into power himself until he was an old man of eighty. Now his joints were stiff from age. So, when the governor, Sir William Berkeley, quickly in the field with a force of cavalry, pursued the natives, Opechanckenno was easily taken captive, and the leaderless natives were quieted.

Then, writes an early historian: "To the honour of the governor it should be recorded that his conduct to his illustrious and venerable captive was invariably marked by great tenderness and humanity; and the members of the council and the assembly partook in the interest and pity excited by his majestic and manly appearance. In general, too, the feelings of the colonists did honour to their nature on this occasion. They saw the terrible enemy, who had been the author of so many mischiefs to Virginia, now a captive in their hands, bending under the load of years. They generously resolved to bury the remembrance of their injuries, in his present melancholy reverse of fortune." But the old chieftain, honourably treated as a captive of war by the upper classes, "was basely shot through the back by one of the soldiers appointed to guard him".¹

Governor Berkeley, not alone here, but throughout his career in dealing with Indians and refractory colonists alike, is a splendid example of the nobler type of English gentleman and soldier, honourable, humane, chivalrous, and courageous. In his dealings with native nobles taken prisoner he stands in marked contrast to the Puritan provincials of New England who, in this matter at least, were uniformly unchivalrous.

¹ Burke, v. 2, p. 57. See also Cooke; Drake; Beverley; Thacher; Bancroft.

THE RESULTS

Opechanckeno's capture and death immediately broke the Indians' nerve. They quickly agreed to the reasonable terms of peace submitted by Berkeley. The native empire was no longer to exist. Virginian dealings henceforth were to be with the several tribes. These tribes were to continue to govern themselves as autonomous political units, but were to acknowledge the overlordship, not of an "emperor" of their own, but of the British Crown, to which each tribe was to pay every year three arrows as rent of the lands they occupied; and twenty beaver skins for military protection against Indian enemies in the hinterland.

Nicotowance was the heir of Opechanckeno, but he was now only king of the Pamunkey tribe.¹ The strategically important village at the Falls of the James River (Powhatan village) was surrendered to the English by Nicotowance, and its Indian inhabitants obliged to remove elsewhere. Governor Berkeley did not realize that the Indians of the piedmont would try to move into this strategic vacant village at the Falls, as we shall see later.

¹ See *A Perfect Description*, 1649, p. 13, letter from Virginia of date March, 1648. The letter notes that in March, 1648, Nicotowance visited Jamestown, and "that he acknowledges to hold his government under King Charles, and is become tributary to him".

CHAPTER XVII

KING PHILIP'S WAR AND BACON'S REBELLION, 1675-1676

"If they had killed my grandfather, my father, my mother, and all my friends, yet, if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace."—*Governor Berkeley of Virginia, in castigation of General Washington for the murder of ambassadors; in the Assembly, Jan. 5, 1676.*

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NEW ENGLAND: 1644-1676

CANONICUS, uncle of Miantonomo, king of the Narragansett tribe, died in 1647. He was succeeded by his son Mexhan. But thenceforth his nephew Pessacus, brother of the deceased Miantonomo, was virtual ruler of the tribe. From now on, furthermore, the Nehantics, a sub-tribe of the Narragansetts, appear to act independently of Mexhan and Pessacus, under their king, Ninigret, a cousin of the deceased Miantonomo.

The Narragansetts continued their intense hatred of Uncas and his Mohegan-Pequots, but the United Colonies prevented the Narragansetts from turning loose their strength of two thousand warriors to crush the meagre five hundred ruled by Uncas. The Narragansetts continued also to threaten an alliance with remote tribes for war upon the United Colonies. They were accused at times of negotiating with not only the Mohawks but also with the Dutch of New Netherlands for a concerted attack on New England. In 1653, for example, the United Colonies sent messengers to Mexhan, Ninigret, and Pessacus, to investigate this possibility, and in 1654 they sent troops into the Nehantic country to take action in advance of a general conspiracy if such should appear as a real possibility, but Ninigret compounded his difficulties with them and they returned to the English settlements.

Massachusetts, so aggressive compared with the other colonies, during the Pequot troubles and so intolerant later during King Philip's war, during these troubles with Ninigret

and his fellows, which at times threatened to break out in open war, frequently took the side of the Narragansetts in urging less haste in believing everything evil of them, exasperating them by threats of war, and by sending armed men into their country.

Massachusetts insisted, with some justice, that Uncas was a troublemaker and was continually spreading lying rumours as to the Narragansetts meditating mischief. They argued that to place too much dependence on Uncas' honesty and to act too openly in his interest was likely "to render us low and contemptible in the eyes of the Indians or engage us to vindicate our honour in a dangerous and unnecessary war upon Indian quarrels, the ground whereof we can hardly ever satisfactorily understand. . . ." So things continued, until 1675, with the United Colonies balancing off Narragansett against Mohegan.

The nerves of the English diplomats must have been terribly on edge much of the time, but their work undoubtedly postponed a general Indian conspiracy until such time as the colonies were able better to stand the brunt of a general Indian war. Meantime, of course, smallpox and rum were taking toll of the native population.¹

THE BACKGROUND OF KING PHILIP'S WAR

The bitter and disastrous war of 1675 and 1676 in New England, popularly known as King Philip's War, virtually put an end to Indian influence and to the Indian race in New England. Curiously enough, it was not begun by the powerful Narragansetts, and not as a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes against the English. It grew out of some minor troubles with one of the lesser remnant tribes in Plymouth's sphere of influence, a tribe which had from the beginning been content to live and die under that influence. This was the Wampanoag tribe.

In 1620, its then chief, Massasoit, was the first chief to meet the English. He welcomed them into his plague-desolated country and permitted them to settle on the lands of the depopulated Wampanoag village of Patuxet. Always

¹ See Ellis; Drake; and Thacher.

a reliable friend, appreciating the protection Plymouth Colony afforded him against his own Indian enemies of the country, Massasoit kept the peace till his death at the ripe old age of eighty-two, in 1662.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, whose English name was Alexander. In this same year Alexander was ordered by the Plymouth authorities to come to Plymouth for a conference. The English doubted his integrity. Immediately on his return home he died of fever contracted while detained by the English.

Alexander was succeeded by his next brother, Philip, then only twenty-three years old. Philip now was the object of Plymouth suspicions. It would seem that the English, though having implicitly trusted the aged Massasoit, were afraid that a change in chiefs might bring such a change in policy as Opechankeno had brought to Virginia, and they had decided not to let themselves be taken unawares. The Wampanoags were by this date reduced to about two thousand population (five hundred or so warriors),¹ but this was sufficient to constitute, if it so desired, a serious danger to the Plymouth settlements.

Year by year the Plymouth authorities nagged Philip most unmercifully, continually suspicious of his intents. If Philip had not been hostilely inclined to begin with, he certainly was bound to become so. In 1671 the aggravation brought matters to a head. Plymouth informed the chief that they had heard that he was making preparations to war upon them and demanded that he immediately present himself before the Plymouth authorities, for conference and explanations.

Alexander's death immediately after returning from Plymouth had made the Indians suspect that the English had poisoned him. At any rate Philip did not intend to permit himself to be ordered about as if he were not a free sovereign, as Alexander had done.

¹ The Wampanoags proper (the nucleus of Massasoit's overlordship) must have been much less; compare data from Squanto for 1623 in Baylies, v. 1, p. 64.

THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL STATUS

He remained at his village near Mount Hope, about forty miles southwest of Plymouth town and twenty-five miles down river from Taunton, and refused to come. Then he changed his mind to the extent of offering to go to Plymouth if two Plymouth citizens would be left with his tribesmen as hostages for his safe return. Plymouth sent the hostages and Philip set out with his attendants. But as Philip approached Taunton he saw that the English were preparing defences in case of war. He then remained outside, on a hill, and refused to go further.

The commissioners of Massachusetts Colony then took the part of mediators between Plymouth Colony and Philip. They visited the native prince on his hill-top and persuaded him to enter Taunton for a conference, in September, 1671. This conference only led to further irritations, between the haughty chief and the nagging colony, but difficulties were patched up for the time.

In September of the next year (1672) things had come to such a pass that Plymouth again prepared for war and advised Massachusetts and Rhode Island that if need be she would make war alone on the Wampanoags. Philip, apparently not desiring war, then appealed to Massachusetts for intervention, going himself to Boston. Here the question of Philip's political status was raised. Philip admitted himself as a subject of the King, but claimed equality under the Crown with the government of Plymouth.¹ Plymouth argued that if he was subject to the King he then was also subject to Plymouth. Massachusetts championed Philip's point of view. But Plymouth threatened to make its point by war, and under this threat Philip agreed to acknowledge himself as a petty king under the protection and jurisdiction of Plymouth colony, and agreed to pay one hundred pounds a year tribute to Plymouth in acknowledgment of his subjection.

It appears, however, that he had made this submission as a mere temporary expedient, and intended now to fight as soon as he could prepare himself for war. For three years he kept the peace and lulled the colony into a sense of security. But in the spring of 1675 matters came again to a head.

¹ Compare above, p. 179, for Virginia correspondences.

Then an Indian subject of Philip's, known to be a spy in the service of Plymouth, and a Christian, was murdered. Philip was suspected of having ordered his death. On the evidence of an Indian who claimed to have witnessed the murder, the Plymouth authorities arrested and executed three natives of Philip's tribe, without consulting him in the matter. Philip now immediately and openly prepared for war.¹

PREPARATIONS FOR BATTLE

By June Plymouth had obtained Massachusetts' promise to help her, and shortly thereafter Connecticut also joined, with Uncas and his Mohegans, and his now reconciled Pequot subjects. Massachusetts obtained a promise of neutrality from the Narragansetts and Niantics. Philip and his five hundred warriors were now alone in facing the United Colonies, and Uncas, who alone was as powerful as Philip.

On June 18, 1675, a colonist at Swansea imprudently killed an Indian he caught stealing. Two days later Plymouth sent twenty soldiers to protect Swansea. In four more days the Wampanoags killed their first English. Then followed guerilla warfare.

IROQUOIS AND NARRAGANSETT

In August the commissioners of the United Colonies sent agents to Albany, New York, to request the assistance of the Iroquois Confederacy against the Wampanoags. The Iroquois declined to help, but promised to remain neutral.

Massachusetts now accused the Narragansetts of sheltering wounded Wampanoags, and Wampanoag women and children. The Narragansetts were talked to very insultingly, and replied in kind. On November 2, 1675, the commissioners of the United Colonies, having demanded of the Narragansetts that they submit to the sovereignty of the United Colonies, and having received a flat refusal, declared war on the Narragansetts.

The Narragansetts, and, despite Ningret's then English inclinations, the Niantics also, now prepared for war against

¹ Philip's point of view is given by the then governor of Rhode Island, John Eaton, in his *Relation*.

the English. Rhode Island was not a member of the United Colonies and not a party to this declaration of war on the Indians. The Narragansett territory was almost wholly within the bounds granted Rhode Island by the charter of the Crown. The United Colonies, however, ignored Rhode Island's charter rights and entered Rhode Island territory to war on the Narragansetts.

The United Colonies had determined once and for all to end their Indian problem by subjugating the more powerful tribes. They had now arrayed against themselves not only the five hundred warriors of Philip, but the two thousand warriors of the Narragansetts and Niantics, and a few hundred warriors of lesser tribes allied to these. Only the sycophant Uncas with his five hundred warriors was on the side of the English, while Rhode Island and the neighbouring New York colony remained neutral.

THE NARRAGANSETT MASSACRE

On December 19, 1675, there was a renewal of the barbarities which occurred in the Pequot War nearly three decades before. There was another brutal burning alive of the innocent. A large, fortified village of the Narragansetts was fired, and about four hundred Indians slain, mostly old men, women, and children; in this instance most of the able-bodied men had effected their escape. . . . "The shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and appalling scene, so that it greatly moved some of our soldiers. *They were much in doubt* and afterwards inquired whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity and the benevolent principles of the gospel."¹

In this affair, the Indians having been better supplied in this day with firearms than they had been a generation before, they were able to take a toll of English lives. Twenty of the Puritan soldiers were slain, and one hundred and fifty so seriously wounded that seventy-five of these died within several days, a total of ninety-five dead.

¹ Ruggles, *MS.*, cited in Ellis, pp. 152, 155.

NEGOTIATIONS, WINTER OF 1676

In January, 1676, Philip fell back for the mid-winter, for shelter in New York, near the neutral Mohawk country, making his winter quarters at Schaghticoke, in Van Rennsalaer County. The Mohawks purchased considerable supplies of arms and ammunition from the Dutch traders of Albany and sold them to Philip in return for wampum and skins.

Governor Andros of New York and the officials of Connecticut now entered into an acrimonious correspondence over Andros' refusal to interfere with these transactions.¹ Philip meantime negotiated with the French for their assistance but they refused to help; then he tried to win over the Iroquois, enemies of the French, but they too decided to remain neutral. In March, with the breaking of winter, he held his first conference with the Narragansett and other chiefs also at war with the United Colonies, and then resumed his attacks on the English.

CANONCHET EXECUTED, APRIL, 1676

On April 3, Canonchet, a chief of the Narragansetts, was taken prisoner, with a large number of his warriors. The English slew forty-three of their prisoners in cold blood and then took Canonchet into Stonington and there executed him. Canonchet was first offered his life if he would persuade his tribe to cease fighting, but he refused.

At his trial he insisted, as had Philip before, that he was a subject of the British Crown, but not under the jurisdiction of any colony. Finally, as the English argued with him, he withdrew into himself, and refused to answer any questions, stating "That he was born a prince and if princes came to speak with him, he would answer, but none such being present

¹ Ellis, pp. 167, 196. On the Albany Dutch see above, p. 228, n. 1. The Indians at this date in New England could repair their own firearms. In 1637 the Indians of Connecticut were eager to take English prisoners thinking they might know how to make gunpowder (Ruttenber, p. 115). On the effects of the inability of Indians to repair firearms see Kane, p. 412; and on Indian skill later as gunsmiths see Mayne, p. 278. However, during the war, their forges were sometimes destroyed, and they then could not repair their firearms.

he thought himself in honour obliged to keep silent". He requested that he be executed only by another noble; the English being all commoners, he selected Oneko, the son of Uncas, to be his executioner. His body was drawn and quartered. A historian writes: "His death was as honourable to himself as its infliction and the shameful mutilation of his body was disgraceful to his enemies. Something of his lofty spirit and dignified character seems to have impressed itself upon the grudging minds of his foes, but called up no corresponding chivalry of action."

TWO MORE MASSACRES

Massachusetts now was using her Christian reservation Indians as scouts, and the hostile tribes now began to lose because they found it impossible to catch the Massachusetts troops in ambushes. Starvation and disease, and inability to repair their guns, were likewise conspiring against the Indians.

On May 18, at Turner's Falls, there was another of these monotonous massacres of non-combatants by the Puritans. A settlement of Indians was surprised. After killing thirty-eight English most of the able-bodied men among the Indians escaped. Captain Holyoke then set an example which was followed by his men. Discovering five old persons and children hiding behind some rocks he put them to the sword. An indiscriminate killing of the aged, the women and the children, followed. They were struck with swords, and their bodies swept over the falls and down the river. Between one hundred and two hundred Indians were slain. . . . "The river Kishon swept them away; that ancient river, the river Kishon! O! my soul, they have trodden down strength. . . ." This was the exclamation, of Biblical provenience, of the Rev. Increase Mather when he heard this pleasant news.¹

On Sunday, July 2, near Natick, Massachusetts, there was another massacre. One hundred and twenty-six Indian women and children and thirty-four men were put to the sword, while of their two hundred English and Mohegan murderers only two were slain.

¹ Ellis, pp. 205, 231, 235.

PHILIP'S WIFE AND CHILD CAPTURED

In August the wife and young son of Philip were taken prisoner. The English were overjoyed. The Rev. Mather as usual was eager for blood. He rejoiced concerning Philip that: "It must be bitter as death to him to lose his wife and only son, for the Indians are marvellously fond and affectionate towards their children."

Church and State now debated what should be done to the woman and child. Eliot, the missionary, was opposed to enslaving them or killing them, but on scriptural grounds—which does no credit to his honour. Mather and the Rev. Arnold and other clergy called for blood. Mather wrote to John Cotton: "Philip's son makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father, chief sachem [sic !] of the Edomites, was killed by Joab."¹

The issue was settled by shipping the woman and the boy, the grandson of Massasoit, the Pilgrims' friend, and teacher of American agriculture, to the Bermudas to be sold into slavery. Soon after, Weetamo, queen of the Pocasset Indians, wife of a cousin of Canonchet's, was taken prisoner, executed, and her head on a pole, with its long hair, paraded through the streets of Taunton.

¹ Oct. 30, 1676. Whether this slip in using the Indian term for king was unconscious I cannot guess. Note that a like latinized Indian term for chief or king, *cacique*, was adopted in the Carolinas through the influence of John Locke as a term of nobility for a new grade of Euro-American nobility, along with the term landgrave from the German! (see above, p. 131). Even in those days American taste ran to the synthetic. These facts stand comparison with the adoption in the seventeenth century of the term Mohawks to characterize the ruffians prevalent in London in that day; and of the term Apaches for a similarly vile breed in contemporary Paris. I note also a curious convergence in the transliteration of the Malay term *amook* (to kill), from which "to run amuck", and "amucks", "those who run amuck"; in one old document on the East, "amucks" has become "Mohawks". Here we may note also some interesting changes of personal names in contemporary America. The Dutch name A'Beel, used by half-breed Indians on the Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania, has become transliterated as O'Bail, of Irish appearance. Many MacLeods have become MacCloud and merely Cloud, and I have no doubt some Clouds are also Indian or half-breed. I am told on good authority that, perhaps inspired by some personage of the name, some Czecho-Slovaks of Michigan or thereabouts have translated their name in part and become McLeods (see the *American Mercury* for 1925-1926 on Bohemian names). The Anglo-Saxon cast of many of the name lists in American city directories is rather deceptive. (On race as contrasted with names compare above, p. 173, n. 2, and pp. 376, 412, 414.)

In August, Philip himself was taken. He was executed and his head stuck on a pole in Plymouth, where it was still, in the form of a skull, when twenty-four years later (1700) the Rev. Mather took off its lower jawbone, apparently to keep as a memento.

ECONOMIC AND OTHER EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The war was ended. Six hundred men of the United Colonies, one-eleventh of the adult males, had been killed in battle; and an unrecorded number of English women and children were slain. Hundreds of homes had been destroyed and thirteen settlements wiped out. Most of a year's harvest had been lost. The military expenses of the colonies had been about £100,000.

Of the approximately twelve thousand population of the hostile tribes, probably about half perished from battle, massacre, exposure, and starvation. In addition, unrecorded numbers had been taken captive, and the commissioners of the United Colonies shipped these abroad to be sold as slaves, the receipts to be apportioned among the four colonies to meet in part the costs of the war. They were sent to Virginia, Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. *Five hundred Indian slaves were shipped from Plymouth alone.* Uncas got none of the receipts from the sale of slaves and was consequently embittered. But he had no possibility of revenge and subsided to ignominy and decay. The Indian power in New England was ended and the race virtually destroyed.¹

This war gave the masses of the Puritan population, before becoming embalmed as saints within the covers of text-books, their last opportunity to exhibit the depths of their nature. The clergy and the captains of the hosts were as criminal as the masses. Eliot, the missionary, and Gookin, "superintendent" of the Indians, an Anglo-Irish Puritan, were among the very few who exhibited, if not chivalry, at least ordinary humanity.

During the war Gookin bent his efforts towards the protection of the Praying Indians of Massachusetts whom the

¹ See Mather's own account of Philip's war; and summary studies by Drake, Thacher, and Ellis—all valuable. Ellis alone considers the social and economic aspects of the phenomenon.

rabble threatened to exterminate in their hatred of all Indians. Gookin was therefore denounced as "an Irish dog" and a "traitor", vile language was thrown at him in the streets of Boston, when he dared appear in public; he was threatened with violence, and received letters from secret vigilance committees threatening death if he did not cease his agitation. He was ostracized by his fellow magistrates, and defeated for reëlection.

Even at the end of the war, when the officials had recovered from their hysterical ravings, the rabble thought to continue the massacre of the surviving Indians. On September 26, two men of Lancaster had to be hanged by the authorities because "of wanton killing of Indian women and children". A year later when, from the Indian war then continuing in Maine, some Indian prisoners were being taken of a Sunday through Marblehead, Massachusetts, "the women of Marblehead, coming from church, massacred the Indian prisoners", and "the rough element in the community" then betook themselves to kill the women and children found in the village of some neighbouring Indians.¹

THE UNITY OF THE FRONTIER IN THE WARS OF 1675-1676

We have noted that as the wars of 1643 to 1644 ended in Connecticut, New York, and northern New Jersey, they broke out in Virginia. We note now that during 1676, while war raged in New England, war raged also in Virginia. The

¹ *Massachusetts Archives*, v. 30, pp. 192-193, 209-211, 222; Gookin, p. 97; Ellis, pp. 132-134; *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay*, v. 1, pp. 71-73. Four Indian men, three women, and three children had been murdered by those who were hung.

On the New England wars with the French Indians (Abenaki, etc.) subsequent to 1676 see Penhallow; and Mather: *Decennium*, also Coleman. On a contemporary criticism of Puritan methods of war against the Indians for this period see the tracts by the New England Quaker, Thomas Maule, entitled *Truth*, and *New England*, appearing 1695.

In the war preceding 1703 Massachusetts Bay Colony offered twelve pounds for each Indian scalp. In 1722 the same colony offered one hundred pounds! See Mather: *Decennium*, p. 186.

On the destruction of the aborigines of Newfoundland, the Beothuks, by Micmacs with firearms, and by the English settlers—a most cruel story of manhunting—see documentation in Baxter's edition of Cartier's *Voyages*, p. 87, n. 1; and data in Hawley, Speck, and Chamberlain. Compare the Beothuk story with that of the aboriginal Tasmanians.

immediate causes of these separate but contemporary Indian wars with the English were different in the south and in the north. But in Virginia, in both 1644 and 1676, the Indians were in each case (as also in the wars of the Carolinas a generation later) acquainted with the fact of internal strife or civil war among the colonists and appreciated the consequent weakening of English resistance which this would effect.

Further, despite the distinction in the causes in the North and South, it is at least probable that the northern and southern Indians were acquainted with their respective struggles against the English, and although it may be very doubtful if this knowledge determined the southern Indian on war, it may have been an encouraging fact, combined with the fact of internal strife among the colonists, making for war at that particular moment.

The evidence of the communication between northern and southern Indians concerning their respective wars is only indirect; but suggestive. The Lenape of Delaware Indians' territories stretched south to Trenton, N.J., and to Atlantic City and Egg Harbour (the Raritan Delawares, etc.), and down further to the upper waters of the Chesapeake Bay (the Siconessinks Delawares of the Eastern Shore Peninsula below Lewes, Delaware).

In 1643 and 1644 these above Trenton and Egg Harbour were engaged in the general Algonkian war on the Dutch in what are now the Central Atlantic states and Connecticut. From Trenton, New Jersey, to the upper waters of the Chesapeake is a very short distance for news to travel even among the Indians of olden days. We must note that during a war Indian tribes continually sent out embassies afar to seek alliances, offensive and defensive. In their wars with the Iroquois, the Susquehannocks of southern Pennsylvania and the Hurons of the St. Lawrence in French Canada exchanged embassies with a view to mutual support. And we have noted how Philip of the Wampanoags in 1675 and 1676 conferred with the Mohawk Iroquois at Albany, N.Y., during the winter. The persons of ambassadors were in theory, and generally in practice, as with us, inviolate.

Since 1608 the Iroquois, in constant communication with the Connecticut Indians, were also in constant communication with the upper Chesapeake Bay tribes. Communication be-

tween the Iroquois and the Chesapeake was especially frequent after the crushing of the Susquehannocks, accomplished just as the northern and southern wars of 1675-1676 were to break out! Moreover, since 1630 or earlier, the Mahickans, located on the Hudson just below the Mohawks, were in close communication with not only the Munsee below them, but probably also with Lenape to the south of Trenton, N.J.

Even the Mohegans of Connecticut had relatives by marriage in this lower Delaware River valley no doubt through the intermarriage of the "royal" and noble families of the tribes. Yonge and Evelyn in 1630 and 1641 on the Delaware River noted intermarriage between the ruling families of the Munsee of the upper Delaware near Trenton, New Jersey, and the Mahickans of the Hudson. In 1637-1638, some Mohegans of Connecticut, fleeing from their defeat at the hands of the New England English, fled to the Delaware River, on the New Jersey side, just above the present site of the city of Philadelphia and were permitted to settle there by the local band of Lenape, to whom, presumably, they were related. Some Mohegans at this time were reported to have fled even to the Virginia piedmont; only several years before the massacres or wars of 1644!

About May 29, 1663, while the Dutch were warring on the Esopus tribe of Indians on the Hudson just below the Mahickans, some Esopus Indians, either fleeing or sent out as ambassadors, came at least as far south as the Indian village of Kingsessing (then also a Dutch settlement and now West Philadelphia), and there informed the local Lenape of their trouble with the Dutch. Whether these Esopus Indians continued further south on the journey or mission we are not informed by the records.

These facts at least serve to enable us to visualize the proper magnitude of the contemporaneous Indian wars, and lend perspective to those of the South which we are now about to consider.

RELATIVE QUIET IN VIRGINIA, 1644-1675

In 1654 the Rappahannock tribe revolted but was easily crushed.

In 1656 Nicotowance, heir of Opechanckeno and king of

the Pamunkeys, died, and was succeeded by Totopotomoi. And just about this time mysterious disturbances upon which history and archeology are gradually shedding light,¹ were causing an upheaval among the "Moundbuilders" of the Ohio Valley, Tennessee, and the piedmont of Virginia.

The Yuchi nation, driven out of their interior homes by the troubles there,² began migration in several bands, towards the South, where we already have met with them.³

In 1656 seven hundred of them, learning of the vacated village of Powhatan at the head of the James River,⁴ strategically located between piedmont and tidewater, moved into it and occupied its cornfields. Virginia could not dare permit hostile Indians at this point. Immediately one hundred colonists with one hundred Pamunkeys under Totopotomoi, attacked the falls village. The invading Yuchis defeated the colonists and slew Totopotomoi and nearly his whole force of one hundred. Virginia then made peace with the strongly fortified intruders, but these, dissatisfied for some reason, continued their migration southward, where they became a terror to the southern natives.⁵

MARYLAND'S INDIAN DIPLOMACY

Thenceforth not only relative quiet but absolute peace obtained in Virginia until Washington become embroiled in a Maryland Indian war. In 1654 the Iroquois first had turned a considerable part of their energies towards the conquest of the Susquehannocks, whose territory extended into the colony of Maryland, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. Maryland was as much terrorized as the Susquehannocks. Heretofore the colony and the Susquehannocks had been at odds; now in the face of a common danger English and Indian hastily closed the breach, and signed a solemn treaty of mutual defence against the Iroquois. It must be remembered that the Iroquois at this time were within the Dutch sphere of influence, for until 1664 the Dutch West India Company

¹ Compare below, p. 285.

² On Yuchi migrations see especially Swanton: *Greeks*, 1924; also MacLeod: *Chiefskip*, p. 501, n. 12.

³ Above, p. 107.

⁴ Surrendered to Virginia in 1644, see above, p. 233.

⁵ Swanton, 1924; see "Yuchi."

ruled over what is now New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, or as much of it as they could in view of the fact of native dominance over nearly the whole region. The Susquehannocks bravely guarded the frontier of the Maryland settlement for two decades, with occasional help from Maryland in the form of cannon, powder, and riflemen.¹

But by 1674 the once proud thousands of the Susquehannock Confederation were, from smallpox, starvation, and bloodshed incidental to their war for survival, reduced to three hundred persons located in a single village within the bounds of the province of Maryland, plus a few hundred scattered here and there in the four quarters.

In 1674 Maryland felt it to be safer, now that her Susquehannock bulwark had been broken, to come to terms with the Iroquois. She acknowledged them as conquerors of the Susquehannocks and took them into alliance with herself. This was a wise and discreet step, however shocking it may have been to the remnants of her old allies, her treaty with whom was thereby violated.

The nearby Susquehannock village now became a menace rather than a defence, so the Indians were ordered to move away, up to the headwaters of the Potomac, where there was an old stockaded village in which they might settle, and to this new site the Susquehannocks perforce betook themselves.²

THE SIEGE OF THE INDIAN FORT AND THE MURDER OF AMBASSADORS

In September, 1675, several white men were murdered by Indians on the northern edge of Virginia. Governor Berkeley ordered out the militia of the northern counties, under Colonel John Washington, great-grandfather of our more noble first president, and Isaac Allerton. They were ordered to investigate the crime and discover and punish the murderers, if possible.

The murderers were possibly Does from the southern shore of the Potomac; or possibly Iroquois. They were certainly not Susquehannocks and it is impossible to believe that the murderers, Washington, Truman, *et al.*, concerned in the

¹ For some details see below, Chapter 19.

² *Maryland Archives*, v. 2, 378.

following events, at the time they slew the Susquehannock sachems really believed the Susquehannocks guilty. Suspicion, however, attached immediately to the Susquehannock malcontents situated at the head of the Potomac, within the borders of Maryland.

Maryland sent two hundred and fifty cavalrymen to join the Virginia militia, and the whole party advanced on the Susquehannock fort. The Indians retired behind their palisades and, in fear of this army of white frontiersmen, refused to come out or to send out anyone to treat, for some days. At last, under guarantee of safe conduct, six sachems came out to inquire, be questioned, and explain. These sachems denied the murders, and threw suspicion on an Iroquois war party which recently moved past that region northward, after an attack on the southern Indians. They offered to afford guides to lead the way in the direction the Iroquois had gone.

The Virginians continued to accuse them of having been the murderers, and ridiculously enough several of the frontiersmen from Virginia "identified" several of these old civil chiefs as having been among the murderers. The chiefs retired to the fort, but came out again and again, under continued promises of safe conduct, for conference.

The weeks were passing. The Virginians were getting restless. They wanted "action", and revenge on some or any Indians. Finally they suggested killing the six sachems who had trusted in their honour. Colonel Washington was especially vociferous in urging their murder. It was thought that the Indians in the fort would surrender if their sachems were killed. The importunity of the officers of the Virginia contingent finally won over Major Truman, in charge of the Maryland cavalry. He gave the order to tie and shoot the old chiefs. Many of the Marylanders "abhorred the act" and some of the Maryland soldiers refused to shoot when ordered to. All were so ashamed of their part in the vile deed that no one ever after could be found to admit that he was concerned in it.

This murder of their envoys, instead of causing the Indians in the fort to surrender and yield to whatever disposition the troops might want to make of them, only made them more bitter. The siege finally drew out for six long weeks,

costing Maryland alone £100,000. Towards the middle of October, on one dark night, the Susquehannocks escaped and fled into the woods.

CHASTISEMENT OF TRUMAN AND WASHINGTON

Truman, Washington, and their fellows returned to their homes. On May 16, 1676, Truman was arrested on the order of the Maryland legislature and accused of dishonour and crime while holding a commission in the militia, "for having killed and murdered contrary to the law of God and of nations". The two houses of the legislature, however, could not agree on the punishment which should be meted out to him. The Upper House held out for the death sentence. The Lower House wanted merely imprisonment, and confiscation by the state of his properties. Truman made no defence. He seems to have been ashamed of having become a victim of frontier hysteria. "He confessed his fault and did in no way intend to stand upon his justification" and threw himself on the mercy of the court. With continued disagreement between the two houses of the legislature he was finally not punished at all.¹

In Virginia Washington was less severely dealt with. Probably frontier hysteria had become more general there because it was Virginians who had been murdered. Governor Berkeley let it be known that he despised Washington and his rangers for their vile deed. When Washington on January 5, 1676, had taken his seat in the Virginia Assembly, in a speech referring to the Indian troubles Berkeley referred in scathing terms to the murder of the Susquehannock envoys, exclaiming: "If they had killed my grandfather, my father, my mother, and all my friends, yet, if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace."²

¹ For data see index of the *Maryland Archives* for 1676.

² Force's *Tracts*, v. 1. On the Truman affair, and on Bacon's rebellion see also a neglected account, a letter of July 19, 1676, by an Episcopal clergyman of Maryland, written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be read in the *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, p. 133 seq. See also the bibliography in Stannard: *Bacon's Rebellion*; Burke, v. 2, p. 158 seq.; and *Original Narratives*.

THE SUSQUEHANNOCK WERGILD

The escaped Susquehannocks did not disappear for very long. According to the *wergild* laws of the eastern Indians, it required the lives of ten commoners to recompense the death of one noble or chief. The Susquehannocks therefore set out to take sixty Virginian lives in revenge for the murder of their sachems. They slew the sixty Virginian settlers and then sent a trader in to Governor Berkeley with a message stating that they were now willing to renew the peace Colonel Washington had broken: "They declare that, seeing no other way of satisfaction, they have killed ten of the common English for each of their chiefs, to make up for the disrotation arising out of the difference of rank."

They further demanded compensation from Virginia for their material losses. They added that they now intended, having taken satisfaction from Virginia, to make war on Maryland, and insisted that in terms of peace with Virginia that colony must agree not to help Maryland against them, the Susquehannocks. The gods who were thus making the Susquehannocks mad, were now making ready to destroy them. Berkeley did not reply to the Indian message.

BACON'S REBELLION AND INDIAN WAR

Nathaniel Bacon, a planter, took it upon himself to make the reply. One of the "common English" whom the Susquehannocks had slain was a valued overseer on Bacon's plantation at the head of the James River. Bacon, a political malcontent, drew on the Indian troubles as a precipitant for revolt against the Crown's governor. Berkeley, he insisted, was not adequately providing for the frontier's defence against the hostile Indians, largely because of his own selfish interests in the Indian trade which he thought would be destroyed if the Indians were driven away or exterminated.

Bacon, therefore, began a revolt against the colonial government of the Crown, but, apparently hoping through a victory over the Indians to win popular support on the frontier, first lent his own personal leadership against the Susquehannock Indians. In April, 1676, he led a force of six hundred men, marched on to the village of the then

friendly Ocanneechi Indians (an Eastern Siouxan tribe) who informed him of the location of the new Susquehannock village. He attacked the Susquehannocks, slew seventy of the village's inhabitants, and returned with many prisoners, to carry on again in the civil war in the settlements. While civil war continued during the year among the colonists, the revolutionists continued their attacks on the Susquehannocks.

WAR ALSO AGAINST THE VIRGINIA TRIBES

Their methods soon made many of the Virginia tribes take the side of the Susquehannocks, and war of extermination was made against these also. A particularly bloody battle with the Virginia Indians was fought in August on Bloody Run, near the Falls of the James River. The revolutionists burned Jamestown. Finally Bacon died of dysentery, and both the Indian war and the civil war came to an end.

At the end of the war, the Virginia Indians of the formerly populous Powhatan "empire" were reduced to less than fifteen hundred population all on reservations, while whites and negroes numbered forty thousand.

The Susquehannocks were reduced to one or two hundred, and moved north to live among their conquerors, the Iroquois.¹ Most of them mingled with the medley of Indian races in Conestoga, Pennsylvania, where the last wretched survivors were bloodthirstily massacred in 1763 on the reservation Penn had assigned them in 1717.²

VIRGINIA APPROACHES THE IROQUOIS

Virginia now (1677) opened negotiations through the intermediation of the Maryland representative in Albany, New York, with the great Iroquoian Confederation of New York. The Indians of the Virginia tidewater had been destroyed, but the powerful Iroquois were claiming title by conquest to the lands of the Appalachian highlands of Virginia which Virginia was now beginning to consider appropriating to herself under the authority of the charters originally granted by the King.

¹ For the continued threats of this remnant against Maryland see the *Maryland Archives*, v. 24, p. 24; v. 25, pp. 104-106.

² See below, pp. 391, 413

CHAPTER XVIII

THE END OF THE COAST TRIBES—1711-1742

“Nor is it fit that you should have the power of selling lands, since you abuse it. This land which you claim is gone through your guts. You have been furnished with clothes, and meat, and drink in the goods paid you for it. And now, like the children you are, you want it again!”
—*The Iroquois Envoy to the Delaware Indians, 1742.*

IN making note of several outstanding events in the destruction of the coastal tribes, after 1676, we shall have carried their history to the point where it is absolutely of no further significance. Then we shall turn our eyes toward the advance of the frontier into the hinterland; to the dealings of the colonies with the Iroquois and, eventually, with the great confederations of the piedmont and the Appalachian highlands.

In this chapter we will be concerned chiefly with the weakening tribes of the coast of North and South Carolina, and of the Gulf coast and the Mississippi River valley near the Gulf. Already we have described the virtual extirpation of the coastal tribes of what are now the states of Georgia and Florida, on the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts. We shall end with the unwarlike but no less significant decline, degradation, and retreat into the hinterland of the Lenape Indians of the Delaware.

THE TUSCARORA WAR, 1711-1713

The Tuscaroras of North Carolina were a powerful tribe which—like the Cherokee, Hurons, Eries, Neutrals, Susquehannocks, Meherrin, and Nottoway—spoke a language of Iroquoian relationship. But they lived in a coastal river valley and were culturally like the coastal tribes among whom they lived. In 1711, after only two or three decades of considerable white contacts, the Carolinas being late in colonial development, they numbered some four thousand population (about twelve hundred warriors), while in the colony there were only some three thousand whites and negroes.

In that year the Carolina settlers were bitterly at strife among themselves, and, for some reason unknown, the Tuscaroras, like Opechanckenno in 1644, decided to take advantage of this confusion among the whites. They determined suddenly to massacre those settlers on the Roanoke River, while smaller allied tribes were to act simultaneously against colonists elsewhere in North Carolina.

On September 22, 1711, without warning, they fell on the North Carolinians.¹ One hundred and fifty men, women, and children fell on the Roanoke, sixty at Newbern, and an unknown number at Bath. The Neuse and Pamlico settlements were wiped out. The survivors could muster only one hundred and forty able-bodied men, the many Quakers of the colony refusing to take arms. Governor Hyde then asked help from Virginia and South Carolina.

Virginia took measures to prevent the Virginia Indians from helping the Tuscaroras, and South Carolina promptly sent troops with Yamasee and other Indian allies under Barnwell. Barnwell drove the Tuscaroras back, and, thinking the war ended, retired to South Carolina.

The Indians thereupon again resumed their attacks on North Carolina and a new force of South Carolinians and friendly Yamasees and other Indians under Colonel Moore came to the rescue. By March 20, 1713, when the last Tuscarora fortified village was destroyed, the Tuscaroras were decisively beaten.

Some of the Tuscaroras remained in North Carolina, made peace with the colony, and soon became deplorably degraded reservation Indians there. But most of them moved northward into New York to receive shelter with the Five Nations, where they eventually were given a voice, but no vote, in the Confederation.

The North Carolina settlers during this war appealed to the Proprietors of the colony in England for aid; the response was merely the delegation of an agent "to inquire into the disorders of North Carolina".²

¹ Lawson, the historian and surveyor, was murdered. His book, written in 1709, was published posthumously in 1716. De Graffenreid nearly lost his life at the stake; he has written an account of the early events of the war.

² See particularly the archives of the Virginia, North and South Carolina colonies; and outline, with sources, in Winsor, v. 5, p. 298 seq.

THE YAMASEE WAR, 1715

Two years later it was South Carolina which had to bear the brunt of attack. But this "Yamasee War" in the two Carolinas was little more than a wholesale massacre of the Carolinian fur traders and slave raiders whom we met in studying the destruction of the Florida and Georgia missions. The Yamasee leaders in the "war" were a tribe of much experience with these slave raiders.

In 1680 or thereabouts they had moved down from the piedmont of Georgia into the then almost depopulated coast. They immediately welcomed the influence of the remaining Spanish missionaries and settled down in the depopulated Timucuan mission town of San Antonio de Anascope. But in 1684 they withdrew and moved north to South Carolina, where the English welcomed them and assigned them a residence on the Savannah River back of Port Royal. Then, under English stimulus, they got the slave-raiding complex, and were sold firearms by the traders. From 1684 on, they continually attacked the missions to the south. In 1685 they plundered the mission of Santa Catalina, as we have elsewhere noted.

In 1702 the Yamasee were joined by the remnants of the Gaule Christian Indians who, in 1588, had been settled near St. Augustine. These Indians were weary of being on the weak side and not given firearms by the Spaniards or protected by an adequate garrison. In South Carolina they were absorbed by the Yamasees, gave up their Christianity and joined in the slave raiding. Then in 1704 they were associated as intimate neighbours with the thirteen hundred Apalatchee mission Indians taken prisoner by Moore in his raid on the Florida missions. This conglomeration of Yamasee, Guales, and Apalatchees, all once Catholic mission Indians, now embittered pagans, were the "Yamasee" of 1715.

The Yamasee war was retribution come to the slave-raiding English traders of South Carolina for their destruction of the flourishing missions of Georgia and Florida. Former mission Indians were to be the agents of retribution. These Yamasee became embittered with the traders who continually kept them in debt for rum and firearms, and then abused

them: "The documents of South Carolina show clearly that the immediate cause of this uprising was the misconduct of some English traders, but it is evident that the enslavement of Indians, carried on by the Carolina traders in an ever more open and unscrupulous manner, was bound to produce such an explosion sooner or later. . . ."

The Yamasee, however, drew into their conspiracy to exterminate all the English of South and North Carolina the Appalachian confederacies, the Creeks and Choctaw, and probably the Cherokee, as well as the Catawba, Cheraw, and other lesser Siouxan tribes of North Carolina. Apparently the only tribe of the southern regions not included were the Chickasaw and a few minor groups in South Carolina.

The Yamasee had prepared in advance for possible failure. They sent their women and children to Spanish Florida before they attacked the English. Then they and their tidewater allies attacked. These coastal groups could muster about one thousand warriors in South Carolina and about five hundred in North Carolina. In the first blow, on April 15, 1715, ninety out of the total of one hundred traders among the coastal and interior tribes were massacred, and their stocks confiscated.

The Governor of South Carolina, however, was quickly in the field with two hundred and forty men and some Indian allies and in the first engagement decisively defeated a band of five hundred Yamasees, forty of the English army being slain. In North Carolina likewise, about ninety soldiers defeated a body of some four hundred Indians—but not until these had taken a North Carolina fort and massacred the seventy whites and forty negroes who garrisoned it.

Only the promptness and initial successes of the Carolinian arms against the coastal tribes kept the great interior confederacies from attacking the settlements after they had murdered the traders. These interior nations were not particularly eager to see the English wiped out. They profited by having them at hand to play off against the Spanish of Florida and the French of Louisiana in trade and diplomacy.

The Yamasee remnants fled back to Florida and again became mission Indians, and were subsequently destroyed as the Creeks continued with their slave-raiding in the interest

of Carolinians. Tools of the Anglo-Saxons in their war of destruction on Hispanic-Indian civilization in Florida, these Creeks of the lower Creek towns were later turned upon by their former Anglo-Saxon allies, and only a little, embittered band of barbarians, the Seminoles, is left in the swamps, while those of their fellows who were removed to Oklahoma have likewise virtually disappeared.

SOME ECONOMIC EFFECTS

It was reputed that one of the causes of the massacre of traders and this Yamasee War was the desire of the Indians to rob the traders and liquidate their debts to the traders; “. . . all of which they seized and made their own”, says an early writer concerning the traders’ stocks, “*and never paid their debts but cancelled them by murdering their creditors*”. At any rate the traders lost not only their lives but their goods and debts owed by the Indians to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling, none of which was ever recovered.

In the very first year of the subsequent fighting the colony fell eighty thousand pounds in debt because of the heavy expenses and the loss continued. The consequent issue of paper money prospered the planters, and ruined the merchants of Charlestown, with certain political consequences.¹ The coastal Indian tribes, however, had come to the point of extermination.

In De Soto’s time (about 1540), for example, the coast of Georgia was certainly supporting at least five thousand population. At the time of Ogelthorpe’s arrival, two centuries later, for fifty miles around what is now Savannah, there was only one little settlement of one hundred Indians. These were the Yamacraw, probably a remnant of the mission village of Nombre de Dios de Anacarissee, destroyed by the Carolina slavers some time after 1680.

¹ Swanton: *Creeks*, 1924, has collected all the original documents concerning this war and here reprints them. He has gathered the Spanish sources as well as the English. His study is the only source book and critical study of this affair. The figures on the loss by the traders are from Yonge: *Narrative*, 1721. See also documentation in Winsor, v. 5, 298 seq.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NATCHEZ, 1729-1731

To the students of the evolution of society—the sociologists, economists, political scientists—the Natchez are one of the world's most interesting people. Much as we already know about their strange society, political organization, and religion, they still remain a source of wonderment and stimulating curiosity to scholars interested in the evolution of society in America.¹ Here we can concern ourselves only with that destruction of the tribe and extermination of their nobility which has made it impossible to learn more of their social life.

They were a tribe of what is now the state of Louisiana, then part of that greater stretch of territory called Louisiana by the French. The place of Louisiana in the development of the American frontier is important, but is usually much over-emphasized. In 1729 there were in the whole great province of Louisiana, including New Orleans, only 2200 whites, and 1770 negro and Indian slaves, about one-eighth of the latter being Indian. More than 5400 of these white inhabitants, 250 of whom were Germans, were in what is now the state of Arkansas, largely in the town of Caddidoches.²

The frontier had developed slowly on the Gulf coast and in the lower Mississippi. De Soto had ravaged there about the year 1540, and La Salle had journeyed down from Canada,

¹ See Swanton: *Lower Mississippi*, 1911; MacLeod: *Natchez Political Origins and Cultural Evolution*; Villier's *Chateaubriand's Louisiana*; and Chateaubriand's sentimental Natchez romances, *Les Natchez* and *Atala*; see also Le Comte.

² In 1704 there were in the French settlements (Biloxi) only 180 soldiers with their women and children, and eleven Indian slaves. In 1706 in Biloxi, the sole settlement, there were, besides soldiers, only eighty-two persons. In 1704-1706 the whole European population of Louisiana comprised but very few whites and virtually no negroes, with a few Indians enslaved. In 1726, including the new settlements of New Orleans and of Caddidoches, an outpost in what is now Arkansas, there were 5400 whites, of whom 250 were Germans at Caddidoches. There were also 523 negroes, and fifty-one enslaved Indians, all the negro and Indian slaves being at New Orleans where there were 682 of the total of 5400 whites. In 1729 there were in all Louisiana only 1950 white masters, 275 white labourers and servants, 1540 negro slaves, and 230 Indian slaves—a total population of 2200 whites, and 1770 coloured slaves who were about one-eighth Indian. (On the Indian element in the slave population of the Carolinas see above, p. 108). On census data see Fortier, pp. 51, 52, 70, 101-102. I suspect that the 1728 data do not include the wives and families of the 1950 white masters.

being the first white-man to meet the Natchez, in 1682. The Natchez then probably numbered some six thousand population—about fifteen hundred warriors. Meantime, in 1683 the Franciscan missionaries from Spanish Florida had missionized the Apalatchee Indians of the Gulf coast north of the peninsula, only to see them exterminated about the year 1704 by the English and Creek raiders from Carolina. It was not until 1698 that D'Iberville began French colonization on the Gulf near the lower Mississippi and made treaties of alliance with various tribes, including the Natchez.

From this time until 1706 the Jesuits tried in vain to convert the Natchez and their neighbours. In 1713 the traders of the Carolinas had reached the Natchez. They brought dissension about in the councils of the tribe over the question of whether to remain in the French alliance or to join with the English and go slave-raiding. In 1714 the Natchez murdered several French traders and the French government at Mobile threatened war if the murderers, who were members of the tribal nobility, were not punished. The murderers were surrendered, and the French executed them. In recompense for the crime they also forced the Natchez to procure the timber for the making of a French fort, Fort Rosalie, which was built near the principal one of the eleven Natchez villages. This was two years before the founding of New Orleans.

In this fort was established a garrison of soldiers who quickly spread venereal and other diseases among the Indians of the countryside. In 1718 and 1719 tobacco plantations, among them that of the historian Du Pratz, were established under the protection of the fort, and negro slaves imported to work them along with a few Indian slaves. In 1722 and 1723, there were some slight troubles between the Natchez and the garrison.

In 1729 came war. In that year the West India Company made the mistake of giving charge of Fort Rosalie to the Sieur Chepart. All contemporary writers agree that this gentleman and soldier was unfit to manage a position of such critical importance. He immediately began aggressions on the Natchez quite without any authority from headquarters.

First of all he decided to establish a tobacco plantation for himself. The only good land not already taken up by

French planters was that which was planted with maize by the Natchez themselves. Without authority from his superiors, he ordered a whole Natchez village to vacate and surrender their maize fields to him for his tobacco plantation ! Already the Indians had been irritated by his graceless, dictatorial manner. Now they "immediately . . . held several secret councils in which it was finally agreed that the only recourse left to escape French exaction was to destroy them entirely, and with this end in view they sent embassies to other tribes to induce them to unite in a general attack upon the colonists". The anti-French party in the native council was at last able to win out over the pro-French part because only several years before there had died the Tattooed-Serpent and his brother, the king, who had maintained control of their tribe despite the seditious tendencies of the nobles in the upper villages where the English traders were operating. The new Natchez king now was a mere boy who had not enough will-power to resist the wishes of the seditious nobles.

The Choctaw and Chickasaw, two Muskogean confederations already secured to the English interest, agreed to join the Natchez in wiping out the French. Inasmuch as there were no French settlements near these other confederations, however, the Natchez would bear the brunt of the struggle. In view of the imminence of active Carolina influence in the region and the existing pro-English tendencies among the Natchez, Chepart's activity had certainly been suicidal, and was going to cost his company much money, and the settlers many lives.

A native woman's treachery, as has been the case in so many North American Indian conspiracies,¹ spoiled the plan for simultaneous action on the part of the three nations in the conspiracy. The Natchez unwittingly attacked several days

¹ Compare Frederici: *Squaw als Verrätherin*, a writing I have not been able personally to consult; I presume it contains most of the data, which are surprising and abundant. I cannot understand this constant betrayal of their own people by Indian women. I suggest that matters sexual may be at the bottom of it (compare Wood, below, p. 359, n. 1, and also Wood, p. 80). The betrayals appear to have been usually to the white lovers. Such a phenomenon I do not believe is marked among any other people. Compare it with the frequent saving of the life of white captives by young Indian girls—such cases as John Smith and Pocahontas, and of Juan Ortiz (in Garcilasso, Part 1, Book 2, chapter 2). Even in De Soto's time the betrayal of their own people by Indian women was noteworthy (see Garcilasso, Part 2, Book 3, Chapter 20).

too soon. The Chickasaws thereupon remained quiet; and the Choctaws, seeing the plan a failure, promptly turned traitor to their allies the Natchez, after some low tricks aiming at a share in the Natchez booty, and eventually helped the French war on the Natchez. Swanton observes: "Those desirous to defend the good name of the Indian, and who wish to believe him deserving of the title 'noble red man', certainly have a hard problem before them in finding nobility in the attitude and actions of the Choctaw throughout this war."

But the Natchez carried out their share of the plan. *Sieur Chepart* had been warned by dissident or traitor Natchez of the impending massacre, but, like so many commanders so warned in North American frontier history, he refused to believe the story. He even put the informers in chains (!) for their trouble, and went ahead with his plans for the expropriation of the native maize fields. Suddenly, on the last Sunday of November (1729) the Natchez fell on the French soldiers and planters around and in *Fort Rosalie*. Immediately about 150 men of the French were slain; eighty women and 150 children were made prisoners and enslaved; perhaps two hundred negroes in all were also taken captive and enslaved. However, estimates of the number of French slain run as high as fifteen hundred and more; at any rate of all the French and negroes then resident in this section of Louisiana, only twenty French and six negroes escaped the massacre or captivity.¹ During the massacre the head chief or king of the tribe, the *Great Sun*, was seated calmly under the tobacco shed of the *West India Company*. His warriors brought to him there the head of *Sieur Chepart*, about which they arranged the heads of the other principal Frenchmen of the post leaving their bodies a prey to the dogs and buzzards. The negro and Indian slaves who surrendered to them were not ill-treated. In fact, before executing the plot the Natchez had made sure of some of the negroes, among them two plantation overseers. These had persuaded the others that the Indians would free them from slavery, adopt them into the tribe, and give them the French women and

¹ Dr. Swanton informs me that in the MSS. of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., there is a list of those who lost their lives in this massacre.

children as their slaves after the French were driven out of Louisiana. But the Natchez intention was to sell all their captives to the Carolina slave traders.

New Orleans was immediately prepared for defence, and an army was prepared for an offensive. On January 27, 1730, Le Sueur, with an army composed only of sixteen hundred Choctaw warriors, attacked the Natchez, who shut themselves up in their two palisaded villages. Soon five hundred French soldiers and colonials arrived. After a month's siege the Natchez offered to surrender their captives if the French would withdraw their forces to the other side of the river. The Choctaw were at this time growing weary of the siege and wanting to return home, and ammunition was running low, so the French acceded to these terms in order to rescue the captive women and children. While the French were on the other side of the river the Natchez disappeared into the forests, leaving their maize fields and their granaries forever behind them.

A guerilla warfare now followed, the French employing native allies while awaiting military aid from France. In December, 1730, a new army was prepared to seek out the Natchez, wherever they had gone. Five hundred and fifty French soldiers, and a host of Indian allies discovered the new Natchez settlement on the Red River in Arkansas, some miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. This was on January 20, 1731. Within four days the Natchez asked terms.

The French insisted that the chiefs must come to the French camp to discuss terms. They came and were persuaded to ask their tribesmen to give up the war and surrender. This was plainly upon some assurance of pardon. The entire royal family or clan, with forty warriors, and three hundred and eighty-seven women and children surrendered, but about three hundred escaped into the woods. The Indians who surrendered, with their tribal royalty, were sold as slaves in Santo Domingo.

From wounds, starvation, and diseases incidental to exposure, the Natchez, a few decades before numbering some thousands, were now dwindled to several hundreds of maddened desperadoes who, homeless, roamed the Louisiana forests, emerging only to slay both the French and the

Indians who had turned on them. For several years they kept up their guerilla warfare. Then the remnants settled down as guests in several bands, among the Chickasaws, Cherokee, and Creeks. By 1711 there were still about three hundred left, mostly among the Creeks.¹ In 1832 they went with the Creeks to Oklahoma. The tens of thousands of Natchez who might have been in Louisiana to-day are now represented by several mixed-blood Cherokees in Oklahoma who, Natchez on their mothers' side, have, by matrilineal inheritance, inherited the speaking of the ancient Natchez language.

The numerous other tribes, culturally related to the Natchez, located on the lower Mississippi and on the Gulf coast west of ill-fated Apalatchee, passed away without noteworthy struggle. From the time of De Soto in 1540, with increasing rapidity after D'Iberville's initiation of French and negro settlement in 1698, they merely rotted away from disease until at last, when in 1754 French power in North America reached its period of decline, those ancient tribes were largely exterminated.²

THE EVICTION OF THE DELAWARES: 1742

The aggressions on the Natchez in the face of expanding English influence was not more impolitic than the attitude toward the Delawares taken in 1742 by the Proprietors of Pennsylvania at a time when war with the French on the western frontier was become inevitable.

The Lenape of the lower Delaware River Valley and lower New Jersey, and related bands who, aggregated and joined to the Munsee, later became the Delaware tribe, originally occupied the whole of New Jersey, the island of Manhattan, part of Staten Island, and the west shores of the Delaware River and Bay. Some time before 1634 they were being warred upon by the Susquehannocks, who had conquered

¹ About this year the treaty between the U.S. and the Creeks was signed, among others, by the chief "Chinabie, the Great Natchez Warrior", and by "Natsowachee his brother" (see *Treaties . . . Indian*). We have scarcely any other Natchez personal names.

² As in the case of the wars in the Carolinas, Swanton: *Lower Mississippi*, 1911, and *Creeks*, 1924, is the only satisfactory source including compilation and criticism of original source materials. My citations are from the sources in Swanton.

them before 1654. When, in 1676, the New York Iroquois conquered the Susquehannocks, the Susquehannock suzerainty over the Delawares passed to the Iroquois and was acknowledged by the Delawares who periodically sent tribute in wampum belts to the Iroquois. Aside from receiving these belts the Iroquois, however, until 1742 appear to have bothered little with the Delawares and did not interfere with their selling of land to the English.

The Delawares of the lower river and bay, the Lenape, had first made contacts with Europeans when they sent a delegation to the Dutch of the West India Company on Manhattan in 1630, concerning a sale of land around what is now Lewes, Delaware. The next year the Siconessinks band located there massacred a settlement of colonists planted there on the purchased land by De Vries, a Dutch planter. There were no survivors of this settlement, but De Vries, who knew his countrymen too well, felt satisfied when the Indians told him that the colonists had abused them while he was away. He held no animosity against the natives for the loss they occasioned him. In time the Dutch built Fort Nassau at what is now Gloucester, on the New Jersey shore opposite Philadelphia. Then in 1638 the settlers for the Swedish West India Company came to dispute the river with the Dutch company.

THE SWEDES

The Dutch West India Company and the Swedish West India Company both drew their supplies of furs largely from the great Iroquoian confederated tribes of the interior, rather than from the coastal Algonkian tribes. Both pursued the policy of refusing to sell firearms to the coastal tribes and equipping well, for the purposes primarily of the hunt, the interior tribes. The Swedes supplied the Susquehannock Confederation of the interior of Pennsylvania; the Dutch, the New York Iroquois, enemies of the Susquehannock. Both of these interior Iroquoian-speaking confederacies had from pre-European times been warring on the Algonkian of the coast, and the extra supply of firearms they were able to obtain enabled them to complete their conquest of the coastal tribes.

There never was any possibility or question, on the part of the Swedes or Dutch during their brief stay in North America, of being able to dominate or war upon the Iroquoian peoples of the interior. With these peoples they aimed merely to trade, and made treaties of alliance and trade. Their contacts with them were merely through their traders, the area of settlement not having reached to their interior lands. It was on the lands of the coastal Algonkian that they established their trading posts and planted their farmers, and from these tribes that they bought land.

The Swedes never had an Indian war. The Swedish West India Company's tenure on the Delaware was very insecure; they were likely to be driven out at any time by either Dutch or English. They made their first settlement in 1638; the Dutch West India Company ordered them off in 1655, most of the Swedish settlers, of course, remaining under the Dutch government. On the Delaware the Swedes were careful to deal very politely with the Lenape. But just a year before the Dutch forced him to vacate, the Swedish governor, Printz, grew restless in his fort at Tinicum (now embraced within Philadelphia) and felt that the time had come to deal differently with the river Indians. He wrote the directors of the company in Sweden for permission to go to the expense of initiating a new policy immediately. He pointed out that the Lenape or river Indians were not productive of furs and therefore of no use to the company. Yet, while they were treated as free tribes and land-owners they caused expense for treaty payments and land purchasing. He explained that they could be rather easily reduced by force. And finally he stressed the fact that they were refractory to the Christian religion, and that their subjugation would be a golden opportunity for the West India Company to extend Christianity as well as trade! . . . "He proposed to compel them at the sword's point to accept Christianity. Those who would not receive 'the only true religion' should be put to death. But he had not sufficient force at his command. . . ."¹

The company refused to put up the additional funds required to supply more military force, and before they

¹ Johnson, pp. 376-379. On the early history of the Lenape or Delawares see the index of this volume for cross-reference; also MacLeod: *Chiefship, and Lenape*.

could change their mind the Dutch ordered them off the Delaware.

The Swedish West India Company laid the beginnings of Wilmington, Delaware, and Chester and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Penn's city of Philadelphia merely being a larger and more rapidly growing northern addition to the Swedish villages of Passayunk and Wiccacoe already located on the neck between the Schuylkill and the Delaware Rivers. Then the Dutch resumed the sole control until the English drove them out in 1664, and the Duke of York in that year assigned New Jersey to proprietors. Penn was made Proprietor of Pennsylvania in 1682 and promptly began settlement.

All this time the Delawares had been slowly dying off merely from rum and disease, quite peacefully. Penn continued to cultivate peace with them. More rapidly, now, after 1682, the natives disposed of their land and settled down to agriculture on their remaining village sites.

Delaware attitudes are illustrated by a note of July 6, 1694, on the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, which records the first appearance of the Delawares in the actual known or written history of the Iroquois. The Iroquois had sent message belts to the Delawares urging them to aid the British and Iroquois in their wars with the French of Canada. The belts were sent "by the Onandagas and Senecas, who say, 'You Delaware Indians do nothing but stay at home and boil your pots, and are like women, while we Onandagas and Senecas go abroad and fight against the enemy!' The Senecas would have us Delaware Indians to be partners with you to fight against the French, but we have always been a peaceable people, and resolving to live so, and being but weak and few in number, cannot assist you. And being resolved among ourselves not to go, do intend to send back this their belt of wampum."

By 1742 New Jersey had been practically denuded of aborigines, and most of the remaining Delawares in Pennsylvania had assembled in the vicinity of the junction of the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers, where now is the city of Lehigh. They had sold the last of their lands, but the Proprietors of Pennsylvania had accorded them the privilege permanently of residing in their villages at the mouth of the Lehigh. Mean-

time, however, some New Jersey and Pennsylvania Indians had voluntarily left for the almost completely depopulated hunting grounds of the Susquehanna, at Conestoga and at Shamokin.

The large body resident at Lehigh had been offended by the so-called "Walking Purchase" of several years before 1742, in which a pecuniary morality had permitted the conscience of Pennsylvania to interpret certain deeds of sale for land made by the Indians altogether in the spirit of so many Shylocks. The Proprietors, descendants of William Penn but no longer Quakers, having rejoined the Anglican communion, feeling that the exasperated Indians were an annoyance, wanted to get rid of them. They adopted a plan which probably had been suggested to them by their Pennsylvania German Indian agent, Conrad Weiser,¹ who himself was a veritable human fox; that is to say, a diplomat. They recanted or denied their promise to the Lehigh villagers to permit them to live in their old homes, and when these refused to vacate, appealed to their sovereigns, the Five Nations Iroquois, to put them out.

In 1742 an Iroquois delegation was visiting Philadelphia to receive payment for lands on the Susquehanna which they had sold Pennsylvania. Their official speaker or orator was the chief, Cannassetego. After transacting the business concerning the western lands, the Governor asked the Iroquois to remove their subjects, the Delaware Indians, from the Forks of the Lehigh. The sachems present so ordered the Delawares. These Iroquois perhaps did not know of earlier Delaware land sales, and of the Pennsylvania promise to the Delawares permitting them to remain at the Forks; but more than likely they had been bribed by the government to pretend that they did not know these things. It would be an advantage for the Iroquois to have the Delawares at their mercy in the Susquehanna Valley.

Cannassetego's speech ordering the Delawares away from the Delaware Valley is the most remarkable, important, and dramatic speech of an Indian representative in the history of the American frontier. Most Indian speeches were and are tedious drivel, full of worn-out, trite figures of speech about the Great Spirit, Nature, and so on. Much of their best

¹ See Walton's *Conrad Weiser*.

oratory of olden days no doubt was good, but most of it has not been recorded. As for the rest, I sympathize with the interpreter who listened patiently to a chief's speech for nearly an hour, and then in the minutes of the conference recorded merely: "He says 'Yes'."

Cannassetego's speech is pertinent enough to our study—which will now proceed to that native republic which, like a firebrand, burnt up many an Indian nation in North America, and in the process burnt itself out—to warrant our making note of it here.¹ He said:

"Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the heads and shaken until you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our brother Onas' case is very just and plain, and his intentions to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your case is bad. Your heart is far from being upright, and you are maliciously bent on breaking the chain of friendship with our brother Onas.

"We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors about fifty years ago, for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves now living to the number of fifteen or more.

"But how came you to take upon yourselves to sell land at all? We conquered you. We made women of you. You know you are women and can no more sell land than women.

"Nor is it fit that you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim, is gone through your guts. You have been furnished with clothes, and meat and drink, in the goods paid you for it. And now you want it again like the children you are!

"But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us you sold this land! Did we ever receive any part of the payment—even a pipe shank—for it! You have told us a story about sending a messenger to us to inform

¹ This speech has never been fully reprinted from the archives. Onas is the Iroquois title for the Governor of Pennsylvania. Wampum belts are reminders and evidences of orders and contracts. The fifth paragraph seems to indicate that the Iroquois did lay claim to the Delawares' lands and that the Iroquois had been cheating their Iroquois masters. On the methods of Iroquois land sales mentioned in paragraph 6, see MacLeod: *Lenape*. Concerning paragraph 8 we note that the Delawares owned land on both sides of the Delaware River. "Our brethren" in the last paragraph are the officials of Pennsylvania. The Iroquois were, figuratively, the uncles of the Lenape.

us of the sale; no messenger ever came to us and we never heard of it.

"This is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in their sales of lands. On such occasions they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of their united nations, and give them a share of the presents they receive for the land. This is the behaviour of the wise United Nations, but we find you are none of our blood.

"You act a dishonest part not only in this but in other matters. Your ears are open to slanderous reports about our brethren. You receive them with as much greediness as a lewd woman receives the embraces of bad men.

"For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women; take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of the Delaware where you came from. But, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, we don't know whether you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. Therefore, we assign you two places to go, either Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places; and then we shall have you more under our eye, and see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but move away, and take this belt of wampum.

"After our just reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grandchildren to the latest posterity, from ever meddling in land affairs. Neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land, for which purpose you are to preserve this string of wampum in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge.

"Now we have some other business to transact with our brethren. Therefore depart the council and consider what has been said to you."¹

A landless people, burning with shame, and with hate of the Iroquois and the Pennsylvanians who had thus shamed them, the Delawares removed for a time to the centre of the state under the supervision of the Iroquois, but when war dawned

¹ *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, July 12, 1742. Compare *The Alienation of the Delawares and Shawnese* (Anonymous), a contemporary account.

on the western horizon they and that other group of homeless wanderers, the Shawnese, moved west of the Alleghenies, in the vicinity of what was soon to be Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania), and joined the French alliance. Upon the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1755, they swooped down upon the Pennsylvania frontier, took hundreds of lives, and destroyed immense amounts of property. Again after 1763, in Pontiac's uprising they took more revenge, in Pennsylvania blood, and still again in future troubles with the colonies in the Revolution, and during Tecumseh's uprising. Pennsylvania paid a terrible price for her maladroitness in 1742, but the Delawares were eventually scattered to the four winds in the West.¹

¹ See *Handbook . . . Indians*, for the scattering of the Delawares. Bartram writes of a convention at Augusta, Georgia, between representatives of the colonies of Virginia, Carolina and Georgia, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the Cherokees (one hundred delegates), the Creeks (three hundred delegates) and the Chickasaws. The Cherokees had ceded land to Georgia—land claimed anyway by Georgia—prior to this convention without the knowledge of the Creeks; in the convention the Creeks learned of it. "The Creeks being nettled and incensed at this, a chief warrior started up, and with an agitated and terrific countenance, . . . asked them what right they had to give away their lands, calling them old women, and saying that they had long ago obliged them to wear the petticoat . . .," etc. On threat of leaving the convention the Creeks then forced Georgia and the Cherokees to annul the treaty transferring the land referred to. The land was a border area on the Savannah River claimed by both Creeks and Cherokees. (Bartram: *Travels*, p. 485 seq.) This situation may be compared with that noted above for the Iroquois and Delawares.

CHAPTER XIX

THE IROQUOIS REPUBLIC : ITS RISE AND FALL, 1607-1754

"The speech that Ondaaiondiont made at his arrival was not long. He told them that he came from the land of Souls, where war and the terrors of the enemy had laid everything waste, where the fields were covered only with blood, where the cabins were filled only with corpses, and that there remained to them no life except what was needed to come and tell their friends that they might have pity on a land that was drawing to its end."—*A Huron Ambassador to the Susquehannocks in complaint at the Iroquois devastation of the Huron mission country, 1647.*¹

THE GATEWAY TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INTERIOR

THE island of Manhattan is like an oblong milestone flung down in front of a great natural gateway into the interior of North America. Further to the north is another such gateway,—the St. Lawrence River. The St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes compose a mighty water system with a mountain wall to protect entrance to it and egress from it. Nowhere else in the world is there anything like it.

It was this low watershed with its interlacing rivers which invited the French into the interior and made possible the priority and success of their explorations there. With the control of this watershed the French were possessed of two naturally unprotected entrances into New York; one from the north through Lakes George and Lake Champlain and the valley of the Mohawk; the other from the west, from Lake Ontario eastward through the central valley of New York to Albany and the Hudson River. Elsewhere the English colonies were protected by the impenetrable thickets of the Appalachian mountain ranges. New York alone was thus pregnable.

The capture of New York in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by the French would not only have rendered insecure and probably untenable the English hold on the north and south of the Atlantic coast; it would have shut off completely any hope of English expansion into the interior.

¹ See below, p. 282.

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NORTH AMERICA

The disposition of colonial spheres of influence depends much upon the measure of success or failure in war at home, on the continent of Europe in this case. But the success or failure of the war in any particular colonial area is of considerable influence in directing the disposition of that area. Historians of America tend to exaggerate the influence of success or failure of war in the American colonies, failing to consider such North American wars in the perspective formed by the contemporary warfare at home and in the Far East. Yet, paring away all exaggerations, the Iroquois, who held the New York passes, remain, decidedly, as possessed of the balance of power in North America from about 1680 to 1754.

The French several times before and after 1700 planned to crush the gate held by the Iroquois and once tried it, tried to break in and possess themselves of New York.¹ The Iroquois alone were there to stop them; and they did stop them. One of these attempts was at a time when the colony of New York was prone and helpless, in the throes of civil strife.

IROQUOIS NEUTRALITY

Failing to crush the Iroquois by force of arms, the French had the alternative of winning the Iroquois to their side as allies; with the hope that the French and Iroquois together could make the middle Atlantic region French. The Iroquois reply was neutrality between French and English—and their

¹ The specific cause of De La Barre's attempt in 1684, in which he took his army into the forests of the Iroquois country, was this. The French had hoped by sending arms to the Indians west of the Iroquois over whom the Iroquois had been gaining the ascendancy, to have these western Indians retaliate, and weaken, perhaps crush, the Iroquois. The Iroquois intercepted a shipment of these arms carried by French agents, confiscated them, and refused to pay for them. The Iroquois speaker argued with the impotent De La Barre: "We plundered none of the French but those who carried guns, powder, and ball to the Twighties and Chictaghicks, because these arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we but follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave in all the barrels of rum brought to our castle lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beavers enough to pay for all those arms they have taken; and our old men are not afraid of the war." (Garantuala's speech, in La Hontan.) See Map 8 for illustration of the New York passage-ways guarded by the Iroquois. For a map of the Iroquois see Map 2.



MAP 8.—NORTH AMERICAN TOPOGRAPHY AND THE IROQUOIS] GATEWAY.

(The coastal plain of the East, and the Mississippi Valley are indicated (sea-level to 600 ft.); also the piedmont plateau of Virginia and the other southern states (600 ft. to 1600 ft.), with land of similar elevation similarly shaded. The checkered area in the western plains rises from 1600 ft. to 5000 ft. The great mountain barriers are in black.)

own possession of the gate to the passageway between the interior and Albany. A third plan the French tried then—an insidious weakening of the vitality of the Iroquois people and Iroquois state. They tried to Christianize them, and

drew away a considerable section of the population to colonize as a mission village in French Canada. To the remaining pagan Iroquois they shipped keg after keg of brandy, and the Iroquois suffered all the physical and social evils of general inebriety. Simultaneously they continually egged on the young Iroquois warriors to war—war everywhere upon Indians in the English sphere of influence, as far south as the Carolinas—hoping to see the Iroquois strength wear away in the futile building of an Indian empire whose very keystone was crumbling as the structure was in the building.¹

IROQUOIS RENOWN IN LONDON BUSINESS CIRCLES

The renown of these Iroquois conquerors, of course, reached even to the councils of the nations of Europe. William Penn, after receiving his grant of lands west of the Delaware River in 1682, before sailing for them organized a joint-stock company to hold a monopoly of the Indian trade in his province.

Then he promptly sat down and penned a letter to the Iroquois, addressing it to the ranking sachem of the confederacy council, whom he mistakenly called "The Emperor of Canada". On June 25, 1682, from London, he writes very deferentially to this "Emperor of Canada": "The great God that made thee and me, and all the world, incline our hearts to love, peace, and justice, that we may live friendly together, as becomes the workmanship of the great God.

"The King of England, who is a great Prince, hath, for divers reasons, granted me a large country in America, which, however, I am willing to enjoy upon friendly terms with thee.

"And this I will say, that the people who come with me are a just, plain, and honest people, that neither make war upon others, nor fear war from others, because they will be just.

"I have set up a Society of Traders in my Province, to traffic with thee and thy people for your commodities, that you may be furnished with that which is good at reasonable prices. And this Society hath ordered their President to treat with thee about a future trade, and have joined with me to send their messenger to thee, with certain presents

¹ For data on this section see Appendix VIII.

from us, to testify our willingness to have a fair correspondence with thee: and what this agent shall do in our names we will agree unto.

"I hope thou wilt kindly receive him, and comply with his desires on our behalf, both with respect to land and trade. The great God be with thee. Amen."

This letter appears indeed naïve to us to-day, and may bring a smile. But the inter-racial contracts we have already studied show that the letter was a very serious one anticipating, tactfully, momentous developments which, fortunately for the Pennsylvania colony, were resolved in favour of the British in North America.

WHAT ONE INDIAN PEOPLE DID TO AMERICAN HISTORY

The Iroquois ruined the French hope of taking New York and its marvellous passageway to the interior. In doing this they checked the French offensive. They did more than this. The French, possessed of the St. Lawrence River, easily possessed themselves also of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi valley, including the Ohio River. In 1754 the time had come when the English were to challenge the French control of the great interior. French resources were limited. The length of the line of defence required to fortify and man for battle would be the decisive factor. Had they been able to win the Iroquois away from their position of neutrality, they would have controlled the three-hundred-mile line which runs from the St. Lawrence, down Lakes George and Champlain, to Manhattan, and, isolating or taking Manhattan, cut off New England from the rest of North America, attacking New England from the west and south. As it was they could attack New England only through the Maine woods, and of course could not succeed.

The neutrality of the Iroquois meant, on the other hand, the possibility that they would permit the English to pass through to the Great Lakes and, even, over the Alleghenies into the Ohio valley, which was also Iroquois territory.

Therefore because of Iroquois neutrality, the French were put to the necessity of erecting, and the impossible task of defending, a line of forts, not three hundred miles long, but two thousand miles long, in order to attempt to protect her

hold on the interior against the westward-looking English colonies. This impossibility forced upon the French by the Iroquois meant the doom of French power in North America and the consequent ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon race and culture.¹

THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH APPRECIATED THESE FACTS

These facts were fully appreciated by the colony of New York and by its neighbours, Pennsylvania, and by the disappointed French. About the year 1700, when the English feared the Iroquois might weaken in their determination to resist all aggression and to remain neutral, refusing passage to armies through their country, there was considerable consternation on the part of the English. William Penn in 1702 was notified by his representative on the New York scene that if the Iroquois weakened and joined the French, Pennsylvania would fall to the French. "If we lose the Iroquois we are gone," he writes.²

THE IROQUOIS ALSO UNDERSTAND AND USE THE SITUATION TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE

The Iroquois in all this were merely looking out for their own interest. They wished to preserve the independence of their federal republican union of five tribes; they wished to profit as an independent state in the taking of toll on goods in transit through their territory between the interior and Albany; they wished to profit in having both French and

¹ Compare especially McIlwain, particularly p. xxxvi; also Griffis, and Beauchamp.

² Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania; for further data see Appendix VIII. From 1701 to 1706 French Canada and New England were at war with each other, while New York and the Iroquois remained neutral, and the Dutch traders of Albany sold firearms, many of which reached Indians warring on New England! The New York commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany (the Albany Commissioners of Wraxall) of this time in vain endeavoured to win the Iroquois from their neutrality in the French-New England conflict, imploring that at least the Iroquois should use their influence to make the French Indians also neutral. The Iroquois refused even the minimum demand. In 1728 the Iroquois permitted the English to build a trading post at Oswego, but refused to pledge themselves ever to help defend it against the French. In 1742 the English requested permission from the Iroquois to fortify this post. (Wraxall, pp. 173, 227.)

English pay heavily to persuade them, if they would not open the gate for the one European army, at least to keep it closed to the other.

"I have observed," wrote the contemporary French missionary historian Charlevoix, "and this must not be lost sight of, that to understand the whole thread of the Iroquois manœuvres, so apparently at variance with each other, that those Indians could not calmly have beheld the English the sole masters of all Canada. They were not ignorant how much they should have to fear at the hands of the English had the latter no rivals, and at bottom they aspired only to hold the scale evenly balanced between the two nations, whose mutual jealousy made the Iroquois sought by both, and ensured their safety."¹

And, writes an English historian about the same time: "The great ruling principle of the modern Indian politics . . . is to preserve the balance between us and the French."²

Conscious of the fact that their independence, wealth, and power depended on the hostility of the French and English and the virtual equality of weight in the French and English sides of the scales, the Iroquois sachems lived actually in constant dread of a day when the French and English would either come to an agreement to divide up the Iroquois country and wipe out the Iroquois, or, more likely, one or the other power should become so powerful as compared with the other that this power could walk quite over the Iroquois and disregard them, ending for all time the question of a balance of power.³

THE IROQUOIS AND COLONIAL UNION

While serving as armour to protect the English colonies at their weakest point, the Iroquois also exerted an influence within the various colonies which served to further the tendency toward federation among the colonies. The colony of New York dealt with the Iroquois through its commissioners of Indian Affairs, located at Albany. The capital village of the Iroquois Confederation was Onandaga, but in dealing with the English the sachems of the Confederation usually came to Albany for conference.

¹ *History of New France* (English translation).

² Wraxall, p. 219.

³ For data see Appendix VIII.

The interests and power of the Iroquois federal republic, however, were not confined to New York. Their political power over native tribes reached southward past the western limits of English coast settlement down into the Carolinas, and northeast into New England. Whenever the government of colonies other than New York wished to deal with the Iroquois they had either to use the intermediation of the governor of New York or send delegates to Albany to meet the Iroquois sachems in conference. William Penn, for example, shortly after 1682, acquired from the Iroquois lands on the Susquehanna through Governor Dongan of New York; the lands purchased belonged to the Iroquois by virtue of their conquest of the original owners, the Susquehannocks.

Sometimes one colony would have its interests represented at Albany by the delegate sent by another colony. In 1677, for example, as we have already seen, Maryland sent a delegate to Albany, and Virginia was represented by the Maryland delegate. This was Virginia's first dealing with the Iroquois. Later Virginia sent her own governor to Albany to treat with the Indians. At that early date, the several colonies usually sent delegations to Albany without any intention of coöperating with the delegations from other colonies. They went and came at such times as they severally chose.

The Iroquois themselves were a well-knit confederation showing a united front to outside political organizations. They wondered why the English colonies showed so little community of interest and constantly urged them to send their delegates to Albany on the same dates to make general treaties with the native tribes.

As a result chiefly of this urging of the Indians the first intercolonial conference ever held—the New England Confederation aside—met in 1684 at Albany to confer with the Iroquois, New York, Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia being represented. Such conferences, with Pennsylvania included, were held frequently thereafter. In 1722 the Carolinas joined in sending delegates.

When, in 1754, the six most important colonies met to consider a plan of colonial union under the Crown, not only for purposes of treating with the Iroquois, but with the purpose of facing the French unitedly and of settling in common

many economic and political problems, they chose Albany as the seat of their conference.

Native unity, as exemplified in the insistence on united diplomatic activity by the united Iroquois tribes in the Albany conferences of two generations of colonial life, was one of the significant factors which brought into being that united activity of the English colonies which, in turn, soon brought forth actual federation, and, finally, brought into being the United States of America.¹

THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Prior to the late expansion of the interest of British business corporations interested in realty promotions (the Ohio Company, 1748), it was the Indian trade which was the object of European and colonial interests in the interior of North America. This fact must be emphasized to the reader. As we have pointed out before, this Indian trade or "fur trade" was the fundamental interest of the French in North America; it was the life blood of their colonial enterprise there. Had they maintained longer their hold on the St. Lawrence, and perhaps conquered the Iroquois and New York, they undoubtedly would have shifted their main interest to colonial settlement; but the fact is that they never passed beyond the period of the dominance of the Indian trade interest.²

The route to Albany and the Hudson through the valley leading westward to Lake Ontario and the farther West was not only a convenient military pathway; it was also a short and easy trade route which the Indians of the western country might avail themselves of to get to the trading post at Albany.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Iroquois had nearly killed off the beaver in their own country and

¹ See the various colonial archives; also Wraxall, pp. 211, 218, 223; and Winsor, v. 5, p. 611., seq. note A, *Intercolonial Congresses and Plans of Union*; and O'Callaghan, v. 6, 853 seq., June 19, 1754, *Proceedings of the Albany Conference*; also Wraxall, pp. 51, 62, 96; and above, p. 214. In 1698 the Crown planned a general alliance of all the colonies against the French, but Virginia and several others refused to join. Likewise while in 1709-1710 New England warred with the French, New York remained neutral and Albany sold firearms to the Abenaki who were aiding the French (Wraxall, pp. 48, 73).

² See chapter 12 above.

could get relatively little fur to trade for European goods. Consequently one of the principal objects of the Iroquois in warring upon and subduing the Algonkian tribes in the West—in what became the Northwest Territory of the United States—was to bring pressure on these tribes to oblige them to bring their furs to Albany to exchange for English goods, rather than to give them to the French traders of Canada.

To get to Albany these western tribes had to pass through the Iroquois country, and pay toll to the Iroquois for the passage, a valuable source of profit for the Iroquois.¹ And even with the charge of the toll, these western nations found with experience that it was cheaper for them to trade with the English at Albany, for the English, in exchange for furs, could sell them guns, powder, shot, hoes, kettles, awls, knives, cloth, and so on, much cheaper than the French ever could, sometimes for half the price.

The relative cheapness of English industrial products was one of the factors which made it urgent, from the Iroquois point of view, that the English should not be driven from Albany by the French. The same ability of the English to undersell the French, with the Iroquois acting as pushers of business for the English trading interests, made it especially urgent for the French, if they would save any measure of control over the immensely profitable fur trade of the Great Lakes region and the southward, to crush the Iroquois and keep English traders east of the Alleghenies and east of Lake Ontario, and to drive them out of Albany if possible; the French, as we have pointed out, were more concerned over the control of the Indian trade than over the control of agricultural plantations or settlements.²

IROQUOIS HISTORY ON THE INDIAN SIDE OF THE FRONTIER

The Iroquois Confederation of New York, like every other Indian nation—or, for that matter, like every nation everywhere in the history of the world—was more or less constantly

¹ Wraxall, p. 180 (1730). On Iroquois domination of the Ottawas see Charlevoix: *New France*, v. 25, Book 7.

² Compare McIlwain, pp. xli to xliv. Also Wraxall, for contemporary notes, pp. 80, 86, 103, 127, 146, 148, 155, 157, 170-171, 191, 203, 219, and 227; also MacLeod: *Trade*.

embroiled with its neighbours and engaged in attempts to dominate or to destroy them by diplomacy or war. They had been engaged in attempts at conquest and subjugation of their neighbours even before the coming of the Europeans. At some not so very remote period they had driven the aboriginal Algonkian out of eastern New York, racially absorbing a great part of them;¹ and in historical times they appear to have been winning out over the Algonkian of New England.

As was the case with the Macedonian inventors of the phalanx, Iroquois supremacy was probably, in part at least, due to improvements in the art of war. At any rate an observer in 1634 noted the Roman-like preference of the Mohawks for hand-to-hand fight. He describes these Iroquois in their wars of aggression upon the coastal Algonkian tribes of New England. We see the Iroquois in impenetrable armour and helmets of hide and bark, wielding war clubs in the right hand and javelins in the left, ignoring the bow and arrow in favour of close-up battle and closing in on the Algonkian who relied primarily on the bow. The Iroquois, he adds, appreciated the fact that their military supremacy was due not alone to their own valour, but to their superior type of equipment and tactics.²

Then with the coming of the Europeans, the introduction of firearms made necessary a change in equipment and tactics. And, remarkably enough, for reasons we have explained,³ it was the Iroquois, and not the coastal tribes which first acquired any considerable supply of firearms and learned to properly use them! So, while their enemies were learning to meet the old type of Iroquois attack, the Iroquois changed the type of attack and stamped madly north, east, south, and west, with firearms and fire-brands, attacking Indians who could not resist their bullets and burning down their inflammable fortified towns.

THEY DESTROY THE HURONS, ERIES, AND NEUTRALS

In the years 1649 and 1650, the Iroquois, by concerted, herculean efforts, smashed the Hurons and drove them out

¹ Hrdlicka; Parker; Skinner.

² Wood, 1634; but see Appendix VIII.

³ Above, p. 264.

of most of their own country.¹ The Hurons at this time were largely missioned, and were not being furnished with an appreciable amount of firearms nor were the missions adequately defended by French troops. The Hurons in the spring of 1647 had had an offer of aid from the Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania, the southern enemies of the Iroquois, and immediately sent ambassadors by a round-about route to Pennsylvania to meet the Susquehannocks. They arrived in June. The speaker of the ambassadors was the mission Huron, Charles Ondaaiondiont.² It was he who pictured the ruin of Huronia in the vivid terms of the paragraph with which we opened this chapter.

But Susquehannock aid apparently did not materialize, and the Iroquois kept up a guerilla warfare on the Huron remnants which in the course of several decades cut down the thirty thousand population of the Hurons to a few thousands. In 1652 a Huron chief pleaded with Father Le Jeune to intervene with the King: "Speak to the great Captain of France. Tell him that the Dutch of these coasts are causing our destruction, by furnishing firearms in abundance and at a low price to the Iroquois, our enemies."

Having practically disposed of the Hurons by 1650, the Iroquois now bent the best of their efforts to a final assault on the forty villages and twelve thousand population of the neutral Indian confederation immediately to their west on the lake shores of Ohio. And they immediately followed up their successes in hammering at the Erie Confederation of the nearby region. In 1651 the neutrals and in 1654 the Eries were broken. They were nearly exterminated and were so badly shattered that whatever remnants may have

¹ Consider in this connection, the *New York Colonial Documents*, v. 4, p. 908, Deed of Sale from the Five Nations, July 19, 1701, for what was formerly Huron territory. Here the Iroquois explained that their motive in warring on the Hurons was to conquer more beaver-hunting lands, the Huron area being the most fruitful beaver region in the East. And that as early as 1620 they had already destroyed one of the Huron nations. It is doubtful if the Iroquois made any use of firearms as early as 1620.

² *Jesuit Relations*, v. 38, p. 67. Also *ibid.* for 1646, p. 253; 1647, pp. 127-129; and 1648, p. 123. On the destruction of the Hurons consult also the résumé by Charlevoix in his *New France*, v. 2, book 6. In 1680 the Tionnandate Huron tribe attempted to stage a come-back but failed; see reference of 1701 above. On the Hurons in later history under the name of Wyandot see below, p. 432.

survived the crash disappeared from history from that day to this.¹ Several thousand Hurons, however, under the name of Wyandots managed to live through the years, and played a further part in history. Some mixed-bloods still are on a Canadian reservation.

Having crushed the native powers north and west of them, the Five Nations now turned their principal energies against the Susquehannock Confederation of the lower Susquehanna River Valley in Pennsylvania. There had been war between Iroquois and Susquehannock since before European arrivals, for John Smith in 1608 met a war party of Iroquois on the upper Chesapeake Bay out for war not only on the Susquehannocks but also on the Piscattoway and Nanticoke Indian nations of Maryland. But hitherto the Hurons, Eries, and neutrals had caused considerable diversion of Iroquois military strength.

The Susquehannocks, not a coastal tribe, resident along the great Pennsylvania river bearing their name, like the Hurons, Eries, and neutrals, were owners of rich beaver country and it was this supply of beavers which the Iroquois were probably largely interested in.

By 1623, the Dutch traders of Manhattan, in order to facilitate the beaver hunt in the Susquehannock country, were furnishing firearms to both Susquehannock and Iroquois. After 1634 the Swedes kept the Susquehannocks supplied, furnished them with cannon for the palisades of the principal town, and taught them European military methods. Later, even Maryland sent soldiers to help the Susquehannocks battle the Iroquois.

So the Susquehannocks were better prepared than any other Indian people to resist the Iroquois. While, before 1654, the Iroquois were occupied chiefly with the Hurons and their neighbours, the Susquehannocks had little to fear.

SUSQUEHANNOCK AND DELAWARE

They went off with their own firearms on their own conquests, little realizing that they were going out to carve out dominion only for the Iroquois to take over. So early as 1634 a traveller on the Delaware River noted that, with

¹ Compare Force.

their Dutch firearms, the Susquehannocks were descending on the Delaware River and penetrating even up the New Jersey tributaries of the river opposite what is now Philadelphia, everywhere killing and subduing the defenceless Lenape. By some date before 1651, they had established themselves as conquerors of and sovereigns over the Lenape of the lower Delaware River and Bay.¹

THE IROQUOIS DESTROY THE SUSQUEHANNOCKS AND BECOME SOVEREIGN OVER THE DELAWARE

After 1651 the Iroquois came like a storm into the Susquehanna valley. In the interior of Pennsylvania from 1654 to 1674 there was waged a terrible death struggle. While Swedish and Maryland cannon flamed forth from the palisaded walls of the Susquehannock villages, smallpox raged inside the walls. And while the Iroquois swarmed around the besieged villages with their Dutch, and later, English, firearms, smallpox also decimated their little armies.

Before 1654 the Susquehannocks had been engaged in a war with Maryland. Now they and Maryland, both in dread of the southward-moving Iroquois, decided to patch up their differences in the face of a common enemy and signed a treaty of alliance. At the same time that the Susquehannocks made "forced auxiliaries" of the "Wicomicos and Ihona-does" of the Eastern Shore, and other Maryland Algonkian tribes, Maryland at times sent militia to aid the Susquehannocks, and the Swedes furnished cannon and engineers to help in fortification. At one time Maryland conscripted every tenth man in the colony, in this way raising a force of 410 men to go to the aid of the Indians.²

At first the Susquehannocks were a match for the Iroquois. Then, I believe merely because of a differential devastation of smallpox, they weakened. After 1666 they steadily fell back. In 1674 they were, as we have seen, nearly exterminated, and Maryland deserted the remnant to save herself.

¹ See MacLeod: *Lenape*, p. 462.

² See Eschleman; Beauchamp: *Maryland Archives*, v. 3, p. 498; and above, p. 248.

THEY DESTROY THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MOUND-
BUILDERS

We shall not have space to enter into a consideration of popular (and scientific) misconceptions about the truly great civilization of the Moundbuilders of the Ohio Valley. Suffice it to say definitely that that civilization was still flourishing in the first half of the seventeenth century, and struggled for life during the second half; that the Shawnese, Yuchi, and probably other surviving tribes were remnants of the Moundbuilder peoples forced out of their homes during the seventeenth century, just as various eastern Siouxan tribes were driven south into the coastal Carolinas from the Virginia piedmont, and other Siouxan peoples of the Moundbuilder region were forced south in the Mississippi valley; and furthermore that the Iroquois, carrying firearms and smallpox, were the principal, if not the sole destroyers of the Moundbuilder civilization.

Probably before the middle of the seventeenth century, with Dutch firearms, and pine fire-brands, the Iroquois were killing and burning on the upper piedmont and in the Ohio Valley. As late as 1678 Father Marquette notes that on the Ohio there remained still twenty-eight Shawnese villages but since the Shawnese "had no firearms" the Iroquois were winning against them. In 1677 an observer among the Iroquois noted the bringing in of fifty prisoners, captives of "two nations, some whereof have few guns, the other none at all, of nations to the southwest-ward", one of which is "ten days' journey from any Christians", yet carrying on some trade with these remote Christians.

As I have indicated, the Iroquois may have been aided by others. Father Marquette in 1673 noted that the Illinois tribe acquired rifles from the Indians in touch with the French who obtained the rifles from the French, the Illinois selling captives as slaves to these French tribes in exchange for the firearms. The tribes to the south of the Illinois were without anything but stone knives and axes. The Arkansas tribe, then possibly one of the Ohio Moundbuilder nations, was in such terror that even hunting was impracticable and they were short of meat.

A few years later smallpox utterly exterminated the

remnant of the Arkansas in their then more southerly home. It was, indeed, this dread plague which, as in the case of the destruction of the Susquehannocks, did as much as or more than Iroquois bullets and torches to ruin the Moundbuilders.¹

LAKE SUPERIOR AND LABRADOR

By 1673, if not sooner, the Iroquois had reached the Mississippi River and were even scouring the peninsula of Michigan and the north shores of Lake Superior; and at the same time were sending war parties against the Algonkian bands of Labrador, whose tales even to this day recall the memory of Iroquois terrorism.²

THE ADIRONDACKS AND MUNSEES

In 1664 the English had replaced the Dutch in New York, and in the Delaware River Valley, and continued the Dutch practice of treating with the Iroquois. In the first treaty, in 1665, the Iroquois were careful to have it stipulated that the English should not furnish firearms to any of their native enemies of the Iroquois, so the coastal Algonkian tribes continued to be at a terrible disadvantage.³ In 1670 the Iroquois finally conquered the Adirondack Algonkian tribe. In 1675 the Munsees of the upper Delaware submitted and became tributary to the Iroquois, as were already their Lenape brethren of the lower Delaware by virtue of the

¹ See Appendix VIII.; Swanton: *New Light*; and *Creeks*, 1924; MacLeod: *Temples*; and above on the Yuchi, pp. 107, 247. There is much source material in old documents which I shall not have space here to present.

² Speck's Labrador Indian studies make note of the Iroquois terror in Labrador.

³ Use of intercession in the case of Iroquois wars may be noted. The English of Massachusetts Bay colony interceded for peace in the Mohawk war on the Massachusetts Indians, *ante* 1674. (Gookin, v. 1, pp. 164-168.) In 1723 New England called on the Iroquois to intercede between New England and the Abenaki, desiring the Iroquois thereafter to guarantee Abenaki good behaviour. The Iroquois refused their good offices (Wraxall, pp. 144-147, 152-153, 155). In 1660 the Iroquois acted as arbiters between Dutch, Munsee, and Esopus. In 1663, after a renewal of the war with the Esopus, the Dutch called on the Iroquois to enforce the 1660 treaty on the Esopus. Nothing came of this latter negotiation (Ruttenber, pp. 140, 149). The Dutch apparently wanted to use the Iroquois as allies to extend their own power and trade in the same fashion as the English New York colony did.

Iroquois acquisition of the Susquehannock rights over those river bands.

As early as 1682 we have note of Iroquois ravages among the Indian tribes of the Carolinas. At this date the English of the Carolinas furnished their neighbouring Indians with firearms especially with a view to rendering them able to defend the Carolina frontier from the northern invaders.¹ La Salle in this same year suggested to the French authorities that they also donate arms to these southern Indians with a view to helping them weaken the Iroquois and thus make New York more pregnable to French arms.²

The French adopted the spirit and aims of La Salle's suggestion after their ignominious failure to crush the Iroquois. They deliberately set out to help the Iroquois destroy themselves, by insidiously encouraging them in their suicidal imperialism, especially in their forays on the Carolina Indians.

Colden notes³ that while the Jesuit Millet was a resident among the Oneida Iroquois tribe (until 1694), he successfully, and frequently, urged the Oneidas to send out war parties against the southern Indians.

In 1615 they sent war parties to South Carolina to attack the Yamasee and their allies from the rear in their war with the English. In 1639 the Senecas were sending war parties even against the far southern Chickasaw, with whom the French of New Orleans were then at war. In 1742 they were again noted as warring on the "Flatheads" of the far south. At this time the Iroquois in council with the governors and delegates of the southern colonies at Albany asserted, and had recognized, their sovereignty over the remnant tribes and the lands of the southern piedmont plateau in Virginia and North and South Carolina, by virtue of conquest; they had the Siouxan Tutelo and the Tuscarora moved up from North Carolina to join them in New York to be associated in their confederation.⁴

¹ *Letters of Thomas Newe*, 1682, in Narr.'s of early Carolina, p. 183.

² La Salle, in French: *Hist. Coll.'s*, pt. 1, p. 42.

³ Colden, p. 71.

⁴ See Appendix VIII.; and below, pp. 378-379.

A WAR TO END WAR ?

It was a writer about the reservation Iroquois of the past century who stated that the Iroquois aim in their conquests was to establish a general North American confederation of native tribes which would put an end for all time to internecine warfare.¹ This statement has constantly been reiterated in histories as an explanation of the Iroquois conquests. It was certainly given to the original disseminator by the reservation Indians, who also have the tradition—possibly more authentic—that their own confederation of five tribes into the Iroquois federal republic was motivated by a desire to end war between the five tribes.² But for the current interpretation of the motive of Iroquois conquests I find no support in the voluminous materials in the archives. Instead, the Iroquois appear as typically rapacious, selfish, and greedy for trade profits and tribute money as any European nation.³

Their sachems or confederacy councillors were as cunning and as deceitful as any other group of Indian politicians. Various data indicate that they would never make peace, on terms of inclusion into the confederation on an equitable basis, with any foreign tribe.

A Jesuit, who sat in a conference in 1663 in which the Iroquois proposed a truce with the remnant of the once-great Hurons, is undoubtedly expressing the truth when he sarcastically observes: "The Iroquois proclaimed that they wished to unite all the nations of the earth, and hurl the hatchet so far into the earth that it will never again be seen in the future. . . . They wished to place an entirely new sun in the heavens, level all the mountains, and remove all the falls in the rivers, . . . and asked peace. . . . But the Iroquois, as we know from five years' experience, are haughty and crafty, and they never ask peace unless they have a plot."⁴

¹ Morgan: *League*, 1877.

² *Traditional History*.

³ Compare above, pp. 280, 282, n. 1; and MacLeod: *Trade, and The State*. See also Iroquois dealings with the Susquehannocks, in Eschleman; and with the Tuscaroras in Lawson, pp. 322-323.

⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, v. 49, 139.

THE FIREBRAND BURNS ITSELF OUT

By 1754 the Iroquois had not only been the principal agents in the virtual depopulation of a great part of North America, but they had succeeded in exhausting themselves. Their wars had taken a heavy toll of Iroquois lives which were only partly made up by the wholesale adoption of captives. They now numbered about seven thousand. Little more than a century before they certainly had numbered four or more times this population.

By 1754, furthermore, they were on the verge of political disintegration. Their constant preoccupation with war on far-flung frontiers had caused bitter disagreement in their councils regarding the advisability of fighting tribes far off while imminent danger existed nearer at home in the form of European soldiery. Whiskey and brandy weakened their moral. The old sachems found it more and more difficult to hold in control the war chiefs and the drunken, headstrong young men. The influence of the Jesuits drew off to a French mission formed especially for Iroquois converts—Canawaugha—about one-fifth of the Iroquois population. These Christian Iroquois helped the French in occasional hostilities against their pagan Iroquois relatives, and it was not infrequent for relatives, even father and son, to face each other as enemies, in battle. This sort of thing was disheartening to the natives.

There was also the constant worry lest one or the other European powers should destroy the other and then the victors would turn on the Iroquois. Rumours of impending danger, such as we have already elsewhere noted, constantly were echoing through the Iroquois villages, causing hysterical reactions.

From about 1654 to 1754 there had been much vainglory among the young Iroquois warriors of adventurous disposition; but apparently among the generality of the population, especially among the hereditary nobility which furnished the tribal and confederacy chiefs or sachems, founders and maintainers of the Great League, there was much despair and unhappiness. A poem, part of a ritual

of the Confederation,¹ may be used to picture this looming darkness:

Woe ! Harken ! We are diminished !
The cleared land becomes a thicket. . . .
The clear places are deserted !

Alas ! Woe ! Woe !
They are in their graves,
They who established it. . . .
They who established the Great League !

Yet, they declared,
That the Great League,
Would endure forever. . . .

But, woe . . . !
The League has grown old :
Thus are we miserable.

After 1754 came the great and final clash between the rival French and English powers on either side of the Iroquois republic. In the titanic movement of European troops which followed, the sadly diminished Iroquois could have played no important rôle. Yet they were importuned by both sides to join one side or the other in the struggle. The confederacy threatened to split wide open, for while the Mohawks under Sir William Johnson's influence favoured the English alliance, the other tribes were more inclined to the French.

Under the laws of the Confederation any tribe might make war of and for itself, provided this would not mean becoming involved in war with one of its fellow Iroquois tribes. For any of the tribes to take opposite sides would mean the end of the League. The Confederation council favoured neutrality, as usual, in the struggle between the rival Europeans. The Mohawks wavered and wanted to join the English immediately, but the Confederation council advised them that they would be expelled from the League if they

¹ Onandaga Hymn, Hale: *Book of Rites*, p. 153: The original reads:

Haihhaih !
Jiyathonthek !
Niyonkha !
Haihhaih !

Shatyherarta
Hotiyiwisahongwe,
Hae !

Wakaiwakayonnheha.
Hai !
Netho watyongwen-
tenthe.

Tejoskawayenton.
Haihhaih !
Shahentohenyon.
Hai !

Kayaneengoha.
Neti kenen honen
Hene kenyoiwatatye
Kayaneengowane;
Hai !

did. This was in 1755. But before the war with the French was over many Iroquois under their war-chief Hendrick¹ did join Johnson's forces against the French, while the other tribes remained neutral.

Subsequent steps in the moral and political disintegration of the diminished Iroquois we will consider in later chapters. Here we merely reiterate the fact that with the coming of the great and final clash between French and English they had become of virtually negligible importance in North American history.

In considering the Iroquois poem which we have cited, one is inclined to feel sympathy for the Iroquois nobles who founded and maintained the primitive but great League of Nations in ancient New York. Not only for Hayowentha (Hiawatha) and the others of semi-mythical days who founded it, but also for those successors of theirs who lived to see it rise to importance in world history and then fade into impotence into a gray and gloomy background does one feel sympathy.

These historical old sachems of the native nobility—the oligarchy of the Iroquois—were admirable men, of fine manners, commanding presence, intelligence, and political talent. Hennepin speaks as follows of those he had met in 1673: "The senators of Venice do not appear with a graver countenance and perhaps do not speak with more majesty and solidity than these old Iroquois. . . ."² And Colden, speaking of the official Mohawk collectors of tribute from subject nations going about their work in the subject Algonkian villages of the coast, says: "Two old men commonly go about every year or two to receive this tribute; and I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing

¹ In 1755 at Lake George, on the question of having a certain detachment attack the French, Hendrick told Johnson: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to die, they are too many." (Drake, p. 536.)

² Hennepin: *Discovery*, 1681, in French, pp. 196-197. Compare Roger Williams on the Indians, *Key*, p. 8: "For the temper of the brain in quick apprehension and accurate judgments (to say no more) the most high and sovereign God and Creator hath not made them inferior to other human beings."

his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator."¹

These old men and their great League, which they called also the Great Peace, have gone the way of all flesh. They have gone, as has the King Tezozomoc, rival of the poet-King Nezahualcoyotl of the Nahuatl (Aztec) city of Tezcuco.

" . . . at length, withered and decayed,
The storm wind of death
Tore him from his roots
And dashed him to the ground in fragments."²

¹ Colden: *History*.

² From a poem by Nezahualcoyotl entitled *Spring Song*, in Brinton: *Nahuatl Poetry*, p. 39.

PART IV

SOCIAL RETROSPECTS :

CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE LATIN AND
ANGLO-SAXON AMERICAS

CHAPTER XX

THE INDIAN LABOUR SUPPLY, FREE AND SLAVE, AND NEGRO SLAVERY

"There is a little squaw that Steward Calient desireth, to whom he hath given a coat. Lieutenant Davenport also desireth one, to wit, a small one that hath three strokes upon the stomach."—*Puritan Disposition of Women Indian Captives*, 1637.

"No one may harbour, entertain, or employ any Indian."—*Act of Assembly, Virginia*, 1654.

EARLY ENSLAVEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA BEFORE 1620

THE English vessels which visited the New England coast a decade or more before its settlement by the Pilgrims went in for occasional profitable slaving. For example, John Smith and others were on the Massachusetts coast in 1614. Smith left for Europe, but "the other ship stayed there to fit herself for Spain with dried fish, which was sold at Malaga for four rials the quintal; each hundred-weight, two quintals and a half. But one Thomas Hunt, the master of the ship (when I was gone), thinking to prevent that intent I had to make there a plantation, thereby to keep this abounding country in obscurity that only he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of trade and profit in it, betrayed four and twenty of these poor savages aboard his ship, and more dishonestly and inhumanely for their kind usage to me and all our men, carried them with him to Malaga, and there for a little private gain sold these silly savages for rials of eight; but this vile act kept him forever after from any more employment in those parts."¹

PURITAN SLAVERY, 1637, 1676

In their wars with the Indians the Puritans enslaved Indians insofar as they might while keeping friendship with the more important Indian tribes. In the course of the war

¹ John Smith: *History of New England*, p. 41; compare above concerning Squanto, p. 189, n. 2.

with the Pequots many prisoners were taken. The women and children were used as slaves in the country and the men were shipped to slave markets abroad.

One Stoughton, a magistrate, leader of the Massachusetts Bay force against the Pequots and massacer of the Indians, writes to the governor about the share of the women prisoners coming to him and his men: "By this pinnace you shall receive forty-eight or fifty women and children, unless they stay here to be helpful, etc., concerning which there is one I formerly mentioned that is the fairest and largest that I saw among them, to whom I have given a cloak to clothe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant, if it may stand with your good liking, else not. There is a little squaw that Steward Calient desireth, to whom he hath given a coat. Lieutenant Davenport also desireth one, to wit, a small one that hath three strokes upon the stomach."¹ A curious commentary on the chivalry, and the taste as to household servants, of Puritan Lochinvars!

Again, in 1676, in the course of the war with King Philip, the Puritans took many prisoners whom they enslaved, shipping most of them abroad for fear of their running away again to the woods and their friends. One shipment was sent to the slave mart in Algiers, but no one would buy the Indians and they were perforce brought back. Thereupon, that worthy divine, Cotton Mather, saw the fulfilment of prophecy; the prophecy in Deuteronomy, chap. 28, verse 68, "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, thou shalt see it no more again: and there you shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy."

This same clergyman was in part responsible for the ignominious fact that the Puritians sold into slavery the wife and son of the heroic chief Philip; for this too he found precedent in Holy Script. The Puritans in this are justly to be condemned as unchivalrous, just as were the French who in 1715 sold into slavery in the West Indies, breaking a solemn promise, forty persons, the whole royal family, of the remarkable Natchez tribe or nation.

We have already seen how the sale of slaves in 1677 helped

¹ Cited in James: *Institutions*, p. 43. On the early Puritan slaver see also above, pp. 216, 243.

defray the costs of the war, and how Uncas was denied a share. The prisoners taken in the war were not sufficient to bring enough money in the slave-market to defray the tremendous direct expenses the United Colonies incurred in the war; to increase the sums derived from the sale of slaves, peaceful and neutral Indian tribesmen were kidnapped through various deceptions, hustled on board ship, and carried off to the West Indian slave market. At Dartmouth alone one hundred and eighty met this fate; at Dover, N.H. (Cocheco), two hundred.¹

“ RANSOMING ” OF THE BRAZILIAN TYPE IN THE
CAROLINAS, 1680-1715

Much more audacious and destructive than the Puritan slavers were those of the Carolinas. In early colonial days there was less difference between the northern and southern colonies in the percentage of the population represented by negroes. The southern colonies did not need slaves vastly more than did other colonies. But there appears to have been less concern in the South over danger from the French and their allies in the Carolinas; while against the Spanish of St. Augustine the Southerners had enlisted the aid of the powerful Creek Confederation.

In times of peace between the Indians and Carolina, traders went out among the Indian nations and stirred them up to war against one another, using the Portuguese “ ransoming ” method, just then abolished in Brazil,² of getting the prisoners as slaves for sale on the coast.

We have seen in our chapter on missions how from about 1680 on the Carolina slavers were in the ascendant. Of this period, *circa* 1680, of Carolina Indian policy an early chronicler of the colony writes of the “ ransoming ” slave-raiding:

“ Not only the principal inhabitants, but the officers of government encouraged the spirit of discord which reigns among untutored savages and promoted that inclination for war so natural to the American Indian and to every nation in a similar state of improvement, merely with a design to procure the captives whom they purchased as slaves; and

¹ See above, p. 243, and Lauber, 146-148; 127, n. 2.

² See above, p. 126.

they but too frequently inflamed the colonists to make war on the men they had promised to civilize, to introduce to a knowledge of God, whom they were under every obligation to protect."¹

To such charges the governor and council replied, concerning the intertribal wars such slaving activities promoted, that "such a policy, which weakened the tribes by their mutual wars, secured the colony against their attacks. . . ." And concerning the "ransoming" they stated "that it was humane to prisoners of war who were already doomed to die."²

In our chapter on missions we described the expedition of Moore in 1704 which effected "the conquest of Apalatchee". The prisoners Moore and his men took were, by agreement with the Carolina officials not to be enslaved, but colonized in Carolina. Moore clearly regretted not being able to sell these Indians. "This will make my men's part of the plunder," he wrote to the governor, "which otherwise might have been one hundred to a man, but very small. But I hope with your honour's assistance to find a way to gratify them for their loss of blood."³

The fourteen hundred prisoners Moore's Creek auxiliaries had taken in this single expedition were available for "ransom", and undoubtedly found their way into the slave market to the profit of Moore's volunteers.⁴

Ransoming continued on a considerable scale. Of the war stirred up upon the Creeks and Yamasees in 1715, a contemporary letter-writer notes: "It is certain that many of the Yamasees and Creek Indians were against the war all along. But our military men were so bent on revenge and so desirous to enrich themselves by making all the Indians slaves that fell into their hands . . . that it is in vain to represent the cruelty and injustice of such a procedure."⁵

In 1711 the Yamasee had assisted in the colonists' war on the Tuscaroras only on promise of a share in the profit

¹ Chalmers, pp. 313-314; also 318 and 341, n. 41. The proprietors of the colony (organized as a joint-stock company) opposed such practice, apparently because they were not sharing in the profits of this slave trade any more than they shared in the profits of the sea piracy then prevalent off the Carolina coasts.

² *Ibid.*

³ Moore's letter in Swanton: *Creeks*, p. 122.

⁴ Compare the statistics on Carolina slaves, above, p. 108.

⁵ Letter, December 19, cited in Lauber, p. 121.

to be derived from the sale of Tuscarora prisoners. They were not to be cheated as was Uncas by the Puritans. And in 1716, about the end of the slave-raiding period of Carolina Indian policy, after a war of the colonists on the Santa and Congaree Sioux of the coast, "over half of the offending tribes were taken prisoner and sent to the West Indies".¹

Many of the Indian captives taken in the Carolinas were shipped to the northern colonies as slaves; many were assimilated by the negro slave population in the Carolinas.

THE DEMAND FOR INDIAN SLAVES

The slave raiding we have sketched was profitable because there was a demand for Indian slaves not only in the West Indies but also at home. Wherever negro slaves were in demand, Indian slaves were also in demand. Despite the continuous sale of Indian captives to the northern colonies and the West Indies, and the steady importation of negroes, there were in Carolina in 1708 fourteen hundred Indian slaves, as compared with 4,100 negro slaves, 120 white indentured servants, and 3,960 free whites.² These Indian slaves in time, like those sent to the West Indies, probably interbred with the negro population, infusing some Indian blood in the American negro population. Although, as was the case with the negro too, the mortality from tuberculosis and other diseases was heavy, the best of our evidence indicates that they became efficient and capable workmen.³

THE CHECK ON SLAVING IN NORTH AMERICA

Enslavement of the Indian in Latin America never became of prime importance in the history of the Indian because of the influences brought to bear against the practice of enslavement by Pope, King, and monk. The finally successful arguments against Indian enslavement were what might be termed generally as "humanitarian". Then there was the fact that since the Latins had an alternative forced-labour

¹ Swanton: *Creeks*, p. 71.

² Lauber, p. 106.

³ In which I disagree with Lauber; I give more weight to the evidence of observers like Lawson; see Lawson, p. 384. Compare below, pp. 307-309.

system through which they could use Indian labour, they could turn to that.

In North America there were no "humanitarian" campaigns of significance aimed at Indian slavery. Despite the fact that there was no alternative forced-labour system in which to use native labour, and no very considerable use of free Indian labour, slavery of the Indian never became more important in North America than in Latin America.

This, as I see it, was because of that fact present in North American Indian policies absent in Latin American policies—the fact that the Indian tribes on the frontier were treated with as sovereign states. The resulting eagerness of French and English to draw one and another sovereign Indian tribe into opposed European alliances made eventually for extreme delicacy in dealing with the Indian tribes and care not to offend them. In earlier days when there was noteworthy enslavement, it made for reluctance to use adult male Indian slaves at home, and for reluctance in many cases to disturb an existing peace on the frontier. Such "political" factors, not ethical or economic, inhibited Indian slavery in North America.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH INSTANCES

There was, of course, the fact that the French in North America were interested primarily in the fur trade; and the resulting fact that, to maintain this trade, they required the friendship of the sovereign Indian tribes.¹ The Indian hunters spent their labour as free men roaming the woods, and brought back furs which they traded off to the French for objects they themselves desired. The labour of these free Indians was ultimately productive of profits to the French fur traders; and this was about all that the French wanted. Neither in Russian nor French North America, therefore, was enslavement of the Indians either economically or politically expedient.

¹ So it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the Russians in the extreme Northwest. The nature of the terrain and of the hunt of the sea otter in the North Pacific enabled the Russians to organize the Aleuts into gangs of wage and share labourers; but the terrain and hunt in the eastern woodlands made this impracticable. The Russians did not sell, but leased, hunting equipment to their Aleuts (See Andrews.)

It is true, further, that the French on the lower Mississippi River established plantations on which they used large numbers of negro slaves. Here they might have gone in for extensive enslavement of the Indians save for the fact that it was politically inexpedient; that during the period of development in Louisiana, the English of the Carolinas were coaxing the Louisiana tribes to an English alliance, and the French, therefore, had to be wary in their treatment of the Indians.

About 1680 the French definitely broke with the Iroquois of New York and set out to conquer them. As we have seen, the Iroquois stood in the way of French ambitions to drive English power from the continent. Louis XIV in 1684 wrote De La Barre to make speed in routing out the Iroquois; and, "as it concerns the good of my service to diminish as much as possible the number of the Iroquois, and, as these savages, who are stout and robust, will, moreover, serve with advantage in my galleys, I wish you to do everything in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war, and that you have them shipped by every opportunity which will offer for their removal to France".

Some Iroquois were thus shipped to Louis Quatorze's galleys; but the Iroquois soon defeated the French forces and these same prisoners had to be brought back from France and freed to appease the enraged Iroquois. It was in every way inexpedient for France to interest herself in enslavement of the Indians.¹

Like Louis Quatorze, certain persons interested in early Virginia and early New England had exaggerated ideas as to how far it would be expedient for the colonies to go in enslaving Indians, and thereby reducing the cost of importing negro slaves and white bondsmen.

After the 1622 massacre by the Indians in Virginia, Indian slavery was thought of. In 1622 in London appeared a tract relating the story of the massacre, "published by authority", arguing that after all the massacre might be considered as of some good. The fifth of the good results which might emanate from it the writer concludes, being "because the Indians, who before were used as friends, may now, most justly, be compelled to servitude in mines and the

¹ O'Callaghan: *Doc. Hist.*, v. 1, pp. 9, 73; compare above, p. 150.

like, of whom some may be sent for the use of the Summer Islands".¹ But there was never any enslaving of Indians in Virginia.

In Puritan Massachusetts, after the Pequot War in which many slaves were taken, one Emmanuel Downing, a lawyer of the colony, wrote Winthrop concerning the then talked-of proposition that the colony go to war with the troublesome Narragansetts and wipe them out. This was in 1645. He reasoned that now it was time to stamp out heresy not only among the settlers but among the Indians, "for I doubt whether it be not sin in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maintain the worship of the devil". His main point is that he thinks New England cannot thrive "until we get in a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business, for our children's children will hardly see this great continent filled with people".

The abundance of land in the hinterland, he points out, makes it difficult to hold white bond-servants, who, anyhow, cost twenty times as much for subsistence as negroes (Moors), he observes. So, with regard to the Narragansetts, "if upon a just² war the Lord should deliver them into our hands we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gainful pillage for us than we can conceive".³ The political inexpediency of such a move exhibits itself in the facts of New England Indian politics considered in our earlier chapter.

After King Philip's war in which so many Indian slaves were sold abroad, Indian slaves from the Carolinas were being sold in the northern colonies. For reasons hinted at in various laws and resolutions, the northern colonies did not favour their presence. In 1712 Massachusetts Colony forbade further importation of Indian slaves, because they were "malicious, surley, and ungovernable"; Pennsylvania likewise forbade their further importation in this same year. In 1714 New Hampshire and in 1715 Rhode Island followed suit.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania did not believe in making

¹ Cited in Lauber, p. 118. They still hoped so late as this to find silver mines in Virginia. Compare above, p. 173, n. 2.

² Recalling the Spanish concept of a "just" war in relation to slavery (see chapter 10 above). On the Narragansett troubles see above, p. 234.

³ Cited in Lauber, p. 311.

war. But somehow or other they were willing to buy and sell slaves who were prisoners of war and their descendants. Public policy, the necessity of keeping friendship with Indian tribes who might perhaps go over to the French side, made handling Indian slaves seem a risky business. So in the Friends' Yearly Meeting of 1719 when the Indians came up for consideration it was "desired that Friends do not buy or sell Indian slaves", because, it was desired "to avoid" giving the Indians "occasion of discontent".¹

CHILD KIDNAPPING AND THE IROQUOIS

There was one practice of the English traders of North America which caused much trouble with the Indians and which no one could describe as other than dishonourable. This was quite general in the English colonies of North America. The Indians were always eager to have their children educated by Europeans. Indian parents would trustfully turn children over to some trader, whom they came to admire for his apparent wisdom and wealth, to be taken to the coast and trained according to European ways. Within a specified length of time the young apprentice was to be returned to his parents. The white guardian would instead ship the boy or girl to the slave market, and, in time, inform the Indian parents that their child had died.

The Puritan immigrants from New England in Maryland—who put an end to religious freedom in the southern colony—were peculiarly offensive in this way, shipping their little wards into West Indian slavery. The Indians frequently suspected dishonesty and protested, but the colonial legal enactments against the practice were apparently not enforceable.² But, significantly, once, at least, did the politically powerful Iroquois, acting as wards and protectors of the Carolina tribes conquered by them, through the colonial authorities of New York, protest to the authorities of the Carolinas demanding that they have this kidnapping stopped.³

¹ See Lauber, p. 308.

² See James: *Institutions*, pp. 44-47; Bozman, v. 2, p. 359; *Colonial Records of Penna.*, v. 2, p. 533; Lauber, pp. 196-197, 203-204; Williamson, v. 1, p. 95 (the letter on the Maryland Puritans).

³ O'Callaghan: *Documents*, v. 5, p. 433. Lauber, pp. 200-201, cites the resulting communication but misses the fact that they are Carolina

NEGRO SLAVES AND INDIAN SLAVES

The facts that there are to-day in the United States some 15,000,000 negroes, only a rather small minority of whom are mulattoes or possessed of Indian blood, and only an insignificant handful of Indians, raise an interesting social question. The millions of negroes are in fact, considering the occupational and social taboos they labour under, thoroughly Euro-American or European in culture, and, roughly, about as civilized and as capable as Europeans of similar low social and economic status. They have for a century and more been favoured with a survival rate making for a rapid increase in population. They become increasingly prosperous economically.

The handful of Indians are to a very large extent far from assimilated culturally. Most of the full-bloods are still outside the pale of our economy and culture.

The slave system of forced assimilation, of forced labour, has been a tremendous success with the negroes. Were it not for Abraham Lincoln's regrettable social blunder in wholesale premature emancipation it would probably have been even a greater success, emancipation proceeding slowly with those prepared for it without the shock which made for increased racial bitterness.

We might compare the situation in which a relatively primitive people find themselves when faced with the sudden necessity for assimilating a very new industrial technique to that of the skilled watch-maker suddenly called upon to make his living as a cabinet-maker. For the Indian arts and industries did require of every member of the family a highly developed technique which required a painstaking apprenticeship. But everything in the new systems introduced by the Europeans required a complete revolution of the Indian, making useless all that he had learned as a part of his own social inheritance, and requiring that he begin all over again. A discouraging outlook, indeed. The change could be made only gradually, through several generations.

Indians not New York Indians, whom the Iroquois are championing. For an interesting study of nineteenth century enslavement of Indians see Hamilton: *The Panis*; also notes in MacLeod: *Economic Aspects* (under the heading "The Slave Trade").

It would require encouragement, assistance, peace, and the development of a receptive attitude.

Many incidents in colonial history illustrate the rapidity of economic and cultural assimilation of the negro and the relative slowness of the Indians. Hawkins noted in 1798 the fact that some of the Creek Indians even then had acquired negro slaves, "*and where they are, there is more industry and better farms*". (He himself italicizes this phrase). The influence of freed negroes from about this time on was similar, as they married Indians and settled down here and there on the colonial Indians' reservations.¹

It was not that the Indian with his aboriginal economy did not labour hard, long, and skilfully. It was that, as with the African negro taken in a slave-raid, the acquisition of European culture, particularly on its economic side, demanded of the Indian a complete revolution in his way of life.

A priori, there is no reason to believe that slavery could not have civilized and saved the Indian, as it did the negro. But the slave system was not given a fair trial with the Indians. Its development was interfered with by the factors we have considered. The enslavement of the Indians which did occur and which we have outlined did not last long enough, and does not yield sufficient data for us to judge of its fruits *a posteriori*. The Indian slaves who survived were interbred with negro slaves of the plantations.²

THE EFFECT OF THE INDIANS ON NEGRO SLAVERY

Given the demand for chattel slaves, in proportion that the native American Indians were not available as a supply, negroes were imported. The result was the negroization of large parts of the Americas which might otherwise be Caucasian or Indian. But what we wish finally to point out in the study of the Indian and negro is something less obvious.

¹ Hawkins, p. 66; compare Gookin, pp. 201-202. The negro slaves of the Creek Indians grew rice and maize. Bourne: *Spanish America*, is the only writer I know of who raises the question as to the adaptability of the negro to New World conditions as evidenced in available statistics. On tuberculosis among Indian slaves see Lauber, p. 283.

² Lauber's thoughts, and those of other writers on the refractoriness of the North American Indian as compared with the Indians of Latin America are insupportable. See below, p. 313.

The location of friendly Indian groups on the frontier of settlement was useful in a number of ways, among others in the maintenance of large-scale negro slavery. If there had been no Indians in the backwoods, negro slaves would have had a free field to make a good escape and the history of American slavery would have been very different.

Vasconcelos wrote in 1681 of the Brazilian Indians that "they serve much in the wars of the Portuguese, against the French in Rio Janeiro and Maranhão, and against the Hollanders, and against the negroes, who more than once rose up against their masters". As a result of depopulation in many parts of the Brazilian interior, however, many negro slaves were able to flee from the coast and establish large negro villages in the interior (the Palmares, etc.). These villages were well organized communities, and raided the Portuguese of the coasts, enslaving any captives they might take, Indian or negro.¹

An observer in the Carolinas in 1763 observes that the negroes are "very dangerous domestics, their number so much exceeding the whites. A natural antipathy and dislike which subsists between them and our Indian neighbours is a lucky circumstance, and for this reason, in our quarrels with the Indians, however proper and necessary it may be to give them correction, it can never be our interest to extirpate them or to force them from their lands; their ground would soon be taken up by runaway negroes from our settlements, whose numbers daily increase, and quickly become more formidable enemies than the Indians can ever be, as they speak our language and would never be at a loss for intelligence."

At this time there were seventy thousand negro slaves in the Carolinas and only about thirty-five thousand whites.² The Indians of the frontier kept the woods closed to the negro slaves. In an earlier day, however, Spanish Florida had been an open door. In 1739, for example, there had been a slave insurrection near Charlestown, and the rebel negroes started for St. Augustine, where, by decree of the

¹ Vasconcelos, *Letter*, in *Pastels*, v. 1, p. 197; and (on the Palmares) see particularly also Southey, v. 1, pp. 560 seq. (1633); and Nieuhoff, p. 707.

² *Description*, 1763, pp. 479-480.

Crown of Spain, they would be free. It was to close this door, among other reasons, that the Carolinians constantly stirred up the Creek Indians against Spanish Florida, destroyed the Florida missions, and finally saw Georgia established partly with the purpose of forming a colony without slaves—merely indentured servants—to act as a Caucasian wall between Florida and Carolina. But Georgia soon took to slave-keeping, and the slaves and even the indentured servants soon took to running away to St. Augustine. So we are not surprised to find a good Methodist such as Oglethorpe raving in this unchristian fashion: “With indignation we looked at St. Augustine . . ., that den of thieves and ruffians! Receptacle of debtors, servants, and slaves! Bane of industry and society!” Oglethorpe, therefore, put the finishing touches on the ruins of the Florida mission villages.

FREE INDIAN LABOUR

Leaving the questions concerning slavery, we come to the question why free Indian labour was not more generally used. Free Indian labour was in fact used somewhat throughout the history of the frontier. But as in the case of Indian slave labour we find that, economically practical, its use was inhibited by political factors again arising out of the plan peculiar to North America in contrast to Latin America, of dealing with the Indian tribes as sovereign foreign states.

De Laet, an early Dutch explorer, knew both the South American and the North American Indians quite well. After a visit about 1624 to the Hudson River settlements of the Dutch West India Company, of which he was a director, he observed of the Hudson River Indians that “on some occasions some of our people have been surprised by them and slain; for they are very revengeful and suspicious, and because often engaged in wars among themselves, they are very fearful and timid. But with mild and proper treatment, and especially with intercourse with Christians, their people might be civilized and brought under better regulation; particularly if a sober and discreet population were brought over, and good order preserved. They are, besides, very serviceable, and allow themselves to be employed in many ways for a small compensation. . . .”

De Laet did not feel that they were less adaptable than the South American Indians whom the Dutch were then using under a forced-labour system in South America !¹

Gookin, a very temperate observer, concluded of the Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island, that, although they consistently refused Christianity, they were "an active, laborious, and ingenious people, which is demonstrated by the labours that they do for the English; of whom more are employed, especially in making stone fences and many other hard labours, than of any other Indian peoples or neighbours".²

Roger Williams and the Quakers had established a colony in Rhode Island which always lived amicably with the Indians; consequently we find the local Indians more inclined to laborious employments among the whites.

In early colonial days abundant further evidence indicates that the Indians as wage labourers were quite usable and tractable. Their labour was desired by the European settlers. So much so, in fact, that when the Indians for one reason or another might not wish employment, their labour was acquired by subterfuge. A group of Indians would be persuaded to contract, say, to build a stone fence, for a certain sum and within a certain time. If they became reluctant to go through with their task, if, perhaps they found out that they had contracted for too small a price, they were forced by legal process to go on with their work and in some such cases they were put to the lash and forced to work at the end of a whip !³

The Indian was a ready borrower, and easily fell into a debtor's servitude. In New England in particular, they were frequently fined heavily for slight offences against the English law and then used for public works, being made to work off their fine. Even Indians under English control, for merely breaking the Puritan Sunday laws, were taken by the state for their crime, and let out as indentured servants or sold abroad as slaves.

"On one occasion Boston was building a fort on an island in the harbour. Wages were high and economy was desir-

¹ De Laet, p. 50.

² Gookin, p. 219 (1694); this was years after King Philip's War.

³ Lauber, p. 293.

able. The General Court therefore ordered that for drunkenness Indians should not be whipped in the future, but sent to the island to work for ten days. The Indians protested and preferred whipping as punishment, but their complaint received no attention. To retain their services for a time longer than that specified, in the service of the court, the whites were accustomed on the ninth day to furnish the Indians with rum and get them drunk so that they must remain ten days longer. Many were kept for about three months. At one time there were several hundred working on the island."¹

Many Indian children were apprenticed to whites, and, as we are not surprised to learn, usually ill-treated. Gookin recommended more extensive use of such apprentices, "because [indentured] servants are scarce in New England".²

An example of indiscretions which checked the use of free native labour among the early colonists may be taken from Long Island where chiefly English were settled. In 1659 an English settler, following the general practice, employed a group of Indians from the surrounding native tribal villages, and put them to husking corn. At the end of their period of labour they were *given part of their wages in bottles of brandy*, at their own request; this despite the fact that it was illegal to give or sell liquor to the Indians. Naturally the Indians immediately got drunk, without going home to their own village, and celebrated by shooting off their firearms, *also illegally sold to them*. Then the Indian labourers slept.

The surrounding settlers, angry at the disorderliness of these Indians, assembled and deliberately planned to murder them all while they slept. The settlers killed some; others escaped. It is clear that because for a decade or so in this region there had been no trouble with the Indians the settlers thought they could without danger give the Indians a "lesson" whenever and in whatever extra-legal and brutal way they chose. But the result was a war with the independent tribes in which the toll of lives and the destruction of property on both sides was enormous in proportion to the meagre resources of settler and native alike. The leader of

¹ Lauber.

² Gookin, p. 219; compare Lauber, p. 293; and above, p. 301.

the group of farmers who had shot the sleeping Indians was captured by the relatives of the slain Indians and burnt at the stake—another Indian atrocity !

Had the Indians been politically assimilated, there would have been merely a few murders and then legal proceedings and a few salutary hangings. The previous Indian war in the same general region was instigated in similarly stupid fashion after years of peace, quiet, and security, by a stupid boor. In 1655 a Long Island Dutch farmer, Van Dyck, saw an Indian woman stealing peaches from his orchard, and, to give the natives a "lesson", shot her. Her relatives took revenge by shooting him, in approved Indian fashion, and the war was on, with its deaths and destruction of property.¹

As Indian wars, almost incessant in early colonial history, made the settlers fear and distrust all Indians, and hate them because of the burning at the stake and other practices of war which they did not understand or sympathize with, the various colonies officially discouraged the employment of Indians in the neighbourhood of white settlements. As early as 1655, for instance, Virginia ordered, among other things concerning defence against the Indians who although then at peace were thought to be treacherous, that: "No one may harbour, entertain, or *employ* any Indian."²

The auspicious beginnings of the employment of free labour in the early colonies were thus soon nipped in the bud. There was to be no further revival of such until the Far West was reached. In Nevada, Arizona, California, and British Columbia, especially in the last-named colony, the Indians were used somewhat and continue to be so used to-day as free wage labour on farms, ranches, and in the mines and fisheries. But the diseases they acquired among the frontiersmen gradually worked them more harm than the employment worked them good.³

¹ Ruttenber, p. 133.

² *Laws . . . Indians.*

³ They even made good agricultural labourers in the Northwest where the Indians in pre-European days had never known agriculture as had those of the eastern woodlands. On free wage labour of Indians to-day in Arizona and neighbouring states see the current Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The facts concerning the early Atlantic Coast colonies indicate that inasmuch as the Indians remained apart as independent political communities with their own laws, retaining their customs of blood revenge, extensive and continued employment of them by the settlers was impracticable. The facts observable on the Pacific Coast make it plain that a forced-labour system, not free labour, is the thing needed for backward peoples. Forced-labour systems make possible the protection of the natives under some paternal scheme during the period when they are learning to accommodate themselves to a new economic and social environment.

INDIAN LABOUR ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FRONTIER

The Indian was left to his own resources; he was kept out in the official "Indian Country" where he could work out his own salvation.

Let us see what happened to native labour in the native communities as a result of European contacts. European technology, in the first place, influenced the native technology appreciably, with consequent modification in the natives' employment of their own labour in their own interest. There was some assimilation of European agricultural methods, which would have worked out satisfactorily if the Indians had not constantly had their farms, cattle, and orchards destroyed in the course of the constant wars in which they were involved. The introduction of the horse into the economy of the Plains Indians, however, was very unfortunate in its effects. It made the Indians mobile, took them out into the plains for buffalo, horse-stealing, and war; it made them restless, proud, and less agricultural than before.

The worst influence on the native economy, however, was that of the fur trade. Nearly all the considerable tribes in North America were destined to feel its effects, and these effects lasted as long as the fur supply was available. Because of the fur trade the energies of the adult males were largely taken up with seeking the furs and skins desired by the traders, in exchange for which the Indians received the firearms and ammunition which they used in the hunt and

in war, and the variety of products of European industry which they desired to consume in their villages. Indirectly, therefore, free Indian labour was of immense economic value to the European settlements; but this indirect use of the native labour was of great injury to the native. It inhibited his settling down to Europeanized agricultural living. It was one of the principal causes for the dissemination of alcohol and firearms among the Indians, and of the diseases which the traders carried with them. As the supply of fur-bearing animals decreased with the progress of European settlements, the Indian villages decreased in size, for the various families had to scatter in order to roam in hunting over wider and wider fields.¹

The Indian of Spanish and Portuguese America was fortunate in that his country was not supplied with fur-bearing animals.

¹ The Indian was widely employed in the early colonies as a hunter for wages, not to get furs, but meat. For instance, for South Carolina in 1682 a settler writes that "all the considerable planters have an Indian hunter which they hire for less than *twenty shillings a year*, and one hunter will very well furnish a family of thirty people with as much venison and fowl as they can well eat". [(Wilson, in Swanton: *Early . . . Creeks*, p. 74. For the same in Virginia see John Smith: *General History*, Book 4, p. 324; and in North Carolina of 1709 see Lawson.)]

CHAPTER XXI

OTHER COMPULSORY INDIAN LABOUR: NORTH AND LATIN AMERICA COMPARED

"No harm, not even death, that I have inflicted upon them, has had so much weight on bringing them to obedience as the act of depriving them of their means of subsistence."—*The Spanish Conqueror of coastal Georgia*, 1592.

"And for my own pains in particular, I ask not anything but what I can produce from the proper labour of the savages."—*John Smith's Proposal*, 1622.

"WILD INDIANS"

IT has been very generally supposed that the North American Indian was a wild, untameable, warlike, ferocious, bloodthirsty savage compared with the Indians the Spanish had to deal with, and largely for this reason the English did not, would not, or could not, subject them politically and use them economically. The result has been the prevalent naïve historical interpretations of the differences between the history of Latin America and of North America, as found to-day in the histories and sociologies.

One prominent sociologist, for instance, thus explains the whole of frontier history: "The North American Indians, inasmuch as they had not emerged from the hunting stage, could not be enslaved; they were too 'wild'. So the English colonist slew them, drove them away, or bought them off, and put his own back to the labours of the fields." This overlooks the fact, of course, that the North American Indians of the East, met with by the early colonists, were predominantly dependent upon agriculture for their subsistence. This generalization is the most naïve which comes to mind at the moment, but there are many others equally curious.¹

As for the facts, note, for example, that the Apalachees

¹ Lauber's otherwise excellent monograph on slavery is vitiated by the same obsession; so is Wallis's otherwise excellent monograph on messianism. My citation above is from Ross: *South of Panama*.

reduced to mission civilization in northern Florida were racially and culturally the same as their Creek neighbours, who, petted by the Carolinians and furnished liquor and firearms, became such terrors to white and Indian alike. The missionized Indians generally in Florida were substantially the same racially and culturally, moreover, as the Virginian Indians.

Those Delawares who were reduced to mission peace and quiet by the Mennonites were the same as the Delawares who, embittered, drunken, and armed with firearms, massacred for years the outlying settlements of the Pennsylvania frontier.

The Hurons of the mission state in Canada were the same race, language, and culture, as the Iroquois of New York. And so on.

The ferocious Indian of the tales of the frontier read by schoolchildren, the Indian of the wooden statues of the fronts of old-time tobacco shops, the Indian of the reservation—these are beings who are not comparable to the primitive Indian with the bow and arrow who settled under the domination and exploitation of his native aristocracies and overlords, contentedly tilling his fields or spreading nets in the rivers, scouring the wilderness for roots and wild grains.

The Indian of later days, spoiled with an empty status of political independence and personal freedom, fed with rum, rotted with disease, supplied with guns and ammunition and steel scalping knives—this creature was a product of a misshapen Indian policy.

“TAME” INDIANS

The Indians of Latin America, conversely, widely enslaved, “commended”, and missionized as they were, were not the meek and servile children they are sometimes painted. They could, and often did, fight to the death, as did the North American Indians, when circumstances led to violence.

There is, for example, the epical war of the mission Indians of the Guarany (Paraguay) mission state. Whimsical adjustment of the Brazilian-Paraguayan boundary by Spain and Portugal left seven mission towns suddenly stuck in the Portuguese territory. Gold was thought to be present in the

mission lands. Seven mission villages with fourteen thousand Indians were ordered, in 1750, to move over the boundary into the Spanish territory; Spanish and Portuguese troops came to order the removal and the Jesuit Fathers were left nothing to do but to tell their Indians to obey.

The fourteen thousand Indians, equipped with virtually nothing but bows and arrows, fighting well-armed Spaniards and Portuguese, refused to leave their homes. They disobeyed the orders of Church and State. For eight long years they held their ground, and then, no gold appearing, another change of boundary was made (1761). The seven towns were again Spanish in territory. No removal was necessary, and peace was made.¹

Consider also how heroically the Quichua and Aymara Indians of Peru in the middle eighteenth century struggled to restore the Incaic royal family and drive out the Spaniards.

Another example. A few years ago (1910) a distinguished Americanist, thinking of the Guaranis in terms of mission life, was surprised to find that the whites of the southern part of the state of Sao Paulo of Brazil were being constantly disturbed by the murdering and burning of isolated farm houses by Guarani Indians (the Bugres). He says: "What has altered them so entirely from the original Guaranis of the time of the conquest who were so easily subdued it is hard to conjecture," and notes that "all efforts to civilize them have been abortive".² I think the distinguished author has overlooked the fact that about the year 1848 a large section of these untameable savages had been tamed. Readmitted to Portuguese territory, the Jesuits in that year began missionary activities among these never-before missionized Guarani Bugres and found them as easily missionized as were their cousins in 1648 and 1748. But as soon as the unarmed missionaries pacified the Indians, then the frontiersman, no longer in fear, persecuted both Indian and Jesuit, ruined the missions, drove out the Jesuits, and saw the Indians become wild and "untameable" again, with the results noted above.³

¹ Cunninghame Graham; Pastels; Ennis. Father Ennis, who was probably an Irishman, was the only one to remain with the Indians during their eight years of outlawry.

² Graham: *Arcadia*.

³ Pastels.

THE SPANISH SYSTEM COULD HAVE BEEN APPLIED
IN NORTH AMERICA

As a matter of fact there can be no reasonable doubt at all that the Indians of Virginia and other parts of North America could have been subjected to a forced-labour plan such as that of the Spanish *encomienda*, and quite as easily as were the Indians of Latin America. A consideration of the entire situation in Virginia prior to 1622 makes it clear that concerted military action under sound and determined direction could in short order have conquered the Virginia Indian tribes and submitted them to some system of compulsory training or labour.

Pedro de Aviles' achievements in Florida of some fifty years later could have been duplicated,¹ and the problem would probably have been simple in Virginia, for Powhatan's tribes were hedged in by native enemies on all sides and the tribes of the Virginia piedmont behind would have made ready allies for the colonists.

These American natives could not exist without their corn and vegetable plantations. A small force of armoured men with firearms could easily have occupied the chief villages and taken over the fields just before harvesting time, and destroyed the lesser villages and their fields, much after the fashion of the occupation of the Falls village and of Nansemond. The native masses were trained in subjection to their own kings and aristocracy and a large section of the tribes were not willing subjects of Powhatan, having been subjected by force, brutally applied.²

Of all plans for coercion of the natives, that which aimed at their agricultural food supply would certainly be of prime value, for so dependent were the eastern woodlands Indians upon their corn, beans, pease and other vegetables that they were quickly reduced to hunger and starvation when the supply was cut off. The Indians knew that if they could not plant when planting time came they would die off from hunger during the ensuing year, and always were glad of peace as planting time approached. No blow could so hurt as the discovery and destruction of their granaries.³

¹ On Aviles see above, pp. 104-105.

² Compare above, pp. 19, 175, 181.

³ Compare, on the peace-making dates after Indian wars, below, pp. 492-493.

These things the Spaniards understood. For instance, there was the method of the Spanish conquerors of the coastal Georgia tribes. Shortly after 1565, Spanish Jesuits laboured in vain among these tribes. About 1587 the Franciscans took the fields. In 1597 the natives rose against the missionaries. The garrison of St. Augustine was called on for soldiers to "pacify" the Indians. The officer in charge burnt the principal towns including the granaries, and quickly most of the tribesmen were reduced to submission.

The governor of Florida, in ultimate charge of this expedition, wrote of the success: "No harm, not even death, that I have inflicted upon them, has had as much weight in bringing them to obedience as the act of depriving them of their means of subsistence." He had firearms while the Indians had not, so he did not find them willing to battle with him. A contemporary writes that "he was only able to burn the cornfields, because the aggressors retired to the marshes and to the highlands, which prevented him from punishing them, except with the famine which followed immediately upon the burning of their harvests, of which many died". Fleeing remnants of irreconcilable groups kept up the war with the help of allies as far north as what is now North Carolina, for five years (until 1602), when all finally submitted to the governor and the missionaries.¹

THE OPINION AND PLAN OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF VIRGINIA, 1612

Before meeting with the discussions of Strachey and John Smith on this point, I had been forced to the conclusion that forced labour could have been imposed on the Virginia Indians, for instance, had those in direction of the Virginia colony seriously decided to force them. That they, writing of the Virginia they knew so well in 1612 and 1622 respectively, also affirm this, only makes me feel the more satisfied that my conclusion, based on comparative study, is sound.

Strachey was the first secretary of the Virginia colony. I value his opinions less than I do John Smith's, but they are, none the less, even more interesting in a number of ways. I will condense them for the perusal of the reader who wishes

¹ Original documents in Swanton: *Creeks*, 1924.

to savour their quaintness, and then give more attention to John Smith's plan.

Strachey was convinced of the practicability of putting the Indians under the English yoke. He was a great admirer of the Spanish colonial methods. He was trying to justify these methods in the eyes of certain people back in England who "declare it unlawful, and an unnatural business, and to God displeasing" to conquer and expropriate the Indians. Strachey tried to prove (1) that it would not be harmful to the natives, in fact it would redound to their benefit, to be subjected to the English by the methods used by Spain; (2) that it would not be out of accord with Christian ethics. He wanted that the English should (1) gather together all of the native priests and shamans and massacre them (!), since, being hostile to Christian belief and European culture and fearing to lose their prestige among the natives, they fomented hostility against the innovations coming from Europe; (2) get in touch with the Siouxi tribes of the Virginia piedmont and other tribes surrounding Powhatan, make alliance with them, and use these enemy tribes in coercing the Powhatan group of tribes with whom in 1612 the English were almost solely concerned; (3) stir up tribes such as the Chickahomines and the Nansamund within the Powhatan area who, given support, might aid in breaking the power of the Powhatan group.

He suggested that Powhatan and his under-kings first be given the choice of becoming feudal lords under the English Crown over their old subjects. But he anticipated that the native nobles would refuse this offer. Upon the anticipated refusal, then, he argued, appeal should be made to the under-kings and lesser chiefs to submit to the English and throw off Powhatan's sovereignty, *pointing out to them that the tribute required of them by the King of England would at the worst be much less than that extorted from them by Powhatan*; promising these under-lords that they would be made feudal nobles under the Crown, given an English title to their lands "as free burghers and citizens with the English, and subjects of King James . . .", *and that the Indian commoners under their control would be given work for wages in English plantations*, from which they might take toll. This plea, made over Powhatan's head, Strachey believed would succeed,

resulting in tribute for the colony instead of for Powhatan and an abundant labour supply. The matter of the economy of peace rather than war Strachey did not enter into.¹ Strachey wrote ten years before the first wars which broke out in 1622. In his day the Indians had not yet got a supply of firearms.

JOHN SMITH'S PLAN, 1622

Smith was, unlike Strachey, not a man of the pen so much as he was a practical promoter and soldier. When he wrote, the Indian war of 1622 had fallen on the colony. Smith emphasized the fact that it was the acquisition of firearms by the Indians which made them actually formidable.

From the beginning of the Virginia settlement in 1607, the Spanish aversion to Indians learning the use of firearms was appreciated, and it had been forbidden on pain of death to teach the Indians the use of firearms or to sell them firearms, powder, or shot. In 1619 the death penalty was again affirmed for infringement of the law and, even, for visiting an Indian village without express permission from the colonial authorities. The law appears to have been consistently broken, and the colonists, employing Indians as hunters, furnished them arms and taught them their use.² Much of the impression that the North American Indian was terrible and wild as compared with the Indian in Latin America is due to the fact that it was the former who was permitted to acquire and learn the use of firearms.³

After dealing with the firearms question, Smith pointed out that in his attack on the villages of the little empire of Powhatan he could enlist the aid of the insubordinate tribes of that empire and, especially, of Powhatan's enemies below

¹ Strachey, Preface and Chapter 7. He borrows much concerning moral or religious justification from a tract of 1583 by Sir George Peckham entitled "*True Report of the Late Discoveries and Possession Taken in the Right of the Crown of England of the New-found-landes, by that Valiant and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert*". On Sir Walter Raleigh's opinions, see above, p. 72, n. 1.

² Smith in his proposal points out that he was the first to prescribe the death penalty for infringement of the firearms order, when he was president of the colony, but that other authorities since then had been so lax as even to permit the repairing of the firearms possessed by the natives. For comparative data on the Latin and other Indians see the Index to this book, under "Firearms".

³ Compare Appendix V.

and above him and to his rear. (Later, of course, these allies could then be subjected with the use of already subdued Indians, after the Spanish fashion.)

Smith then went into practical detail as to how he could operate if he were given charge of the subjection of the Virginia Indians. He was writing to the directors of the London Company in Virginia after the massacre of 1622, proposing that he be appointed to undertake the task, properly financed. All he asked was one hundred professional soldiers and thirty sailors, with ammunition and supplies for one year.

He emphasized the necessity for professional soldiers for a garrison, pointing out that the colonists themselves, even when numbering thousands, were rightly all too eager to go on with buying and selling, planting and shipping, and could not give too much time to arms lest their seed-time and harvest be missed. What was needed was what the Spaniards always had—a small command of professional soldiers permanently under arms, not interested in planting and harvesting, or merchandizing. With this aid he guaranteed that within one year he would either drive the Indians from Virginia or subjugate them.

He was confident of subjugation, for all he asked as his own reward was, nothing from the Virginia Company, but only the right to profit from the labour of the subjugated Indians forced to work for themselves and himself. In other words, that he have the Indians “commended” to him more or less after the Spanish fashion.

There was usually much dissension in the directorate of the Virginia Company at this time in particular. Some of the directors were eager to accept Smith's offer. *The majority replied that the working capital of the company was insufficient to finance even the small garrison Smith asked, and that the economic rack and ruin of the 1622 massacre had obviated the possibility of further interesting investors in the company.*¹

¹ John Smith: *General History*.

THE FINANCIAL DETERMINANTS OF THE INDIAN
POLICY

Throughout the formative period of the development of Indian policy in North America, such pecuniary caution inhibited the development of forced labour and made for the contrary policy we have described. To begin with, the Crown was unable itself to finance colonial promotions. It gave these over to business corporations. These business corporations sought immediate profits and dared not, or so they thought, as such corporations have thought throughout the history of finance, lay out more than a limited sum in "organization expense", that is, expense incurred in promoting a project and developing it to a point where profits on the investment would appear.

In North American promotions, "more than a limited sum" was very little. In the formative period of the early seventeenth century British, Dutch, French, and Swedish investors were lured by the wealth of the Far East, and by the rich plantations of sugar and tobacco already developed in Spanish and Portuguese America. Abundant capital was available for the East India Companies, and enormous profits came to these companies.

But North America promised little. The mines of silver and gold and the beds of pearls did not appear. Money sunk in North American enterprises often was a total loss and seldom yielded profits comparable with those derived from investment elsewhere. There were never any sudden and early profits to lead the cautious investor and entrepreneur to the courage necessary to "go in big". The subjugation of the Indians would require what was always considered too great an outlay for "organization expense". When Indian wars eventually arrived, the aim of all concerned was not to carry on till the Indians were subdued, but to stop the economic and financial loss as soon as possible.

We have already seen evidence of this. Consider again, for example, the Virginia Company's reply to Smith. The men who made the reply were big promoters and financiers, for the most part also heavily interested financially in West Indian promotions and in the profitable East India Company.

See the Dutch West India Company's situation and attitudes

in the New Netherlands! This was at a time when the company could find any amount of money for the immensely profitable task of poaching on the sugar plantation country of the Portuguese in northern Brazil, adopting there the Portuguese forced-labour system in handling the Indians.

We have noted that the Dutch West India Company, after the Indian devastation of 1643, kept open its office, as it were, on Manhattan, not with the expectation that it would not continue to lose money by doing so, but out of a sense of obligation to the Dutch colony there. But it apparently had no inclination to finance the colony's Indian wars.

When the Virginia Company, itself professedly unable and probably unwilling to help, upon the Indian devastation of Virginia in 1622 asked King James I to aid the Virginia colonists, he promised to aid, but did not.¹ Later, during the Indian devastations in the Carolinas from 1711 to 1715, the joint-stock company of six "proprietors" likewise appealed to the Crown and likewise got no assistance.²

In an interpretation of this development, the comparative study of development on the Celtic frontier is especially illuminative. On that frontier appears the same cautious hesitancy in finance.³

EFFECTS OF FORCED LABOUR AND THE LACK OF IT

Now, what of the effects of the forced-labour policy of Spain and Portugal, and of the lack of such forced labour in North America? To enable the reader more clearly to appreciate these effects, some additional words of interpretation of the Latin systems is recommended, inasmuch as these are often wrongly defined and explained by many historians. The reader may be interested to remember that the Philipinos were "Indios" or Indians to the Spaniards, and that it was the *encomienda* system which civilized them also.

¹ See Smith, Beverley.

² See the letter (and reply to the same) of the Carolina Proprietors to the Lords of Trade, July 8, 1715, during the Yamasee War, in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*.

³ See above, especially pp. 161-162.

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE SPANISH SYSTEM

The Spanish *encomienda* or *repartimiento* system, the evolution of which we have elsewhere followed, appears to have been an invention jointly of Columbus and Ovando, a system unique and without precedent. It is true that in the Spanish conquest of the then Moslem Balearic Islands (Majorca, etc.) in 1229 A.D. we hear of *repartimientos*.¹ But a *repartimiento* is merely a division of anything. In the Balearics the repartition may have been merely of lands, or of land and serfs. But the *repartimiento* of the Indians (and of the Philipinos) was a repartition only of labour gangs. So also the *administration* of Brazil, a variant of the *encomienda*, was a mere division of labourers. However comparable it may appear to be in its practical working out, it was not an introduction of feudalism from the Old World to the New.

When the Crown made grants of land in the Indies, the Indians were never included in the grant. When Indians were granted an *encomienda*, land was never included in the grant of the *encomienda*. This remains the fact, although, if the holder of a grant of land decided to become a resident rather than an absentee, he was almost invariably granted an *encomienda* also, of Indians in the vicinity.

Many *encomiendas* were held by absentee *encomenderos* who exploited the Indians on the Indians' own landed property. If these absentees decided to become residents of the Indies—as they did especially when their *encomiendas* were in a region in danger from the attacks of wild tribes—they were very generally given a grant of the land formerly held by the Indians.

Even when the same grantee was the recipient of both land and commended Indians, the two grants remained in marked contrast. The grantee's title to the land was transferable, vendable, absolute, permanent, and irrevocable. His title to the *encomienda*, however, merely gave him, and his eldest son, a claim on the labour of the Indians in return for their education and defence. This claim was, then,

¹ Merriam suggested this as a precedent. But we know nothing of what was repartitioned. See Merriam, v. 2, p. 232, n. 3. On the Balearic conquest see Quadrado, and further references in Merriam's excellently documented work.

impermanent and of brief duration; the grant of the *encomienda* might, moreover, be revoked at the will of the sovereign. The title to an *encomienda*, finally, could not be transferred, by sale, gift, or in any other way, by the original grantee and his eldest son, to any other persons.

Landowners were in possession of a perpetual source of income; *encomenderos* were in possession of a source of income which would dry up with the death of the eldest son of the grantee. When, in the last days of *encomienda* development, some *encomiendas* were granted for three lives, the grandson inherited the grant.¹

¹ Wright, p. 44 seq., gives the clearest and most adequate account of the facts of the *encomienda's* characteristics, based on an investigation of new materials in the archives. The whole subject, however, still awaits an exhaustive study of the archives. The *Recopilacion* is a very meagre source, after all. See also, Erb, p. 40 seq.; Lea; Helps, v. 1, p. 241 seq. Wright gives exact definitions of the legal terminology used in the *Recopilacion* which will be valuable to the interested student. For the distinction of grants of land and grants of *encomiendas*, in the *Recopilacion*, see particularly, Lib. 6, tit. 1, ley 30, 1547. To understand the laws in the *Recopilacion*, one should know something of minor forms of forced labour used by the Spaniards, forms frequently ignored in general writings on the Spanish conquests. *Yanaconas* were Indians of peculiar status, slaves, but slaves who might not be sold. They were Indians and their descendants who had resisted "commendation". In Paraguay they were known locally as *Indios ordinarios*. They lived in the house of the *encomendero* as house servants, commended Indians not being permitted to be used in such capacity. *Mitayos* were originally Indians who had not resisted Spanish domination, had not been commended or enslaved, nor exempted, as were the Tlascalans, from forced labour of any kind. They lived as freemen in their villages under their own chiefs, who became Spanish municipal officials in law. The *mita* (from which comes *mitayo*, one subject to the *mita*) was the service required from *mitayos*, something in the nature of the *corvee*. All *mitayos*, turn about, between the ages of 18 and 50 years of age were ordered to serve as wage labourers for two months in the year, in the mines usually, but also in the factories and stock-farms of the government and of private individuals (Herrera). On the abuse of the *mita* in both mines and workshops, and on the exploitation of the free villagers by the clergy and by agents see Juan and Ulloa. Abuses were flagrant in Peru, but in Mexico there were virtually none. The Indians of Mexico were, in the administration put over them by the Crown, from the days of Cortes, perhaps the most fortunate in all the Americas. On the *mita* see also Bourne, pp. 261-263; and on the abuse of it, the letter of the Viceroy of Peru himself to the King, circa 1670 (before Ulloa's day) in Pastel's compilation, v. 3, pp. 17-20. The viceroy was impotent so far as enforcing the laws went. (In Pastels at this point, note that in 1581 there were in Peru, 1,707,000 Indians, in 614 *encomiendas*, not counting Indians in free pueblos or towns subject merely to *mita*.)

EFFECTS: LATIN AMERICA

If one depended solely upon the narratives written by the monks in the Spanish New World, it would be necessary to conclude that the official forced-labour system was always destructive to the Indian. It is a fact, of course, as we have pointed out, that under the best possible Indian policy it was inevitable that the first attacks of smallpox and other epidemic European diseases should cause an initial decline in the native population.

The missionaries saw this decline, and, having Latin imaginations, made ridiculous estimates as to the original numbers of the indigenous populations, the decline appearing much more terrible than it really was. This decline they laid to the *encomienda* system even after it had been made a segregation system, failing to emphasize the fact that smallpox likewise worked terrible havoc among the native villages cared for by the missionaries.

The missionary writers of *historias*, *relaciones*, and such, I do not believe for one moment, consciously wrote down error or prevarications, much as they might feel that the end might justify the means. Probably their critical acumen was laid aside under the influence of their anger against the brutalities actually committed by *encomenderos* upon their Indians.

As a matter of fact, having outgrown the initial experimental period of maladministration in the West Indies before about 1544, the *encomienda* system, judged by its results, effected the preservation and the Europeanization of the Indians. The *encomienda*, with its segregation provisions, was comparable to both the mission settlements and the reservation. The Indian was segregated from contact with degrading aspects of European life which could be carried to him in the course of indiscriminate contacts with Europeans; but he was constrained to labour and learn under the guardianship of the *encomendero* and his aides. Removed from contact with vice, disease, and alcohol he was taught to labour. The thousand aboriginal independent political states were welded under the sovereignty of the Crown of Spain, and internecine war was ended, with its disruption of

economic life, its diffusion of disease, and its many deaths. In peace and quiet the native was able to live, increase, and learn.¹

EFFECTS: NORTH AMERICA

The North American native was destined to be less fortunate than the natives of Latin America, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and so on, where forced-labour schemes were introduced. He was not to receive a forced education, some measure of protection from an overdose of freedom, and absorption into the new scheme of things. Instead he was to be endowed with a vain and inglorious freedom, neglect, and eventual rejection and extinction!

The Europeans in North America, neglecting what there was of native labour, looked to the importation of negroes and of white debtor slaves or indentured servants for auxiliary labour. The broods of servants, as they became free, shifted out to the frontier to become petty farmers, dependent on their own labour. Protestant religious groups, many of them communistic, added to the many thousands of small farmers

¹ For a vivid picturization, with statistics, of Spanish accomplishments in the New World, in 1576, see Juan Lopez de Velasco: *Geographia*, 1576. No very complete study of the history of the forced-labour system of the Spaniards in America exists. Fabie and Erb are perhaps the best introduction to the subject from the legal point of view, and Jane is very valuable. Lea affords a clear outline of a sort. The *Recopilacion* is essential (with it consider Altamira, and Nuttall). Many writers have made the cardinal error of writing for the reader as if the *Recopilacion* was a legal code conceived and applied overnight, and thus have led to serious misunderstandings. The *Recopilacion* was compiled very late in the history of Spanish empire; it contains none of the very early regulations which we have been at pains to review. Wright: *Cuba*, has done much by digging deeply in the archives to clear up some moot points. The *Collecion de documentos* has abundant material for study. Solorzano Pereira is extremely valuable; book 6 of the Spanish edition of 1648 contains material on the royal *haciendas* not present in earlier editions. Helps is valuable in throwing light on the personalities involved in the above development. De Velasco is our nearest approach to a complete picture of economic America near the end of the sixteenth century, during the days when Sir Walter Raleigh was just turning the eyes of Englishmen away from Ireland to America, and a decade before the disastrous defeat of the Armada. Velasco's picture is of the days when the *encomienda* system was at last bringing forth its good fruit. See also Gage on the "West Indies", Central America, properly, for the economic situation (Gage was an Englishman). On the economics of Spain at home I again urge the reader to consult Klein, Haring and De Saco. Merriman serves excellently to display the European political background, and offers an outline which is well documented.

who were content to depend largely on their own labour for subsistence and too poor to buy servants or slaves.

These hordes of small farmers very effectively edged the Indian off the land and farther back into the woods away from close contact with European culture. He was a useless pariah who was kept isolated out in the "Indian Country". He was a "warrior", not a labourer, able to handle the scalping knife, but not the plough.

THE EFFECT ON RACE AND POPULATION IN THE AMERICAS

In the present state of historical investigation it is impractical to hazard a guess as to what was exactly the population of aboriginal or pre-Columbian Latin America.¹ One can, however, very conservatively say that, including persons who are of mixed blood yet dominantly Indian, in Mexico and Central America generally, in the Andean regions, and in Chile and Paraguay, there is at least as much (probably several times more) Indian blood as there was in pre-Columbian times.

The Indian, and mixed bloods more or less largely Indian, makes up from eighty to ninety per cent. or more of the populations of Mexico, the Isthmian republics, the republics of the Andean regions of western South America, and of Chile. In this last-named country it is only the numerically few land-owners and capitalists who are of European blood, the masses being mestizos in which Indian blood is dominant. (We leave out of account the few thousand surviving Araucanians or "wild" Indians.) In Paraguay and the adjacent semi-tropical areas of northern Argentina and southern Brazil the population is nearly one hundred per cent. Indian, largely full-blood. Spanish is the official language, but Guarani and Tupi are Indian languages spoken by the masses of the inhabitants.

When the economic possibilities of the Latin American regions are all fully realized, it is probable that the Indian will be present to well over the one or two hundred million mark.

This persistence of Indian blood in much of the Americas

¹ However, compare Sapper.

is all the more striking when we consider that the pre-Columbian populations of Latin America underwent an enormous decrease during the first century or so of contact with Europeans and their diseases and alcohol, just as did the North American Indians. The negroes introduced from Africa as slaves likewise suffered from smallpox and the other European diseases almost as badly as did the Indians of Latin America.¹

The evidence points, therefore, to the fact that, given an opportunity socially and economically, the Indian could survive the first attacks of the new diseases, develop a measure of immunity, show a substantial increase of births over deaths ("survival rate"), and increase in numbers up to the point where the introduction of European methods of production and exchange made it possible to sustain an increased population.

But in America north of Mexico where there were aboriginally in all likelihood somewhere near three million Indians, the Indian is as near extinction as is the bison. Out of the original three million there are to-day perhaps seventy-five thousand to one hundred thousand full-bloods, including the Eskimo. Of those in the United States designated officially in the census as Indian, a competent student estimates that one-half of them are, in inheritance or "blood", only one-quarter or less Indian.² In other words, while Mexico is about eighty per cent. Indian in race, and almost devoid of negro blood, the United States and Canada are only one-half per cent. Indian, and eleven and one-half per cent. negro!

The failure of the Indian, and of Indian policies, in North America, stands out more vividly when we consider what, very probably, could have been. Note that in 1763 when the French power in America was destroyed, Canada was ceded to England, and French immigration to the New

¹ On the negroes compare the discussion in Bourne: *Spain in America*, p. 276 seq., and data in Southey, v. 1, p. 471 seq., and v. 2, pp. 53, 552 (1666); Nieuhoff, p. 737; Johnston, p. 120 (for suicides of negro as well as of Indian slaves), and above, p. 123.

² A slight amount of Indian admixture has been experienced by the white and negro population in the United States and Canada, but this I think is virtually negligible as compared with the flow of white and negro blood into the official "Indians" of the reservations.

World was ended, there were only about eighty thousand French and persons of French extraction in Canada. To-day, only 165 years later, there are more than three million, an increase of 3,700 per cent. The French in France and her Old World colonies have, however, only doubled during this period, but in the Old World there was much less room for agricultural expansion, and but little industrial development. The increase of the "Pennsylvania German" population from 110,000 in 1730 to their present millions in Pennsylvania and other states is likewise of interesting comparability. The increase in negro population in our southern states has been slower but nearly as fast nevertheless as the increase of the white population.

Now, in 1763 the Indians in North America east of the Mississippi had survived the worst ravages of European diseases, numbered about the same population as the French, were rapidly adopting European agricultural methods, and apparently at about this time were increasing in population. They were largely full-bloods. A study of their social condition and history will scarcely admit of any other conclusion than that they would, if given peace and permanence in their homes, have multiplied to or beyond the million mark. But instead, they were ravaged by war, driven from their homes, forced sometimes beyond the Mississippi, and the Indian blood has virtually disappeared. The hundreds of thousands of the Indians of the West followed them as if by some legerdemain of destiny.

THE INFLUENCE OF INDUSTRIAL "BOOMS"

I would not contend that, had a forced-labour system for the Indians been employed in North America, North America would to-day be as largely Indian in blood as are, say, Mexico and Peru. What is contended is that there would be great sections of Indian population numbering certainly much more than the pre-Columbian three millions, perhaps more or less segregated as are the millions of French-speaking people in the province of Quebec and in Louisiana and of German-speaking people in Pennsylvania. The Indian labour force would have been an important one. Very probably,

even, in place of the fifteen million negroes we should have fifteen million Indians.

It were impossible to suggest more than this, because in our chapters on disease and on alcohol we have shown that the native population was destined to early decreases and, under the best condition thereafter, of but relatively slow increase for generations. The Indian would not have been able to supply all the labour required for the rapid development in some parts of the Americas which was precipitated by the rapidly improving technology of Europe, especially during the period referred to as the Industrial Revolution. For regions of slowly evolving economy such as Peru and Mexico he was adequate. But coal and iron in the United States, and the wheat, coffee and cattle lands of Canada, southern Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentine, which underwent "booms" as a result of the industrial revolution and the increased importation of food on the part of industrialized communities, were bound to call for European immigrants on a large scale, especially when transportation improvements had made shipment of labour very cheap.

THE RESURGENCE OF FRONTIERS AND THE FUTURE: MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

Finally, there is an interesting possibility to be noted. The industrial revolution is still in full swing. And despite the use of labour-saving machinery, there is a demand in the United States for more labour than the increase in the native population furnishes. The restrictions on immigration from Europe and Asia have the effect of stimulating immigration from Mexico. It is estimated that there are in the United States to-day (1927) two million immigrants from Mexico. They are increasing in numbers. This increasing population is of the working class Mexican population and virtually wholly of Indian blood. It has picturesquely and not altogether inappropriately been referred to as the "dark Aztec streak" in the population of the United States.

The same sort of thing is happening on "the Celtic frontier" which we have found so comparable to the American Indian frontier. From Catholic rural Ireland for some years there

has been emigration to industrial Scotland. To-day (1927) this is so considerable that one-fifth of the births in Scotland are now children born of Irish Catholic parents. The Irish emigration to England is likewise heavy. The future, then, may present very significant changes resulting from this racial resurge of both Celtic and Indian frontiers.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MISSION SYSTEM, AND THE FAILURE IN NORTH AMERICA

"Not content with the wool which they shear from their sheep, they suck the blood from their veins and the life from their souls."—*Parochial Shepherds in Paraguay, 1724.*¹

"He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one. And when the sap is in the wood his hands itch and he wants to fight whomever he meets."—*Megapolensis on the Swedish Shepherd on the Delaware, 1682.*

THE system of the Catholic missions in America was a system of forced labour. So was chattel slavery. Neither chattel slavery nor the mission system had anything like the influence on the development of the frontier as that exerted by the *encomienda* system, but both are sufficiently important historically to deserve full consideration. In our earlier chapter we summarized the history of the greater Catholic missions on the frontier. Here we shall study them as a plan of economic organization, and conclude with a consideration of the contrast offered by the lack of serious mission enterprise in Protestant North America.

MISSION OPPORTUNISM

Protestant missionaries, such as the Dutch Megapolensis, have been scathing in their denunciation of the methods of the Latin missionaries. The Latin missionaries never hesitated to win over the Indians by keeping the old pagan ceremonials and, by adaptation and remodelling, making them serve as a part of the Christian ceremonial. The great hunting festival of the Kootenay Indians of our own Northwest, for example, was made a harmless part of the Christmas

¹ A letter regarding the baseness of some secular clergy, supported by much data; printed in *Pastels*, v. 1, pp. 293, 360; compare *Salas*. The monks and the secular clergy were ever at odds; and good and bad monastic orders likewise quarrelled. As in Latin America to-day, there were in former days both good and evil shepherds. (Compare *Walle*; and *Cunninghame Graham* on the Franciscan Bishop *Cardenas* in *Paraguay*; and above, p. 82.)

celebration.¹ These critics forget that Europe was Christianized in the same way. In fact the whole growth of Christian doctrine and ritual has exhibited some adaptation and reinterpretation of things pagan. Our Easter and Christmas celebrations, for instance, afford various examples of absorption and adaptation.

The Latin missionaries were not joyless utilitarians. Neither did they stand much on their dignity as divines as did their bibliolatrous rivals. The Jesuits in Brazil, like Andrews among the Mohawks, met the fact of cannibalism. One Jesuit succeeded in getting it abolished by the Indians of one tribe "by going through their villages and flogging himself before their doors until he was covered with blood; telling them that he thus tormented himself to avert the punishment which God would otherwise inflict upon them for their crying sin". Rather than see their friend suffer thus the Indians were persuaded to give up their cannibalistic practice. The Jesuit Aspilcueta, "when he became sufficiently master of the language to express himself in it with fluency and power", adopted the recitative chanting manner of the medicine men or shamans "and sang out the mysteries of the faith, running around his auditors, stamping his feet, clapping his hands" and copying all the curious tones and gesticulations which the shamans used.²

MISSION SOLDIERY

The Latin missionaries never deliberately sought martyrdom, although they faced it fearlessly when necessary. But they have been criticized because they used soldiery in their mission work. Let us note the significance of this military aspect of the policy.

Each mission organization in its initial stages supported a body of Spanish soldiers at its own expense. These soldiers were used for defence and defence only; largely for the defence of the Indians of the missions against the wild tribes. In

¹ Compare Chamberlain: *Kutenai*; and Browne, p. 240.

² Southey, v. 1, pp. 264-265. The very sensible surveyor and historian of Carolina, John Lawson, in 1709 advocated not only more racial intermarriage, but also the adaptation of the Christian mission to Indian understanding and needs after the Catholic fashion; see especially pp. 90-91, above.

employing their own defensive force the missionaries had the opportunity of selecting as soldiers and captains only the better type of available men who were without disease. In fact, the type of soldiers the missionaries themselves selected and commanded became equally imbued with the mission spirit and purpose and frequently consented to serve without pay when the missions had no money to pay them.¹

The mission soldiery became a native militia in the Paraguay missions and others where the mission Indians were at last brought to the point of development where they no longer needed Spanish support, and Spanish soldiers were then dispensed with.²

In California, however, before this point could be reached and while European soldiers were still needed, chiefly for defence of the missions from the wild tribes, the presidios and their forces were taken from the control of the missionaries (1822) although the missions were still chargeable with their support. The most degraded types of men were then sent as privates and officers, rotten with disease. Almost immediately after this change (1824) the result was a revolt by the mission Indians, directed not so much against the missionaries as against the exactions and brutality of the soldiers.³

The soldiery, Spanish or native as the case might be in different stages of mission development, were used first of all as guards for missionaries in their embassies to wild tribes to plead with them to come in to the missions and settle down under the control of the missionaries. Back in the missions the soldiers were used not only for defence against attacks of wild tribes, but as police to keep order and to prevent the running away of any mission Indian who should change his mind about remaining under the authority of the mission and might wish to leave for the wilderness; for in mission practice once any Indians accepted the mission life they accepted the supreme authority of the Spanish Crown and the immediate jurisdiction of the mission government. They could not renounce their citizenship and its obligations.

¹ Compare Engelhardt, v. 1, pp. 39-42, 87, 112, and 144 seq.

² See Graham.

³ On the revolt of the Indians and other troubles with the soldiers see Engelhardt, v. 3, pp. 31-40, 66, 81, 190 seq., 339.

If they ran away for one or another reason, soldiers were sent to hunt them out and bring them back.

All in all the Latin missionaries were realists, seeking only the surest means to a given end. They could not afford to be humanitarian to the point of silliness out on the edge of the wild frontiers they settled, and in the midst of the many enviroing dangers to the life and organization of their missions. They were never squeamish about using their soldiers in defence, nor about ordering them to flog a law-breaker such as a returned runaway.¹ One missionary in Lower California was sent back to Mexico in 1747 because "unfortunately his extreme delicacy of conscience developed into undue scrupulousness, possibly the result of overwork or the loss of sleep. . . ."²

Nevertheless they were, in fact, always essentially gentle and humane.³ For instance, in 1697 wild Indians attacked a recently established mission. Father Salvatierra, who was in charge, forbade the soldiers to shoot until they were absolutely forced to to save their lives, "so that none may die without baptism and so go to perdition". In the attack he risked his own life, weaponless. He forbade the soldiers to follow or punish the wild Indians when they retreated. Salvatierra's show both of force and of humanity soon won over this wild tribe to accept mission life.⁴

The unfortunate thing in this connection is that the Latin missions were not better equipped to return bullets for bullets. Had the Huron mission about the year 1649 been adequately armed or supported by a French force they could have been saved from the Iroquois. Had the Florida mission militia been armed with firearms or supported by a few hundred more Spanish soldiers, they could well have been saved from destruction by the Creeks and English.⁵

¹ On flogging, etc., see Engelhardt, v. 1, pp. 201, 267, 425, and v. 3, pp. 25, 31, 34-35.

² *Ibid.*, v. 1, 243.

³ The realism of these scholarly and adventurous men never descended to the blatant vulgarity which could coin such phrases as "Trust in God and keep your powder dry".

⁴ Engelhardt, v. 1, p. 80 (1697); see also Chapters 11 and 12 on the dangerous rivalry of native medicine men; and pp. 126, 257. Compare also in *ibid.*, pp. 92, 108, 112, 201, 269.

⁵ Interesting to note are the facts that in 1821 and 1840 respectively the Rev. Jedikiah Morse in his thorough report to the President of the United States, and Lord John Russell, British Prime Minister, in a letter

MISSION ORGANIZATION

In the missions the native political organization was retained, modified somewhat in form to conform to Spanish models. The native chiefs became municipal officers.¹ The missionaries were the supreme municipal authorities with power to check the activity of the native officers, but this was designed to be temporary, as it was expected that eventually the mission villages would become free municipalities without missionary censorship.

The economic organization of the missions was communistic. For this especially have the missions been severely criticized. I am in full agreement with the critics who point out that communism is, normally, spiritually and economically evil, but I feel that they are in error in condemning it in the missions. They generally overlook the fact that the missionaries did not make use of the communist organization save as a temporary expedient which would be brought to an end when the mission Indians were ready to take their place in the Spanish organization as citizens of a free municipality (*pueblo*).²

This communistic organization was not a feature of native Indian life. It may have originated in the missionaries' imitation of the communism of the early Christian Church, or in imitation of the communism of monastic organization. It was designed as an educational expedient. Missionaries

to the Governor of the State of New South Wales in Australia, advocated the armed mission scheme of the Catholic missions for the North American Plains tribes and the Australian aborigines respectively. Probably neither of these men knew anything or much of the Catholic mission methods and offered their propositions as independently evolved solutions for similar problems, being well acquainted with the needs of the situations. Russell advocated double pay for soldiers attached to mission stations as an inducement to particularly good behaviour on their part, anticipating their desire to retain such good jobs.

¹ On royal regulations concerning native self-government in Pueblos and missions see the *Recopilacion*, lib. 6, tit. 2, ley 3; tit. e, ley 15; and the whole of tit. 7. The missionary to the Abipones (the German Dobrizhoffer) writes that the Indian chiefs "are often promoted to the office of magistrates that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility". Such was in part the motivation of the laws referred to above. (Dobrizhoffer, pp. 108-109.)

² In measuring the achievement of the missionaries one must take into account the many tens of thousands of Indians gradually graduated from the mission (*reduccion*) to the pueblo (town) stage.

were too few for the task of quickly converting all the wild Indians, so economy of effort was necessary. Only two missionaries could be spared for each missionary village, and sometimes only one.¹ The educational work piled on the shoulders of each missionary was enormous. The communist organization facilitated his work. It made control simpler.

For instance, at the age of four or five years all boys were placed in charge of two or more native officials of the commune who called them together every morning from their families for their day's work, religion. A municipal committee, acting as vocational directors, decided what trade each boy should follow. The girls were likewise organized. The missionaries, of course, were chairmen of every native committee, directing its activities. The labour of children and adults was communal, done more or less in labour gangs, and so was easily supervised by native committees under the direction of the missionaries. All land—agricultural, grazing, and orchard—and all agricultural and industrial equipment such as winepresses, ploughs, etc., and all animal stock—in fact all capital and all products were the property of the commune.² In the early stages of their training in European economic ways it was impractical to give these things as private property. The Indians had to be taught properly to value them and care for them.³

In the California missions the more capable individuals, however, were already being permitted to work independently with certain acres and certain herds, free from communal supervision, and as an incentive to increase their production, were allowed to hold for themselves the product of their labour. This move was being prepared for in other missions.⁴

¹ On this shortage see Pastels, v. 3, pp. 54-60 (1673), letter of Fr. Izquierda. At this date only missionaries of Spanish birth were allowed in Spanish America; later, Germans and others were admitted. In 1673 there were only forty missionaries in Paraguay, and sixty in California, New Mexico and Mexico. Yet they accomplished so much!

² See Fernandez: *Organisacion sociale*; and, for the Brazilian mission not here historically viewed in detail, Southey, v. 2, Chapter 24: *Mission Org.*

³ Compare Walle, p. 142; Cunningham Graham, p. 42, n. 3; Engelhardt, v. 1, pp. 317, 325, 371-372; v. 3, p. 340.

⁴ On California see the letter of Father Duran, 1830, in Engelhardt, v. 3, p. 340; compare v. 1, pp. 136-138. Duran notes that those who are allowed to work for themselves work harder. On Paraguay see Pastels, v. 1, pp. 383-388, 541-543; and Moses: *Establishment*, p. 230.

In many missions in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, this stage had been passed; the Indians, at last being taught to labour and preserve their capital and land, were allotted their shares of the communal property, and the missionary tutors moved on to new fields.¹

BIASED CRITICS

Much of the contemporary criticism of the missions and their policy came from persons and organizations who were greedy to exploit either the lands and property of the missions or the labour of the mission Indians. During the eighteenth century the agitation for "liberty" in the missions was actuated by such greedy motives. Once the Indians, while still only half-civilized, could be made free of missionary control and given as private property their share of lands and implements, it was then easy, by getting them drunk, to have them sell their all; "the astuteness and sagacity of the Spaniards would triumph easily over their rusticity".²

Eighteenth-century rationalists and anti-clericals, very learned doctors of philosophy, whose biases got the better of their common sense and practicality, furnished slogans which greedy colonials could use to their own less disinterested purposes.³ Some varieties of learned doctrinaires affected, like Rousseau, the idea that the primitive savage lived a noble and free life and that the missionaries substituted forced labour and all sorts of horrible coercion for this. Thus the Venezuelan sociologist Salas has recently compared the mission Indians with the "savages who wander in the forest,

The California Indians working "for themselves" worked of course under the limitations described above in the text. And Father Duran warns that the allotment of land in fee simple would mean that many recent converts would sell out and return with their profits to their wild relatives in the mountains.

¹ Humboldt. It is quite conceivable that the Jesuits may have dreamed of permanently reestablishing the communism of primitive Christianity; but if they did they never, so far as I know, put such thoughts into words, and their acts seem to indicate that this was not their plan.

² Bucarelli, in Cunningham Graham, p. 278 (1765); see also *ibid.*, pp. 274-275; and Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, pp. 206-210. The myth of King Nicolas is especially interesting.

³ Compare Graham, pp. 203, 283. As this author observes, the slogan "liberty" was used as a stalking horse by political thieves and enemies of Indian welfare, "as greasy testaments are used to swear upon in police courts" (p. 203).

free lords of the soil which they tread and of the elements which were afforded them by the prodigality of American nature", and so on after the usual fashion.¹

Historians like Bancroft and his followers were actuated not only by an anti-clerical bias, but also by a Protestant attitude toward beauty which affected to see in the daily round of religious ritual in the missions something which was a loss. Blackmar, for example, has recently written concerning the California mission Indian that "Under the discipline of the missions he must undergo a ceaseless round of religious, social and industrial duties, which must have been severe indeed to one that had been accustomed to freedom and had never toiled except by accident". (Ghost of Rousseau!) "Much attention was given to religious affairs; and frequently, if we may credit the reports of the explorers, the temporal needs of the natives, who lived in a condition little removed from their original one, were sacrificed for the sake of religious and ceremonial practices." He cited Mofras, who said that the Franciscans hoarded the products of mission labour in order to provide for the embellishments of the churches, and himself remarks that "it is evident that much more might have been done to relieve the temporal condition of the natives, and, consequently, to improve their spiritual condition". "In fact, they were becoming less and less prepared to maintain an independence in contact with a superior race." And again, of the religious life, he observes: "This is the worst feature of the whole system, that their zeal for the prayers and rites of the Church far outran their interest in the temporal welfare of the natives. It has been fully demonstrated by experience that the surest development of Christianity rests upon economic advancement; and that Christian teaching, which is not backed by permanent social and industrial improvements will prove evanescent."²

This sort of biased and uncritical nonsense is too typical to have been passed over with at least one citation. Such critics should read a few good monographs on the economic life of typical wild tribes of California—and such were avail-

¹ Salas, p. 71.

² Blackmar: *Spanish Institutions*, Chapter 6, pp. 122, 131. On criticism of the missions see Voltaire, Mofras, and others cited in Moses.

able in Blackmar's day.¹ They would see that the aboriginal Californian had a life full of what Mooney calls the "infinite forms of cruelty, brutishness, and filthiness which belonged to savagery from Florida to Alaska",² and that to exist they had to undergo a ceaseless round of unremitting labour.

The economic statistics³ which I have already given are enough to show the ridiculousness of the claim that the mission Indians were not economically infinitely advanced beyond the wild state; or that the missionaries sacrificed temporal needs to spiritual ones. As for the ceaseless round of ritual referred to, it consisted merely in attendance daily on the morning, noon and evening services, and at the celebration of the eucharist: a round of service followed by hundreds of millions of civilized people and not nearly so arduous, stupefying, and unbeautiful as the ceaseless round of dull vaudeville, musical comedy, motion pictures, radio (one's own or neighbours'), luncheons, useless conferences, card parties, and the manifold other so-called amusements, entertainments and social affairs which aim to fill, in the life of the modern religiously free American men and women, the gap left by the absence of anything beautiful in their domestic and spiritual life. We ourselves are beginning to appreciate the deficiencies of our own lives of alternating dullness and compensatory jazz. The day may come when we shall see that in emphasizing the play of beautiful architecture in churches and beautiful ritual in the daily round of life, the California missionaries had the key to the antidote for nervous strain and moral decay.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY NOTE

We can see in retrospect, now, that the mission policy was devised to compete with the official forced-labour policy expressed in the *encomienda* and the *administracoens*. It borrowed many of the features of the official forced-labour policy. For one thing, it borrowed the segregation idea,

¹ See Powers, 1869; Godard Dixon, Kroeber, etc. Kroeber gives an exhaustive bibliography up to the year 1925.

² Mooney, article on missions in *Handbook . . . North American Indians*. Compare Father Duran's letter cited above, p. 337, n. 4; and scenes in Dickenson's *Protecting Providence*.

³ See above, pp. 112, 115.

preventing intimate contacts between the Indians and any Europeans except their tutors. These tutors, in the case of the official policy, were their taskmasters or *encomenderos*. In the missions they were the missionaries. In the *encomienda* the Indian was forcibly obliged to accept European tutelage. In the *administracoens* and the missions he was merely persuaded to accept the settled life.¹ But once accepting life in an *administracoen* or mission the Indian was then, under the Crown, obliged to obey the orders of his tutors.

The mission Indian was forced to labour in that he could not refuse to obey the order of the mission authorities given at dawn each morning to go out in the fields or shops and to the herds and do the tasks allotted to him. Moreover, in the missions, as in the *encomienda*, labour was by gangs, under the direction of overseers, at least pending the appearance of individual enterprise and willingness on the part of the Indians to labour without close supervision. In the missions as elsewhere police and soldiery stood at hand to enforce the order to labour. The Indians were often led to accept subordination to the mission authority from fear that in the course of time the military forces of the conquistadores would overwhelm them and enslave them or put them in *encomiendas*.

The missions are comparable to reservations in that they reserved land for eventual allotment in fee to the Indians, and in that, meantime, the land could not be alienated; and in that, pending the economic development of the Indians, a segregation policy was enforced. They differed from reservations in that the Indians were forced to labour under instruction; they were subjected to compulsory education.

The mission policy, differing not very essentially from other Latin American forced-labour policies, was an effective alternative to the official or secular policies, and where it had the opportunity to carry its plans on to fruition it proved itself as a preservative of the Indian race and as an efficient method for the Europeanization socially and economically of the natives.

¹ Compare the letter of Father Dombides, D.J., however, in Pastels, p. 235 (1679), who seems to indicate that the missionaries sometimes forced the wild Indians into the missions. However, again, Southey is full of examples of wild Indians being eager to give up the forest life for the mission life with its greater security and wealth.

PROTESTANT EXCUSES AND INACTION

The sovereigns of the states of northern Europe, when trespassing upon the Portuguese and Spanish claims in America, were sensible of the fact that the Hispanic nations were given the New World by the Pope on condition that they attempt the Christianization and civilization of the Indians. As Christian sovereigns these others of northwest Europe felt called upon to avow the same objects in beginning enterprise in America.

So, in chartering companies for colonial enterprise, or in granting lands to proprietaries, these monarchs were careful to express in writing in the grants of privileges to their agents that the purpose of the "plantation" was not to destroy or rob the natives but to lead them to Christianity and civilization. The agents of the Crown likewise expressed their purpose repeatedly to help and teach the natives.

Thus, the royal charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony insisted that "the principal end of the plantation" is "to win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of God". The governor of the London Company in Virginia in 1609 announced concerning the Indians that "we propose to make it known to them all by some public proclamation that our coming hither is to plant ourselves in their country, but not to supplant and root them out but to bring them from a base condition to a far better".¹ The non-Hispanic European sovereigns and their agents were conscious of the fact that Spain and Portugal actually made very serious efforts to comply with the condition imposed by the Pope.

France followed suit, and even under the rule of the joint-stock trading companies in Canada, the missionary priests were the real power behind the colonial government, in all things protecting the interest of the natives. But the English and other peoples were really not interested in the conversion of the Indians, seriously. They consoled themselves subconsciously for this neglect by dwelling on the fact of the many brutalities committed by colonial Spaniards, and the fact that they, unlike the Spaniards, were not coercing or

¹ See Thorpe: *Charters*. Compare Davis: *Corporation*, v. 1, pp. 38-39, on corporation charters for missionary organizations from 1649 on.

exploiting the Indians. They told themselves of the crimes they did not commit, so as to forgive themselves for the good they did not do.

THE INFLUENCE OF LAS CASAS' WRITINGS

They really gloated, for example, over the vivid accounts of Las Casas' writings concerning the brutalities of the forced-labour system in the West Indies. Among other books, Las Casas wrote the *Brevisima Relacion*—"Brief Relation"—of the crimes of the Spanish colonists in the Indies and the dying off of the Indians. It is a story of horrors which rank in the history of human cruelty with the story of the equally brutal massacres committed by the Dutch in New Amsterdam and the Puritans in New England or with the story of the massacres of Indians by the memorable "forty-niners" of California. It makes the hair stand on end.

In 1586, during the period when English privateers were robbing the Spanish galleons on the high seas, this little book was translated into English and, as a matter of actual fact, served the British pirates as light reading to stimulate their hate of Catholic Spaniards. The next English version appeared during another emotional surge in England. It was translated by a nephew of Milton, and dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, the great butcher of the Irish! It served to demonstrate the wickedness of Catholics and the Catholic Church and faith. This Miltonian edition was entitled: *The Tears of the Indians*. Other English translations appeared from time to time, in 1614, 1689, and 1699. Six different Flemish and Dutch versions appeared between 1578 and 1621, when Dutch colonial activity was getting under way and interest in America was roused. Besides Las Casas' little book, Jesuit *relaciones* and *historias* were repeatedly translated into a number of languages of Europe and avidly read.¹

THE PURITANS

The Puritans of New England really suffered the delusion that they were the new Chosen People in a New Canaan facing the New Canaanites, the Indians. They read the

¹ Bibliographical note in Pastels, introduction to vol. 1; and in Mac-Nutt: *Las Casas*, p. xxvii. See also Graham, and above, p. 102, n. 1.

atrocities stories of the Old Testament, revelled in gore in their dreams, and in action followed the instruction given by Jehovah for the treatment of Canaanites wherever found. In 1622 massacre of English by the Indians in Virginia served to make the Puritans distrustful of all Indians, and the later example of Cromwell's crusade of murder and extermination in Ireland in 1641 intoxicated them with dreams of their glorious mission on earth.

Ulphilas, when in an early century he translated the Bible into Gothic, knowing that the Goths were blood-thirsty enough already, omitted the sanguinary Book of Kings. There was no one, unfortunately, to censor the Bible of the Puritans. So from the date of the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth in 1620, to 1646 there had been no attempt made to teach or convert the Indians despite really golden opportunities. In 1646 John Eliot rose to protest at the neglect and began his missionary work. Incidentally he alone denounced the enslavement of Indians by the Puritans. As a result of his work the thousand or so survivors of the Wampanoag and Massachusetts Indians were established in mission villages within the English pale. But these villages were little more than reservations. The mission Indians were repeatedly called on to help in war against other Indians. In a century, as a result of a gradual process, they died off from smallpox, tuberculosis, and other diseases.¹

DUTCH AND SWEDES

The Dutch and Swedes ignored their missionary obligations. Megapolensis was officially a missionary of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, but he was spiritually inert. He speaks of his accomplishment in these words, which imply his attitude: "We have had an Indian here with us for about two years. He can read and write Dutch very well. We have instructed him in the principles of our religion. . . . We have given

¹ Gookin; Eliot; and Tooker. Gookin affords some statistics, indicating that the death rate of the Christian Indians was higher than the birth rate. H. E. Chase reviews the story of the missionizing of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, begun by Mayhew in 1642; the Indians of this island, from white contact, in a century declined from 1700 population to 313 population, as a result of excessive disease. In 1647 Eliot wrote his *Day Breaking*, and thence continued his pamphlet-writing for some twenty years. See Tooker for Eliot's Indian teacher.

him a Bible, hoping he might do some good among the Indians. . . . He took to drinking brandy; he pawned the Bible; and turned into a regular beast, doing more harm than good among the Indians."

Of the Lutheran clergyman among the Swedes on the Delaware in the vicinity of the present city of Philadelphia, Megapolensis adds: "The Lutheran preacher is a man of impious and scandalous habits; a wild, drunken, unmannerly clown; more inclined to look into the wine than into the Bible. He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one. And when the sap is in the wood his hands itch and he wants to fight whomever he meets." What hope for the Indian?

So, Megapolensis concludes in his letter home: "We can say but little of the conversion of the heathens or the Indians here, and see no way to accomplish it until they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people and reduced to some sort of civilization; and also, unless our people set them a better example than they have done heretofore."¹

As late as 1710 the Swedes sent a more scholarly missionary to the Indians of Quaker Pennsylvania. He was too scholarly. Through an interpreter he preached to the Indians at Conestoga on the Susquehanna. After his sermon the Indians asked puzzling questions on Lutheran theology. The preacher was so disconcerted by their astute questions

¹ Megapolensis: *Letter*, 1682; compare above on Jogues and Megapolensis. Of the Dutch settlers and fur-trade middlemen of Albany some decades later Peter Wraxall said: "The people at Albany are extremely ignorant and illiterate, and are so enslaved to the love of money that they have no other principle of action" (pp. 132-133). "Some of these poor Indians come above 600 miles, to be plundered by Dutchmen in one town, and cheated by those of another. And yet most of these Dutch wretches learn by heart a catechism of nearly 300 pages; and will not miss church two or three times on Sundays on any account, save to get money" (p. 149, n. 1, 1723). When the New York government, with a view merely to destroy or counter the influence of the French Jesuits among the Iroquois, suggested to the chiefs of the native confederation that it was desired to place an English missionary in each of the tribal capital villages (1714) the Indians replied "That as to their having a missionary in every one of their castles, they observe the Christians at Albany go to church of a Sunday in fine clothes, but that goods are so dear that they cannot purchase Sunday clothes, but when goods become so cheap that they can purchase suitable clothes they will be glad to have a missionary in each one of their castles" (Wraxall, p. 101). This was cynicism on the part of the natives.

that he hurried home, wrote down in book form the problems raised by the Indians, and presented the book to the department of theology of Upsala University for discussion and reply!¹

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the same year the British Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Lands translated the Bible into Mohawk. But it gave the Bibles to the traders (!)—bootleggers and cheats—to distribute to the Indians. Moreover the Indians could read neither their own language nor any other! From 1715 to 1718 the Rev. W. Andrews preached to the Mohawks. This was after the government of New York had ordered the Jesuits off the ground. Andrews gave up in disgust, with this Christian utterance: that the Indians were a "sordid, mercenary, beggarly people; having but little sense of religion, honour, or goodness among them; generally living filthy, brutish lives", and being of such "inhuman, savage natures" as to kill and eat one another. "Heathen they are and heathen they will remain."²

The German Moravian Mennonites alone went out into the wilderness. In the middle eighteenth century they converted some hundreds of Delaware Indians in middle Pennsylvania and in Ohio, and settled them in prosperous little villages, where the Indians unfortunately accepted the pacifist doctrines of their teachers. These villages were destroyed by massacre by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the frontier, who, like the Puritans, looked on the Indians as Canaanites who should be extirpated. The Quakers did virtually nothing. Their religion, however, was not one of a proselytizing kind; they did not think the pagan Indians bound for immortality in the flames of another world.³

¹ Mombert, pp. 16-17.

² Halsey, pp. 48-49, 81, 149. The Rev. Andrews' methods may be understood in part when we know that he educated about forty Mohawks to become "good readers and writers and even sufficiently master of the English grammar and arithmetic, and a number of them considerably advanced in knowledge of Greek and Latin, and one of them carried through college". But, alas, they reverted to savagery and the general use of the barbarous native language. (Halsey, p. 82.)

³ Compare *Some Account of . . . the Society of Friends*; and R. Kelsey. These two missionary chronicles are pitifully empty of imagination, high emprise, or achievement. The "history" of the Shawnese with the portrait (engraving) of the author in front, by the Quaker missionary

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries were more active, but among the reservation Indians. On the coast of British Columbia, the Episcopalian layman Duncan demonstrated that the Tsmishian head hunters could be made socially and industrially thoroughly European, and established a remarkably flourishing village.¹

Under the administration of President Grant in the United States a new reservation policy was put into effect, under which each Indian reservation was put under the virtual control of a missionary. The several Christian sects were allotted separate reservations as fields of influence.²

The apportionment, however, was miserably inequitable, especially to the disadvantage of the Catholics. Tens of thousands of Catholic reservation Indians were on reservations in which Protestant clergymen were given almost absolute control. During the few years that the new plan operated, the United States' reservation system was almost comparable to the mission village system of the monks in Paraguay and California, and was, consequently, really effecting some measure of civilization on the reservations. But the sectarian squabbles resulting from the bitterness and greed of the sects which aimed to profit from inequitable apportionment of spheres of influence put an end to the system of missionary control and the reservation system reverted to type and the Indians to decay and extermination.³

Walker will serve to enable one to contrast the Quaker type with the Jesuit type such as Jogues (whom we have already brought in contrast with other Evangelical types such as Megapolensis and Andrews).

¹ See Wellcome.

² Reports, Indian Commissioners. On the negligence of the missionaries of the Carolinas see Oldmixon, p. 449, n. 1; and *An Account*.

³ See the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1871 on. The civilian agents of the reservations were still appointed, under the plan, by the Indian Office, but that office was constrained to appoint the nominees of the missions—thus the agent was under mission control.

CHAPTER XXIII

INDIAN AGAINST INDIAN: THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

“ But because divisions prevail among them, and ordinarily the cacique of one country is embroiled with all his neighbours, it is certain that the conquest of the whole country will be easy on that account, and that the discord which they entertain will some day cause their ruin.”—*Garcilasso's Note on the Tribes of the Southern United States, written 1591.*¹

UPON the advent of the Europeans the multitude of petty states or tribes of aboriginal North America—as, indeed, of all the Americas—were constantly at war with one another. Most social scientists of historical inclinations have affected to see little destructivity in the fighting of primitive peoples. They have been misled by such methodologically defective studies as Holsti's.² As a matter of fact, the thin population and the meagre economic resources of primitive peoples being considered, their wars were quite as serious biologically and economically in their selective destruction of life and their destruction of property as are to us those wars with long-range artillery, tanks, and all the deadly apparatus which that pet of the gods, *homo sapiens*, is able to devise for his own ruin.³

The account of De Soto's expedition of about 1540 in the southeastern United States written up by Garcilasso, the Inca, gives a very vivid and reliable picture of the havoc wrought by some primitive American fighting, among the Creeks and other of our Indians of that early day. He cleverly observes: “ And if, by chance, war suddenly breaks out, they lay waste the lands of their enemies, set fire to the towns, and retire. Such is the way in which the inhabitants of Florida fight, province against province, and become valiant and bold, because they are perpetually at war, and always under arms or in practice. But because divisions prevail among them, and ordinarily the cacique of one country is embroiled with all his neighbours, it is certain that the

¹ In *La Florida del Inca*, referring to De Soto's expedition of 1540.

² Holsti.

³ MacLeod: *The State*.

conquest of the whole country will be easy on that account, and that the discord which they entertain will some day cause their ruin."¹

THE LATIN PEACE

The Spaniards in America came upon such social situations not only with a sword but also with peace. They were to the aboriginal Americas what the ancient Romans were to the multitude of petty warring states of trans-Alpine western Europe. Rome by the time of Augustus had brought a great peace to the Mediterranean region, western Europe, and parts of Asia and Africa. Dante, in his *De Monarchia*, was perhaps right, that the King of Heaven showed his approval of the Roman Empire and its peace and dominion in sending his son, the Prince of Peace, to be incarnated under the reign and in the dominions of Augustus Cæsar. But the Teutonic barbarians, and their heretical descendants, smashed the Empire and brought nationalism and internal strife to western Europe. So, in time, colonial revolution brought nationalism and war in Hispanic America. But, thanks to the extension thereafter of the imperialism of the United States, under the workings of the Monroe Doctrine, the peace has been maintained, save for a few petty squalls.

The influence of Spain in putting an end to the war of Indian upon Indian is one of Spain's most outstanding contributions to the transformation for the better of aboriginal America and its populations. A certain amount of violence was necessary on the part of the Spanish to effect the expansion of their sovereignty, but the means was more than justified by the effects. But even then, one must not think that the whole course of Spanish pacification consisted in bloody domination through battle. Many a native people acknowledged Spanish sovereignty as a result of accord reached through diplomatic channels after merely the show of force. Spanish sovereignty over the natives of Florida, for example, was effected largely in this way through the instrumentality of Pedro de Aviles and the missionaries aiding him.

The peaceful extension of dominion on the part of the

¹ Garcilasso, Part 2, Book 3, Chapter 4; compare Chapter 5.

missionary orders is a good example of how much could be done with a mere show of force. And in the Spanish colonial wars with the Araucanians, the Calchaquies, Abipones, and others, in southern South America, we can see how diplomacy and the aid of the missionaries could have conquered peoples whom Spanish violence never was able to conquer.¹ As for the Indians of our own southern states, there is enough evidence in the story of De Soto's dealings with them to indicate that show of force coupled with diplomacy could very easily have brought them to terms and to subjection to a European sovereignty.

INTERTRIBAL WAR IN NORTH AMERICA

The North European nations in North America as a general rule, as we have seen, never aimed to subject the Indians to the sovereignty of European states. The Indians were permitted to remain in independent states, to continue their war the one against the other, and so to bring themselves to destruction. The story of the "Rise and Fall of the Iroquois Republic", which we shall recount in a later chapter, is as good an example as any of how destructive to the Indian race was this failure of the European in North America to strike a few anvil blows and end once for all the self-destruction of the rampant nationalism of the native states.

INDIAN ALLIES IN EUROPEAN WARS

The North American Indians were brought to destruction through war, not only by wars one with another but also by being used in the wars between rival settlements of Europeans. The Indians of Hispanic America suffered in a measure in the same way. In the wars of Spanish and Portuguese on the Rio de la Plata the native auxiliaries bore the brunt of the struggle, native on one side being pitted against native on the other side.² The division of this part of South America between Spain and Portugal was partly responsible for the freedom the Paulistas had in their slave raids on the Paraguay

¹ See above, pp. 88, 117.

² Compare above, p. 114; also Pastels, v. 3, pp. 33, 38; and Southey, v. 1, p. 459.

missions. In northern Brazil the Portuguese fought the French West India Company and the Dutch West India Company, and in these struggles, too, opposing parties of Indians did most of the fighting. In the struggle between the Spanish in Florida and the English in the Carolinas, the Indians were caught as in a vice, and did all the suffering.

A minor factor in Hispanic America, this intercolonial rivalry is one of the principal factors in causing the destruction of the North American Indians. The French and the English fought off and on for a century and a half, using Indian against Indian to effect damage against one another. When the French were driven out by the English then there came the Revolutionary War in which Indians took sides, some on the side of the Crown, some on the side of the rebels. After this war was settled came the War of 1812 between the free colonies and the Crown. Then finally came the Civil War between the northern and southern factions of the freed colonies, the United States of America. In all these later struggles the Indian tribes were found on both sides, much to their hurt.

INDIAN AUXILIARIES IN WARS AGAINST INDIANS

The Indian was a valuable auxiliary all the while not only in the struggle of one settlement with another, but in the struggle of one or another European settlement against other Indian tribes. This, of course, is an outstanding fact in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese conquests of the Hispanic-American Indian nations, as witness the aid of the Tlascalans given to Cortes in his initial conquests in Mexico.

The Indian appealed to the settlers as an auxiliary in part because of his invaluable abilities as a scout. Furthermore he was a cheap source of military power inasmuch as his services were usually given gratis. Moore, writing to his governor from the field after his "conquest of the province of Apalatchee", notes: "And this important service was effected without putting this government to the least expense."¹ His Creek auxiliaries fought without pay.

A vivid illustration of the importance of Indian auxiliaries

¹ Moore's *Letter*, in Carrol: *Historical Collections*, p. 351; and *Description*, 1763, in *ibid.*, p. 519.

may be seen in contrasting the policies of Massachusetts Bay Colony and of Connecticut in the course of King Philip's war in 1676. The Massachusetts "polloi" had conceived such an inveterate hatred of all Indians that they refused to permit their government to make use of the Praying or Christian or other Indian allies available as scouts and auxiliaries against Philip and his forces. Had not some of the other colonies been more wise and made use of numerous allied Indian tribes there is little doubt that New England would have been destitute of white inhabitants within a few years after 1676.

Ellis observes that "Connecticut realized to the full the value of the Indian auxiliaries as scouts and guides, while the Massachusetts authorities yielded to the public clamour which held all the Indian race to be treacherous enemies. Connecticut, whose people tasted little of the bitterness of burned villages and slain settlers, associated the Mohegans with all their expeditions, and by their assistance escaped those ambuscades so often fatal to the Massachusetts forces". "These measures cost Massachusetts dear; it left her forces helpless to carry on a successful campaign. Many a company was ambushed because of the lack of Indian scouts, and many a town was burned because of the refusal to credit the reports of friendly Indians and their own Indian spies. Connecticut, comparatively free from Indian attacks, was able naturally to take a broader view, and, by employing the Mohegans, did not suffer a reverse or a surprise in the whole campaign."¹

INDIAN WATCHDOGS FOR EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

So it was that the settlements of Europeans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were always desirous, not of chasing Indians too far away into the backwoods, but of having Indians remain nearby as friends and allies. The little Indian villages were watchdogs, after a fashion. When, through bad treatment, an Indian village would be driven to remove to the vicinity of the settlement of a rival European group, the offenders were always concerned to have them return.

¹ Ellis, pp. 83, 113, 214; compare Gookin.

In the days when the Swedes were on the Delaware, the Susquehannocks called themselves proudly "The Defenders of the Swedes", as indeed they were.¹ And of these same Susquehannocks an Act of the Assembly of Maryland in 1661 says: "Our neighbour Indians, the Susquehannocks, are a bulwark and security of the northern parts of the Province."² The Susquehannocks in these two cases defended the European settlements from the Iroquois, and kept the coastal Indian tribes under control.

Pennsylvania was very much dismayed, as war with the French impended in the middle of the eighteenth century, that the Delawares and Shawnese should remove farther west as a result of bad treatment and fall under the influence of the French. And well did Pennsylvania rue the day.³ The New York officials were continually worried over the occasional transference of coastal and river Algonkian and Iroquois groups to the French allegiance.

THE MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL COSTS OF WAR

These colonial wars were costly. The expenses were heavy for the colonists, but they could draw upon the inexhaustible reservoir of Europe, while the Indians had no reserve. Disease served to decrease the native population and weaken the tough fibres of the native race. Alcohol gave the native temporary surcease from his misery, but caused inestimable damage to him morally and physically. Amid the setting arranged by these two genii from the European Pandora's box was staged the interminable struggle of exhausting warfare.

In the face of the difficult problems the native had to meet in order to absorb European technology, the native needed a cessation of war. But in North America wars became more frequent and more deadly, sapping the native vitality by expending the energies of the able-bodied men in bloody pursuits which were anything but civilizing. The border warfare with the whites stirred up anger and hatred among

¹ Johnson: *Swedes*, v. 2, 569.

² *Maryland Archives*.

³ See below, pp. 397, 409; also *Penna. Archives*, ser. 2, v. 5, 1676, p. 686; and Walton.

the frontiersmen because they abhorred the native practices of war, such as burning at the stake.

War parties, moreover, spread disease. An observer in Carolina, for example, in 1763 noted that the Catawbias of North Carolina were used in the English armies fighting the French in western Pennsylvania, "where they unhappily got the smallpox and carried the infection home with them, which has almost extirpated the little nation; the few that survived died in Colonel Grant's army in the last expedition against the Cherokees".¹ These wars frequently made the Indians lose the benefit of their hunting season, or made them unable to harvest their crops. The mortality among the native women and children was heightened because it was necessary to hide them in out-of-the-way swamps, safe from danger of violence, but a prey to consumption and starvation.² Starvation and disease were the principal factors which crushed the resistance of Philip and his warriors in New England in 1676. The Indians were unable to harvest the crops which formed the principal part of their subsistence.³

These constant wars were an evil, further, in that they destroyed so many promising beginnings in the native absorption of a European type of settled and quiet life, forcing the natives from the old homes that they loved, and driving them to an utter despair of ever settling down to permanent peace and fruitfulness.

THE FINAL RUIN OF THE IROQUOIS, 1779, 1794

We have already touched on the destruction of the Florida and of the Huron missions. Note also, the case of the Iroquois, who, without help of European tutors, did much for themselves. Their power as an independent state was

¹ Oglethorp's *Report*, in Carrol, p. 359; compare Chalmer, pp. 320-321; and *Description*, 1763, pp. 163, 509.

The setting of internecine war in a background of smallpox may be appreciated by consulting the *Jesuit Relations*, v. 48, p. 75; v. 49, p. 147 (1662-1663); Campanius (1646) cited in Eschleman, p. 36. Compare also notes and references in Eschleman, pp. 35, 54, 99. Here is pictured the frightful ravages of smallpox among the Iroquois and Susquehannocks during their half-century struggle with one another; and notes on the work of disease among the Piscataways of Maryland, who were allied with the Susquehannocks during this long war.

² Compare *Journal of New Netherlands*, in Orig. Narr.'s, p. 247.

³ Compare Ellis, pp. 168, 231; Lauber, p. 140, n. 3.

broken after the clearing of the French from Canada. They settled down to peace and development. But in the Revolutionary War they were dragged in, some to one side, some to the other, the Confederation splitting wide open due to the machinations of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent of the British Crown.

In August, 1779, General Sullivan and his army made a clean sweep of much that the Iroquois had accomplished in the way of economic development. He went through the Iroquois country like a forest fire. The result was what one historian has called "The Destruction of Iroquois Civilization". At just one town of the Senecas he burnt down 128 houses, and destroyed two hundred acres of growing corn and vegetables, with a store-house containing twenty thousand bushels of grain. At a single town of the Cayugas, fifteen hundred peach trees were cut down, and innumerable swine and fowl slain.¹

We can only imagine the effect on the mind and the disposition of the natives, who had become involved in this war of the revolting colonies through no interest of their own. Few of them returned to the site of this devastation after the war. Some of the Senecas removed to the Northwest territory, over the Ohio. But by 1794 the intrusion of squatters into this country made the United States government determine that the Indians should be forced to sell and move west again. The Indians were refractory; they wanted to stay in the country they were developing.

Wayne and his army marched in with one thousand soldiers, defeated an army of two thousand Indians, and proceeded to use Sullivan's methods. The result: "The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter with bayonets and British muskets. The army remained for three days upon the Maumee, during which time all the Indians' houses were burnt, and the cornfields destroyed for some distance both above and below Fort Miami." Starvation soon brought the Indians to terms with the would-be "purchasers" of their lands. At the close of Wayne's campaign the Indians were reduced and impoverished. Those inhabiting the Maumee and Anglaize valleys were left

¹ See Cook for Sullivan's journals.

destitute. In one of the letters of Wayne written from the Grand Glaize we read: "The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lake, and the Anglaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below the place; nor have I ever beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida." All this he destroyed.

The surviving Indians, Senecas and others, were thoroughly disheartened. They moved further westward, losing, rather than gaining, in culture. Messianism took hold of them. In the above account we note that the English of Canada had already been using them as pawns in their game against the rebel colonies and the Indians were later involved, and crushed, in the War of 1812. They failed to hold back the tide of squatters from the East. Finally they reached the plains and became typical reservation Indian wards, dependent for subsistence on the crumbs from the table of civilization.

Some indication of these wars as a cost to the colonies may be indicated in noting that the siege of one Indian village containing two hundred natives, for six weeks, in 1675 cost Maryland alone one hundred thousand dollars, while the Virginia contingent among the militia attacking the village probably was a larger expense to Virginia. And this was only the beginning of a long and terrible war! King Philip's War cost the New England colonies one hundred thousand pounds. Of later Indian wars in which the United States was involved, the Cheyenne war of 1864, for example, alone, cost thirty million dollars. From 1852 to 1867, the five wars with the Sioux, Navajo, and Cheyenne, had cost altogether one hundred million dollars! The cost to the Indians cannot be measured in either dollars or lives.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ORIGIN OF HATE: RACE PREJUDICE IN NORTH AND LATIN AMERICA

"The savages expressed astonishment at learning that the Portuguese killed men and did not eat them."—*Brazil in 1501*.

". . . and therefore, fair off is best with heathen Indians."—*Plantagenet on the Delaware, 1641*.¹

"No good Indian but a dead one."—*Anglo-Saxon frontier saying*.

"Que el vaho de las otras gentes mata a los Indios." ("It is the scum of other races who kill the Indians.")—*Father Sarria, California, 1819*.

EARLY ABSENCE OF "RACE PREJUDICE"

IN the early years, or decades, of each North American settlement, the natives and the colonists mingled freely, and it was anticipated that this social mingling would continue until the natives were assimilated to European culture. Indians came and went in and out of the villages of the settlers and the chiefs were frequent guests in the homes of the colonists. There was occasional intermarriage, a notable example, of course, being the marriage of Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas, to John Rolfe, in Virginia in 1612. There was no feeling against such intermarriage, no race prejudice.

From 1619 on, charitable and religious organizations were occasionally created to educate the Indian youth. Harvard, Dartmouth, and the College of William and Mary were begun as schools founded largely with a view to furnishing education for Indian boys; but white and red scholars were to mix together in the classrooms.

As late as 1674, until King Philip's War, white and Indian children sat together in the same classrooms in the schools of the New England colonies. Until the Indian wars of 1675 in Virginia, men like Peter Fontaine and Colonel Byrd openly advocated intermarriage of the races as the most effective

¹ Plantagenet, p. 25.

means of saving the Indians; and so also did Lawson in the Carolinas until the disastrous Indian war of 1715 in which he was murdered by Indians.¹

THE NATURE OF "RACE PREJUDICE"

Race prejudice is a social, not a racial—that is, not a biological—phenomenon. Race prejudice is a hostility between culture groups which is denominated "race" prejudice when it so happens that between the social or culture groups there happens to be correlated with the political, economic, or other hostility, a more or less marked difference of race or sub-race. Of course all social hostilities between groups may be rationalized by the unthinking masses and by their pseudo-scientific apologists as "race" prejudice, inasmuch as between any two groups of human beings, even between two families of distant relatives, there is bound to be an appreciable biological distinctiveness. Thus the hostilities of Scotch-Irish and Irish, of German and French, of Turk and Armenian, of European and Jew, are painted as being caused by inherent biological differences. As a matter of fact the historical complex of causes which develop hostility between two groups is cultural.

When the originating causes have passed, the hostility may be carried on merely through tradition, and rationalized as "race" prejudice. Male and female white debtor or indentured servants showed no antipathy for mingling with negroes, their fellow slaves, in the early colonial days; but to-day their descendants, the "poor whites", are possessed

¹ See James; Gookin, p. 221; Ellis, pp. 23-28; Ruttenber, p. 100; Lawson, p. 387 seq.; *Journal of New Netherlands*, 1647, p. 273; Byrd; and *History . . . William and Mary College*. In 1656, four years after settlement, the first Dutch school on the Cape was established for the education in the same classrooms, together, of Dutch and negro children. After 1676 the more intelligent of the coloured children (by this time many were mixed-bloods) were still continued in white classes. In Virginia, even after the massacre of 1622, the hope of commingling the races continued. On the college designed for Indian education in those early days see *Records of the Virginia Company*, v. 1, 1619, p. 319; v. 2, p. 395. On p. 319 is noted a treaty with the Indians arranging for the boarding of children at the school. Compare in Scotch Highland situation and treaties of about this same date, above, p. 168. For further information on mixed marriages see Appendix VI.

of "race" prejudice which makes them affect an inherent or innate repugnance for so much as eating in the same restaurant with the descendants of these same fellow-workers. I am not, of course, arguing that "race" prejudice should be done away with. Merely that it should be understood for what it is, at least in scientific discussion.

The millions of mulattoes in the United States are tangible evidence that our own disdain of the negro is not "race" prejudice, but merely the product of social causes which it has not been and perhaps never will be possible to resolve.

WHY SO LITTLE INDIAN INTERMARRIAGE

Race mixture between red man and white in North America never took place on a large scale in colonial days. The traders, both French and British, invariably took Indian wives.¹ An Indian wife was an asset to a trader among the Indians. But the agricultural settlers, both French and British, did not want Indian women as wives. Farmers needed wives who knew the ways of European housekeeping and husbandry, who knew how to milk cows, fry eggs, and so on. Indian women would not do. The farmer, even in Virginia, so late as 1632, often preferred to pay the expense of importing women of questionable repute from the European cities, at considerable cost, than to take Indian women who would

¹ Compare Beeson, pp. 32-35; Hawkins; Irving: *Astoria*; Allen: *Oregon*, pp. 119-122, notes that among the Hudson Bay Company officials and traders, marrying native women went according to office; the principal local trading official would marry the daughter of the local Indian chief, his subordinates in rank marrying progressively lower in the Indian social scale. Consult *Harmon's Journal*, for the frankness in publication of a prominent official of the Northwest Company who, although with a white wife at home, in the field marries *ad tempore* an Indian girl, and the clergyman editor of the *Journal* passes by this fact without any of his usual sanctimonious comments, which suggests that even the clergy of this day did not think it so sinful. On illicit miscegenation at a very early date in Puritan New England see Wood, p. 102, who observes that the Indian women were treated cruelly by their husbands, and that "These Indian women resort often to the English houses, where *ex pares cum paribus congregatae*, in sex, I mean, they do somewhat ease their misery by complaining, and seldom part without a relief". Compare also De Vries, below, Chapter 34. Students of physical anthropology should take these facts seriously into account. It is not always climatic influence which changes the head form.

be helpless on a farmer's homestead.¹ Champlain offered one hundred and fifty francs as a dowry to each French-Canadian farmer who would marry an Indian girl, but his offer was in vain.²

LATIN AND NORDIC INTERMARRIAGE

The writers of popular texts have insisted that there was a difference in race between the Nordic and the Latin races which manifested itself in a difference in personal relations with the Indian. In contrasting the French and the English they make the cardinal error of comparing French traders not with British traders but with British agriculturists; and the needs of a French colonial régime which never developed to the point where the trading interests lost control with the needs of dominantly agricultural British settlements. French and British³ traders alike married Indian women and gave rise to numbers of half-breeds; and both groups were able to adapt themselves to Indian ways of life and the Indian manner of thinking.

And as for the Spanish and Portuguese—no one is more capable of the development of intense "race" prejudice than the Iberian. But the Iberian peoples have always understood the social nature of their group hostilities. The Moor and the Jew in Spain and Portugal were hated only so long as they refused to become Christians; Christianized they were racially absorbed by both the aristocratic and the commoner strata of the population.

In the Americas the early Spanish settlers interested in agriculture and industry preferred to import European wives. It was largely the military who initiated the development of an important half-breed stock which, because of the civilizing nature of the Indian policies pursued, became of social, political, and economic import-

¹ This was so not only in French Canada and Louisiana, but, as we note, in Virginia, where a subsidiary company had been organized to import these women as a business proposition. (See Scott, v. 2; 1621; and Burke, v. 2, pp. 86, 1632; and Hannay, p. 151.)

² *Canada and Its Provinces*, v. 13, pp. 43, 45, 92.

³ Most British Indian half-breeds were sired by Scotch Highlanders and Irish, because most British traders were of those then semi-barbarous stocks.

ance and served as a link between the wholly red and the wholly white elements in the population.¹ This is in contrast with the fate of the half-breeds in North America, who were dragged away from civilization by the fur-trading interest, and absorbed largely into the native population, sharing its fate.

In North America we have largely outgrown our hostility to intermarriage of red and white, although on the statute books of four of our states, Arizona, Oregon, North Carolina, South Carolina, there are laws forbidding intermarriage of white and Indian, and in Virginia a law was lately proposed which classed persons with even one-sixteenth Indian blood as "coloured" and in the same category as negroes.² Such laws are, however, obsolete and are not enforced in the case of full-blood Indians or of mixed-bloods in whom there is no sensible negro admixture. Generally in North America marriage with the red man is very acceptable, and considered somewhat desirable and romantic, if the red mate is of acceptable economic or social status.

This is something of the way it has always been looked at in Spanish America. There, there has always been a premium on Spanish birth. Whites of colonial birth (the creoles) were looked down upon and placed under political disabilities which served to precipitate the wars of independence separating the colonies from the mother-country. Among the creoles there has always been a premium upon unadulterated white blood. Even those who are by record and appearance part Indian seek legally to establish their claim to be of pure European extraction.³ Under the rule of the mother-country, anyone of mixed blood, by paying the required sum, could get papers from the government establishing his claim to be of pure white blood. Even when there is an admixture of blood admitted, the Latins go somewhat beyond us in distinguishing the nature and the amount of the admixture. Here, for example, are the categories distinguished to-day in Mexico:

¹ Compare the *Recopilacion*, lib. 7, tit. 8, ley 4 (1548); lib. 7, tit. 5, ley 28; Southey, v. 1, pp. 283-289, 691-692; Oliviera-Lima, pp. 21-22, 41.

² See Appendix VI.

³ Oliviera-Lima.

Criollo (Creole)	Unmixed white, native born.
Meztizo (or Coyote) ..	Half white, half Indian.
Mulatto	Half white, half negro.
Castizo	Three-fourths Indian, one-fourth white.
Morisco (or Quadroon) ..	Three-fourths negro, one-fourth white.
Lobo	Half Chinese, half negro.
Jibaro	Three-fourths negro, one-fourth Chinese.
Albarrazado	Half jibaro, half Indian.
Cambujo	Half albarrazado, half negro.
Zambo (or Zambaigo) ..	Half cambujo, half Indian. ¹
Octaroon .. \..	Three-fourths white, one-fourth negro.

THE ORIGIN OF RACE PREJUDICE IN NORTH AMERICA

As we have observed, in North America we went through the early period of colonial developments without any race prejudice toward the Indian; and we have returned to that original willingness to see the two races mix. But during a great part of the history of the frontier there was an active hate between Indian and frontiersmen. This was chiefly a consequence of the bitter Indian wars of the frontier, not a cause of those wars. The wars came first; then the race hatred; then more wars in which the race hatred served as a cause. War and hate made a vicious circle which all too frequently broke out into the most brutal massacres.

As we have already indicated, the wars of 1675-1676 in New England and in Virginia and the wars of 1715 in the Carolinas ended once and for all any receptivity on the part of the European settlers to the idea of race amalgamation. Instead came the desire for extermination. But these wars, so destructive to creative rapprochements, were in their turn in large part the product of irritating impracticabilities in the Indian policy pursued in North America.

INDIAN POLICIES AND FRONTIER NEEDS

In the first place, there was the conflict of interest between the agricultural frontiersmen and the trading interests and their agents, the traders. The Indian was dragged into this clash, as into others which we shall speak of, as an innocent third party, and the Indian policy was such that the govern-

¹ Fortier, p. 252. In the United States we have the terms quadroon and octaroon as well as mulatto, but they are neglected and not used with regard to genealogical accuracy.

mental authorities could only aggravate the situation by interfering.

We have seen in an earlier chapter how the interests of the trader in French Canada conflicted with the interests of the missionaries and others politically concerned with colonial affairs who desired to make the Indian an agricultural race, and who wished to encourage the immigration of French farmers rather than turn the country over exclusively to the fur trade.

Somewhat similar conflict obtained in the rest of North America. But in the French dominions the trade with the Indians was centrally controlled, and the traders who worked for the great monopolies were a picked body of men closely checked by their responsible superiors. In the other colonies of North America, however, there was no central organization; each colony controlled the Indian trade within its own borders and competed with its neighbour colonies; and often there was no organization of the trade even within the several colonies.

THE CHARACTER OF THE TRADER

Traders, working for their own profit, without adequate check by anyone in authority, cheated the Indians cruelly, and with the use of the most dangerous expedients. There was no selection of personnel, and often the traders were the scum of the population.

A clever but ruthless man might head for the frontier to trade, and would take along with him as assistants an escaped convict, or escaped debtor servant, who in time might set up for himself in a neighbouring colony. Transported Irish convicts made up a surprisingly large element among the British traders, in early colonial days. In New York, even throughout the period of its rule as an English colony, the original Dutch of the upper Hudson monopolized the trade. They and the Scotch Highlanders who operated largely in the Carolinas were apparently men of good racial stock, but of low standards of business ethics. The Indians held them "in great contempt as a set of mean, dishonest, mercenary fellows".¹ Of British traders in general, McIlwain, whose

¹ Wraxall, p. 169, n. 1; 166.

researches give his words weight, observes that "during the whole history of the English fur trade, the evidence indicates that the traders were the very scum of the earth. . . ."¹

CONFLICT OF TRADE AND SETTLEMENT

The British traders won the wrath of the Indians by their cheating, rum selling, sexual irregularities, kidnapping and slave-raiding. The Indians, taking revenge upon the traders, were led into conflict with the farmers of the frontier as well. At times the brutality of the British traders drove the Indians to the French alliance, despite the higher price of French goods, and consequently brought about hostility between the Indians and the British frontiersmen.

Despite the disturbing effect of the recklessness of the corrupt traders, the Crown and the colonial governments were often more interested in the profits to be made from the Indian trade than they were in the extension of settlement. They supported the trading interest. For example, "Much of the dissatisfaction in Virginia which culminated in Bacon's rebellion in 1676 was due to Governor Berkeley's actions and private interests in the Indian trade". In a written complaint, Bacon himself exclaimed: "Another main article of our guilt is our design not only to ruin and extirpate all the Indians in general, but all manner of trade with them. Since the governor by commission warrants this trade, who dare oppose it, although the plantations be deserted, and the blood of our brethren spilt on all sides, our complaints continually provoke (?) murder upon murder. Who dare say that these traders at the heads of the rivers buy and sell our blood. . . ."² Unfortunately Bacon set out to put the traders out of business by exterminating the Indians who furnished them with trade.³

Likewise the exterminative wars of 1711 and 1715 in the Carolinas were brought on by the evils of the traders, whose

¹ McIlwain, p. xl; compare pp. xli, n. 1; xx, n. 4; and the pamphlet *Importance of the English Plantations*, 1731, which vividly describes the frauds practised by the traders on the Indians, and the resulting incitement of Indian wars.

² McIlwain, p. xxxii, n. 2; from the *Calendar of State Papers for America and the West Indies*, 1675-1676, pp. 448-449.

³ See above, Chapter 17.

interest was supported by the colonial government as against the interests of settlement.¹ One of the incitements to the great intercolonial conference of 1754 was to consider the problem presented by these traders.

Franklin then urged upon the commissioners from the various colonies "that they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade", observing that "many quarrels and wars have arisen between the colonies and the Indian nations through the bad conduct of traders, who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, to the great expense of the colonies, in blood and treasure. Particular colonies are so interested in the trade as not to be willing to admit such a regulation as might be best for the whole; and therefore it is thought best under a general direction."²

Out on the frontier, beyond the settlements, traders crossed the boundaries of the several colonies; and traders from one colony might precipitate an Indian war in a neighbouring colony.

A CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

After the end of Pontiac's war, in 1765, and after the French influence east of the Mississippi and around the Great Lakes was finally ended, the colonists of the outer frontier immediately began to clash with the British Crown which now directly controlled the Indian policy and supported the traders.³ The resulting irritation largely contributed to the colonial disaffection which made the success of the War of Independence possible.⁴

As late as 1772, blindly enough, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations declared that "the great object of colonization upon the continent of North America is to improve and extend the commerce and manufactures of this kingdom . . . therefore, the Indians should not be disturbed in the hunting grounds . . . and all colonization should be discouraged".⁵

¹ Compare Chalmer's Appendix, p. 313, 337; *Description of Carolina*, 1763, p. 519; Oglethorp's *Report*, p. 351; *Account of the Yamasee War*, p. 572; and above, pp. 149, 298.

² James: *Institutions*, p. 29.

³ On the events surrounding Groghan's journey, see Parkman: *Pontiac*.

⁴ Compare below, p. 422.

⁵ Turner: *Frontier in American History*, p. 75. On the Lords Commissioners for Plantations, see Bayse.

The Indian as a fur hunter was to be nourished as against the land-hungry British cultivator eager to plant on the hunting lands which the Indian merely scoured for beaver to supply the Indian trade. So while the Crown took no steps to civilize the Indian, the frontiersman took steps to exterminate him.¹

THE INTERESTS AND PERSONALITY OF THE FRONTIERSMAN: SKELETONS IN THE CLOSET

In the little red schoolhouse it is a sacrilege to intimate that the pioneers suffered from ordinary human frailties; or that among their number there were as many of criminalistic taint as there were saints; or that the heroic-sized figures of heroic, blacksmith-like men and fleshy, robust women, made of cold marble or majestic bronze and erected by patriotic societies, are mere idealizations and in no sense realistic portrayals of types.

There were among the American pioneers as splendid men and women as ever trod any soil. But the masses were no better than the masses of any society. There is at least one passage of Roosevelt's book on *The Winning of the West*² which phrases the facts so perfectly that it will surely be preserved; Roosevelt writes: "The frontier, in spite of the outward uniformity of means and manners, is preëminently the place of sharp contrasts. The two extremes of society, the strongest, best and most adventurous; and the weakest, most shiftless, and vicious, are those which seem naturally to drift to the border. Most of the men who came to the backwoods to hew out houses and rear families were stern, manly, and honest; but there was also a large influx of people drawn from the worst immigrants that perhaps were ever

¹ Spanish and Portuguese America had virtually no fur-bearing animals and no Indian trade problem of noteworthy magnitude. There were, however, numerous Spanish and meztizo vagabonds who went off among the Indians and who were a bad influence. And to the despair of His Christian Majesty, groups of the omnipresent Gypsies came to America and went off among the Indians. Some of these apparently got over somehow within a decade or two of the discovery! See the *Recopilacion*, lib. 7, tit. 4, of which *ley* 5 deals with the Gypsies, ordering their expulsion from all Spanish colonies because of their bad influence on the Indians.

² Vol. 1, p. 166. Aside from this I do not recommend this very out-of-date book of the ex-President.

brought to America, the mass of convict servants, redemptioners, and the like, who formed such an excessively undesirable substratum to the otherwise excellent population of the tidewater regions in Virginia and the Carolinas. Many of the southern crackers or poor whites spring from this class, which also in the backwoods gave birth to generations of violent and hardened criminals, and to even a greater number of shiftless, lazy, cowardly encumberers of the earth's surface. They had in many places a permanently bad effect on the tone of the whole community. Moreover, the influence of heredity was no more plainly perceptible than was the extent of individual variation. If a member of a bad family wished to reform, he had every opportunity to do so; if a member of a good family had vicious propensities, there was nothing to check them. The man who in civilization is merely sullen and bad-tempered, when transplanted to the wilds becomes a murderous, treacherous ruffian; while on the other hand his cheery, quiet neighbour develops into a hero, ready uncomplainingly to lay down his life for his friend. One who in an eastern city is merely a backbiter and slanderer, in the western woods lies in wait for his foe with a rifle. . . ."

There is no reason for Roosevelt's especial selection of the southern states for specific reference here. Pennsylvania and New England particularly drew a heavy immigration of tainted stock from England and Ireland, which from the very beginning seeped out onto the frontier where it could more easily find subsistence, and exercise its vicious propensities. The infamous Kallikak family is a New England production, and its ultimate progenitor may well have been one of the "servants" who came with the other more affluent Pilgrims in the luxurious *Mayflower*.¹

In Latin America, of course, the dregs of the Old World were well represented, and their viciousness worked harm to the victimized natives. "Que el vaho de las otras gentes mata a los Indios" ("It is the scum of other races who destroy the Indians"), exclaims Father Sarria in Spanish California in 1819 in days when the worst elements of the

¹ On the other hand consider famous mixed-blood families of Virginia and the present-day intellectual ascendancy of many full-blood and mixed-blood Indians of Mexico. (See Appendix VI.)

Spanish frontier were taking control of things in California.¹ Curiously enough, the Indians of Anglo-Saxon America invented the same metaphor to describe the frontiersmen who were tormenting them. They evolved a myth of origins which said that the squatters of the frontier had a different racial origin from the European traders and the coast town dweller; the frontiersmen "grew from the scum of the ocean while it was troubled with an evil spirit, and this scum was driven into the backwoods by a strong wind. . . ."²

A romantic historian of Latin America counters Father Sarrias's observation—to his own satisfaction at least—with the note that "in spite of their vices and crimes, through all these times the most holy faith was alive and pure in those valiant Spaniards".

In contemporary documents of our own frontier there is certainly no idealization of the frontiersmen. The Moravian missionary Heckewelder, for example, addressing some pages to the Pennsylvania frontiersmen of his day who had most dishonourably slaughtered innocent village Indians in cold blood, exclaims: "Believe that a time will come when you must account for such vile deeds! when those who have fallen a sacrifice to your wickedness will be called forth in judgment against you! nay, when your own descendants will testify against you!"³

Heckewelder, however, reckoned without family, racial, or national pride. The particular murderous rascals whom he excoriates have been repeatedly whitewashed by those of their near and remote descendants who have made their history their own particular field of research.⁴ With reference to the wickedness and weaknesses of many other groups of frontiersmen there is in process to-day in the United States not only a whitewashing in the face of incriminating documents, but sometimes a deliberate destruction of old records, without publication, with a view to conceal from the future the real and often base humanity of the men of the frontier.⁵

However, the attitude of the scientific student is not to

¹ Letter to Payeras, September 17, Santa Barbara Archives, in Engelhardt, v. 3, p. 66, n. 1.

² Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, p. 676.

³ Heckewelder.

⁴ Ford; Hanna.

⁵ I refrain from mentioning some well-known instances, and others not generally known

praise or to blame. Victor Hugo has written: "To praise or to blame men for the results they achieve is like praising or blaming figures for the sum they amount to."¹ The gentle Father Francisco Palou in his Prologue to the life of Father Junipero Sarria, quoted above, says: "The misery of our nature is very great. . . . Remember thine own frailty and thou wilt have compassion on mine."²

Nevertheless we need not overlook the fact that the nastiness of the frontiersmen was an actual problem for the Indian; and it is for the vanished ghosts of innumerable Indians to praise or blame. Perhaps it may be, as Heckewelder insists, that some day they will be called forth in judgment even on the apologetic and intellectually dishonest descendants of the men of the frontier.

THE LAND HUNGER OF THE FRONTIERSMEN

Predisposed to villainy of all kinds as were a large section of the men of the frontier, they were incited to crimes against the Indian by the conflict between their economic interests and the interest and policy of the several colonial governments, and, later, of the Crown. The governors and councils of the coast settlements sometimes favoured the Indian trade interests, as we have noted; sometimes the political interests of the aristocratic classes largely resident on the coast in the old settlements; and sometimes the interests of the land speculators.

The frontiersman was "land hungry". There was then even as there is to-day abundant land available in the east coastal region, but the price and the rent made the lowest classes unable to avail themselves of it. They wanted land free of charge, and looked to get it through squatting on Indian lands. The government insisted that Indian lands must not be encroached upon save as purchases were made by the governmental authorities, and then a quit-rent was demanded from the settler. But the governments failed to liquidate the Indian title to lands fast enough to satisfy the land-hungry men of the frontier, who saw in the hunting territories reserved to the Indian for the pursuit of the beaver and deer merely land unreasonably being permitted to go to

¹ Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three*.

² In preface to Engelhardt, v. 1.

waste; land which the Indian did not need, inasmuch as he had his agricultural lands around his villages which could be made to furnish adequate subsistence; land which the Indian could not himself use agriculturally; yet land which the frontiersman with his European agricultural equipment and methods could immediately put to very productive uses.¹

The frontiersman's answer to the Indian policy of the governments was to go ahead and squat on the Indian's hunting grounds. These squatters were invariably the poorest of the frontiersmen, and frequently the dregs of the frontier. The Indian was impressed by the governments with the fact that his hunting grounds were his own sacred property. He was treated as politically independent. He resented the frontiersmen's invasion of his sacred right of property. He disliked the vulgar undiplomatic manners of the squatters.

Trouble between Indian and the squatter would break out. The government would hasten to the rescue. Invariably it was unequal to the problem of controlling the frontier. Sometimes it drove the squatters off. More often it brought pressure upon the Indians to sell the land. In either case disastrous irritations were set up between the frontiersmen and the native.

The government of the United States upon its organization faced this problem and introduced an instructive innovation in the handling of the squatter—one, however, which only served to fan the flames of hatred between native and frontiersman. Instead of turning the squatter off the Indian lands with its own soldiers it guaranteed non-interference if the Indians themselves took measures to turn out the squatters or kill them off. For example, the treaty of 1790 between the United States and the Creek Indians reads (article 5):

"The United States solemnly guaranty to the Creek nation all their lands within the boundary of the United States, to the westward and southward of the boundary described. . . . If any citizen of the United States, or any other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the Creeks' lands, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Creeks may punish him as they please. No citizen or inhabitant of the United States

¹ Compare Farrand, in *Yale Review*, p. 45; and Johnson's *Letters*, to Gage, March 22, 1769, and to Galloway, January 22, 1768.

shall attempt to hunt or destroy the game in the Creek lands. Nor shall any such citizen or inhabitant go into the Creek country, without a passport first obtained from the governor of some of the United States, or the officer of the troops of the United States commanding at the nearest military post on the frontiers, or such other person as the President of the United States may, from time to time, authorize to grant the same."

In the treaty of Aug. 3, 1795, with various tribes northwest of the Ohio, it is stipulated that:

"To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States. And until such sale the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all the citizens of the United States and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatsoever.

"If any citizen of the United States or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribe upon whose land the settlement shall be made may drive off the settler, and punish him in such manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements, made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think fit and proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands herein before stipulated."¹

The United States government, partly because of the need

¹ See *Treaties*. The same provisions are in the treaties with the Northwest Tribes of January 21, 1785, and the Cherokee Treaties of November 28, 1785, and July 2, 1791.

of holding the Indian tribes in alliance against the British, continued so to nourish the Indian tribes' conception of their political independence and land rights that when the time came when it was apparent that the cry of the frontier for more Indian land became irresistible and the Indians were approached for a new sale, the Indians frequently decided to refuse to sell.

A unique answer made by the allied tribes northwest of the Ohio, in 1812, to a proposal by the United States that they sell to the United States certain large areas which the frontier squatters had in large numbers made their own, and whose power was such that it was impracticable to raise the ire of the frontier by driving them off, is peculiarly interesting.

The Indians in this reply affect sympathy also for the squatters, and propose a new way of handling them to the United States government. They make note of the promise of the United States to them that they would be given "such a large sum of money or goods as was never given at any one time for any quantity of Indian lands. . . . And because these lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessities the United States will now furnish you with the like constant supplies."

But to this bribe of money and charity the Indians answered: "Brothers: Money to us is of no value, and to most of us it is unknown. And as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell our lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed and peace thereby obtained. We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they have crossed the Ohio. Divide therefore this large sum of money which you have offered to us, among these poor people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give us annually over and above this large sum of money. . . . If you add also the great sums which you shall have to expend in raising and paying armies in order to drive us out of our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labour and their improvements. . . ."

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The irritation between Indian and frontiersman was further aggravated through the fact that the independence of the Indian tribes on the frontier complicated the problem of punishment for crime. The Indian tribes as free political units were usually possessed of the right to punish their own criminals. When an Indian murdered a white man it was generally the practice in colonial days for the colonial government to communicate with the tribe to which the murderer was supposed to belong, and insist, if necessary, that the tribe apprehend the criminal and punish him.

Where the tribe concerned was one which had lost much of its actual political power and independence, the colonial government itself might mete out the punishment after the tribe had surrendered the criminal. But once having admitted the practice of permitting the independent tribes to take care of their own criminals, the transition to the point where the tribes' sovereignty was to be limited to the extent that the colonial government could claim a measure of criminal jurisdiction over the tribesmen was often accompanied with a wounding of Indian pride which sometimes precipitated an Indian war.

King Philip's War in New England from 1675 to 1676 was precipitated by Massachusetts' sudden assertion of criminal jurisdiction over the subjects of Philip, the Wampanoag king.¹

Generally, especially where dealings were with the Iroquois and the powerful South Appalachian confederacies, the colonial governments were interminably patient with the problems raised by conflicts of criminal jurisdiction on the frontier. There was no end to diplomatic correspondence between the various colonial governments and the various tribes. And, to the credit of the efficiency of the Indian political organization, justice was generally done, after full

¹ Compare, for example, Oldmixon, p. 415, where the Governor administers the native laws of blood revenge! Also Eschleman, pp. 323, 331; *Colonial Records of Pa.*, v. 1, p. 216. In these *Col. Rec.'s*, v. 3, p. 189 (1722), is a case where Penna. submitted the case of a white murderer—a Pennsylvanian—of a Delaware Indian to the supreme council of the Iroquois at Onandaga, N.Y., for decision as to the penalty to be meted. The Iroquois took into account mitigating circumstances and advised that the murderer be freed.

investigation by the tribal governments concerned. The colonial governments, on their part, were likewise just and relentless in the punishment of white thieves and murderers on the frontier. But in all this process there was a conflict between the colonial government and the men on the actual frontier.

A white man would be found murdered and scalped, apparently at least by an Indian. No one could know exactly what tribe might have committed the murder. There might be several absolutely independent tribes within the range of the frontier settlements where the murder took place. Each of these might deny that any of their members had committed the crime, and insist perhaps that it was done by some war party of a hostile tribe hundreds of miles off within the bounds of another colony. To apprehend the actual murderer might take one or two years of patient investigation and intercolonial coöperation.

In the face of such a situation the frontiersman very frequently applied a sort of lynch law. A group would merely go out and kill the first Indian they saw. In such cases, without exception, the Indians would eventually take revenge, and another Indian war might be the result. Sometimes, in such cases, even the official agents of the colonial government, themselves in sympathy with the violence of frontier temper, were criminally stupid and undiplomatic and slew the innocent without adequate investigation, bringing down upon their colony the horrors and the expenses of an Indian war. Such action it was which resulted in the Indian Wars in Virginia which in their turn served to precipitate Bacon's Rebellion, in 1675 and 1676.

The more powerful Indian tribes often attempted to coöperate with the colonial authorities to prevent clashes on the frontier. A typical example of this occurred in 1711 when the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Indians of Conestoga on the Susquehanna, then under the administration of the Five Nations of New York, that he was planning "to settle some people upon the branches of the Potomac", on lands which had been sold by the Indians; he desired the Indians of Conestoga to live amicably with them. But the Indian council answered: "That they are extremely well-pleased with the governor's speech. But as they are at

present at war with the Tuscaroras and other Indians they think the place not safe for any Christians, and are afraid if any damage should happen to these the blame will be laid upon them, that settlement being situate betwixt them and those at war with them." As a consequence, settlement was held back until there was less war among the Indians on the frontier.¹

EXTERMINATION: THE FRONTIERSMAN'S POLICY

The criminal elements among Spanish and Portuguese local officials and colonists were frequently guilty of the most atrocious and unnecessary massacres of refractory Indian groups. A narrative of these massacres would make a most gruesome story. It would not, however, add to the scientific value of this study. One point concerning them, however, must be made. Latin American massacres were incidents of the subjugation of the Indian communities to European sovereignty. Neither government nor settler aimed at the extermination of the native.

In North America, among the various peoples operating there, the French were never guilty of a massacre nor of a design for the extermination of the native. This, in all probability, was because they never reached the point in their colonial development where the native was not necessary as a military ally in their contest with the British for control of North America. And not as yet having attempted any extensive colonization, the French never had a flock of uncontrollable settlers moving heedlessly out among the Indians on the frontier.

The Swedes on the Delaware likewise never reached beyond merely the development of trading posts and a few farms which supplied the posts with European foods.

The Dutch colony in New York had time to develop further than the Swedish colony on the Delaware. The Dutch with their feudal patroon system had gone far towards the development of an agricultural colony, and in regard to the Algonkian tribes of the coast they evolved a policy of extermination.

Among the English colonists, the Quakers alone have their hands free from the blood of innocent women and children

¹ *Col. Rec. Penna.*, v, 2, p. 533, June 18, 1711.

and old men; they never deliberately schemed for the extermination of the natives. The Quakers were of a better grade of selected English stock than perhaps any other group of colonists and were more uniformly of upper middle-class origins. They were, moreover, trained in a discipline which made for peaceableness. I do not believe the Quakers under any conditions would have degenerated to common murderers as did the Puritans, Scotch-Irish, and most others, on the frontier.

Yet it must be pointed out that they were never in a position where they were put to the test. Their Indian policy was that policy of neglect of the native which we have described. They were an unimaginative, pecuniary people who thought that justice to the Indian consisted in doing him no positive evil, in paying him for his land and letting him go. They carried this pecuniary concept of justice, at times, to actually lugubrious¹ extremes.

It may be that among them there were criminalistic elements which were never brought to the surface because they never got out on the actual frontier, although the social history of the Quakers in the succeeding two centuries and more would indicate the contrary. But they came to colonial regions, notably in Pennsylvania, where other Europeans had been before them, where the Indians were already weakened and humbled and diminished. And their frontier was protected against the powerful war-like tribes farther to the interior, and against the French with their Indian allies who prepared to make a scalping raid on even a Quaker settlement if there were any to be found on the actual frontier.

The German sectarians were pacifistic like the Quakers, and like them settled most densely in Pennsylvania. They also were safely ensconced at a rather safe distance behind the "front", in little danger from the French and their Indians. They too have a record without the stain of massacre. But being nearer to the actual frontier, they gave off a large migrating population which moved into the Appalachians in Pennsylvania and southward, there mingling with the English and Scotch-Irish elements, losing their language and respelling their names, becoming part of the

¹ See, for example, the absurd situation described in R. W. Kelsey, pp. 51-52.

general backwoods population with all its Indian-murdering propensities, and giving rise to the "mountain-white" population still to be found in our Appalachians north and south.¹

The man on the frontier had little patience with the Indian policy of his government. He wanted the extermination of the Indian. He tried to effect it frequently enough by wholesale massacre of the native. This policy of impatience, of extermination, developing amidst the aggravations of the frontier, sometimes had its influence for evil on the local governmental officials and their agents. These officials of the capital cities seldom came, indeed, ever to sanction the method of outright butchery, but they came to feel, quite universally, that after all there was little use in trying to civilize or assimilate the native.

Very widely, in governmental circles, from those of seventeenth-century New England throughout those of nineteenth-century United States, while measures were ostensibly taken for the preservation of the native from the frontiersman, it was the avowed feeling that the function of the Indian policy was after all merely to keep the Indian at peace pending his gradual dying-off from more insidious causes than the sword or the bullet.

As we have shown, it was not inevitable that the Indian should die off. Inasmuch, however, as he did tend to die off under the operations of the "beneficent" North American Indian policies, the advocates and executors of these policies concluded that it was inevitable, and the popular mind was in harmony with this feeling and its resulting attitude of watchful waiting.

Statesmen and pseudo-scientists aplenty came along to rationalize the prevalent attitude. A prominent scientist in a paper written as late as 1888 felt it necessary to argue against this. He makes an illuminative observation:² "Only those legislative officials who are prepared to encourage downright murder can neglect their duty under the satanic consolation of the convenient extinction doctrine."

¹ Compare Campbell; Roosevelt.

² Mallery: *Population*, p. 358; and compare John Frost (LL.D.), p. 4; also see the New England letter cited above, p. 219; and Beeson, below, on attitudes in Oregon.

He refers, among other things, to the dictum of Schoolcraft, a man who investigated Indian affairs for the Federal government, and pretended to something of literary capacity and scientific erudition, and who uttered "the ex-cathedra dictum that 'the red man withers at the touch of civilization' ". Such vicious balderdash as Schoolcraft's still lingers among many writers and "thinkers" of the present day. MacNutt, for instance, loftily refers to "the obscure workings of the mysterious laws of race survival".¹

To-day, inasmuch as the North American Indian has nearly disappeared, such a mental haze concerning questions of scientific and practical import is harmless; but during the past it served to justify and encourage the criminal negligence of Indian agents and Indian bureaus in the United States.

REMOVALS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

The frontiersman was willing to withhold his murderous arm if his government would consent to remove the Indian tribes out of his reach. The government, to obviate violence, usually eager only to have the native die off in relative peace, was generally willing to satisfy the frontiersman by removing the Indian. In early colonial days in each colony many Indian tribes voluntarily removed the site of their settlements from the vicinity of white encroachment.

After every Indian war with the whites there were usually two phenomena observable—a retraction of the area of white settlement, and a drawing back of the Indian settlements. As a result there was a march of unoccupied territory for a time between white and Indian, which, as peace prolonged itself, again became filled with white settlers who again clashed with the natives.

The Indians, of course, were limited in their ability to draw back their settlements. It must not be thought that behind each tribe lay a wilderness out upon which they could move at will. We have explained that all land in the aboriginal Americas was jealously guarded property. An Indian tribe could move its village farther back into its own territory,

¹ MacNutt: *Casas*, pp. 131, 172; compare above, p. 313.

but without permission from its neighbours it could not move onto their land.¹

For example, the Tuscaroras, Tutelo, Shawnese, Nanticokes, Piscattoway, and other tribes moved from their homes in the Carolinas, in Maryland, and elsewhere, not westwards, but hundreds of miles northward to settle on lands of the Five-Nations Iroquois. The Iroquois wanted them to add to their strength and influence. The Creeks and other tribes to the westward did not want them.

Nor must it be thought that these tribes and others, although ostensibly moving voluntarily, were glad to leave their old homes. They left in order to get peace. Sometimes by leaving they became landless tenants-at-will living on lands not their own but property of another tribe. The Delawares and Shawnese, for example, voluntarily in a sense, moved finally into the Indian lands northwest of the Ohio, whence they sent war parties to take revenge upon the British colonists who had made life too unbearable for them in their old homes. In this far-away region they were landless, living beyond the Ohio River only on sufferance of the tribes whose property these lands were. In times of inter-tribal stress and strain they were made to feel the bitterness of their landlessness,² of the fact that they were nations without a country.

Eventually came the day when the rivalry ended between French and British and British and American. Before this time it was a matter of concern for any group of colonists to have "their" Indians remove far off where they might add to the military strength of a rival colony. Now there was no use for the Indians as allies. The Louisiana Purchase, moreover, opened up a great opportunity for the wholesale expelling of the Indians.

Came then the forcible removals of the larger tribes still resident east of the Mississippi River and the removal hither

¹ Compare the excellent type illustration in Swanton, 1924, p. 67 (1670), where Wm. Owen writes Lord Ashley (September 15) of the coastal Indians of South Carolina that "we have them in a pounds", because they were surrounded by enemy tribes upon whose lands they dared not trespass.

² Compare the treaty of August 18, 1804, with the Northwest Tribes; the treaty of January 31, 1786, with the Shawnese; of January 9, 1789, with the Wyandots (Hurons), etc.

and thither of tribes beyond the Mississippi as their lands became desirable to the westward-moving settlers. Under incitement of the local governments which were controlled by frontier interests, the United States government brought pressure to bear first for the removal west of the Mississippi of the Algonkian tribes resident in the territory northwest of the Ohio River, and of the great confederated tribes of the southern Appalachians—the Cherokee, Creeks, etc. Then once the practice of moving and removing the Indians under pressure began, it became a habit, and there has never been any end to it. The Indian has never been secure in his home.

This constant removal of tribes in North America was a disastrous evil. It was a consequence of the ineptness of the Indian policy. It was something which the natives of Spanish America were almost completely free from.¹ The Spanish policy fastened the Indian to the soil and kept him there to live and learn. He was given just enough land for his needs as an agriculturist. He was not confirmed in the possession of vast hunting territories which it must needs be inevitable that he could not hold against the pressure of the farming frontiersman, so there was no call for his removal.

But in North America, conceded the status of independent states, confirmed in their title to ridiculous quantities of land, permitted to fight and war upon one another and send their war parties against one another even through the area of white settlement, conceded criminal jurisdiction, unwanted as labourers, and so on, it was inevitable that the interests of settlement would demand their removal into the wilderness where they could kill one another off to their hearts' content.

The constant jostling about from pillar to post, and repeated pushing back from contact with the sources of civilization, was one of the factors which prevented the rapid acculturation of the native. Peace and security are necessary for the absorption by one people of the more advanced culture of another. This fact was emphasized in the report of the United States Secretary of War attached to the last annual message of President Monroe in 1825. Speaking of the Indian tribes, it observes: "One of the greatest evils to which they are subject is that incessant pressure of our

¹ Compare, however, Graham, pp. 256-257, for an exceptional situation (or above, p. 116, n. 1.)

population which forces them from seat to seat without allowing them time for that intellectual and moral improvement for which they appear to be naturally eminently susceptible. To guard against this evil, so fatal to the race, there ought to be the strongest and most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity, without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens."

Despite the appreciation of the evil of removal, to appease Georgia and other states President Monroe and his secretary advised Congress that virtually all the 90,000 Indians then resident east of the Mississippi River should be removed to the west. These 90,000 Indians held 77,000,000 acres of land!—an average of 230 acres to the family of three.

Not all this land, of course, was good farming land, but so much of it was that there was no possibility of the Indians cultivating it in centuries. This land was to be turned over to the whites, and the Indians were to be given acre for acre in the rich soil west of the Mississippi. Instead of solving the problem, the government perpetuated it. So long as the Indian had land he was not prepared to use, it was inevitable that conflict would ensue.

Four years after the above-quoted message to Congress, President Jackson, in 1829, still advocating removals to the West, in his first annual message to Congress, recognized the inconsistency of the policy which was being pursued. He pointed out that the United States had been spending large sums by way of helping the Indian tribes equip themselves for agricultural life after the European fashion; but "this policy has been coupled with another, wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them still farther into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state but have been led to look on us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its expenditures on the subject, the government has continually defeated its own policy, and the Indians in general, receding farther and farther to the west, have retained their savage habits."

These Presidents of the time of the Great Removals thought

to end the removal of the Indians by firmly planting them in the lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. They were too unimaginative to realize that the movement of white settlement would soon flood the great grasslands of the Middle West and sweep to the Pacific, and that the problem existing in the East would arise in the West. So the removals persisted through the nineteenth century, until, in 1895, a keen student of Indian affairs in retrospect could again observe that "the effect of these removals, so oft repeated, has at all times worked injury to the Indians and proved fatal to their advancement. Under the operation some tribes have yielded to despair. Others that survived did not recover from or overcome the fatal results for generations. Communities of our own race could not undergo like trials without serious loss in numbers as well as vitality; and if oft repeated, as in the case of the Indians, who have so often been removed, they would relapse into a very low state of civilization. When the facts are considered, there should be no surprise that our Indian wards have not advanced more rapidly".¹

¹ Manypenny, p. x.

CHAPTER XXV

SEGREGATION OF RACES IN RESERVATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA AND EARLY NORTH AMERICA

"In the future there be no grants of land to any Englishman whatsoever until the Indians be first served with the proportion of fifty acres of land for each bowman . . . with liberty of all waste and unfenced lands for hunting for the Indians."—*Virginia Law of 1658*.

THE NATURE OF "RESERVATIONS"

INCOMPATIBILITY of groups makes for segregation. Thus we get the Jewish Ghetto, the negro quarters in American cities, and reservations of the Indians.¹

In both North and South America the creation of Indian reservations is merely one aspect of the general Indian policies. They represent one form of the expression of the segregation feature² of Indian policies.

In a broad sense of the term, a reservation is essentially an area of land and its inhabitants set apart from the encircling dominant community by definite boundaries, within which boundaries there exists a code of law which differs from that which is effective in the surrounding community. The Catholic mission villages were in this sense reservations. The

¹ The segregation policy has resulted in "reserves" or "preserves" on many a frontier in history. Irish preserves are mentioned above (pp. 164, 171). Reservations of forest tribes in ancient India are mentioned in the Cambridge *Ancient India*, p. 49. Mission reservations of Ainu in Old Japan apparently were like the Christian mission reservations in America (Bishop: *Japan*), and like the mission reservations of Slav aborigines on the Saxon-Wend frontier in the tenth century. (See Thompson: *German Colonization*). The segregation motive is sometimes responsible for the islands of aboriginal race and speech found here and there over the globe in the midst of seas of the invaders. Even the Jewish Ghettos and the segregated negro districts of cities in the Southern United States are of the nature of "reservations", though so to classify them in this connection would lead us from our special consideration of geographical-cultural frontiers to that of intra-group-cultural frontiers, a classification, incidentally, which I might propose and define further if I thought it more useful than it is. With the Jewish Ghetto compare the Chinese and other special kampongs of Java (see Stravorinus, p. 179, etc.).

² Recall, too, the segregation features of the *encomienda*, above, p. 92.

reservation in the usual sense of the word is the secular reservation. That is, one in which a military or civil official, not a clergyman, is the agent of the dominant people in its relations with the reservation group. In speaking of the reservation, then, we will not use the term to include the missions.

The reservation idea developed first in Spanish America, specifically, in the West Indies.

THE FIRST SPANISH RESERVATION PLAN FAILS,
1516, 1529

By 1516 the Spanish Crown had come to feel that unrestrained mingling of European and Indian would effect the destruction of the Indian race. This development toward a policy of segregation of the native race we have explained in an early chapter. As a result of this, in 1516, when he became Regent of Castile and manager of the affairs of the Indies, Cardinal Ximenes sent the Jeronymites to the West Indies with large discretionary powers, to reorganize, if they chose, the Indian policy, and informed them that they might abolish the forced-labour system and establish a reservation system which he outlined for them.

Under this plan it was provided that the Indians should remain as they were, organized into their native villages or communes, *reducciones*. Each village was to be ruled by its native chief. Every villager was to be given legal title to a plot of ground for agricultural purposes, and was to have the right to share in the use of a village common for grazing. Each group of several villages was to be under the supervision of a Spanish civilian official, an Indian agent. This agent must be a married man, and preferably he should be married to the daughter of one of the Indian village chiefs. Among other things, he was to see that the Indian villagers did not sell their land at unreasonable prices. (The idea of making Indian lands inalienable had not yet appeared.) To assist each agent ("administrator") there should be a committee composed of one village chief, and a friar.

The Indians were to have schools for their children, and education was to be universal and compulsory. Spanish should be taught in the schools, as well as the native languages.

Each village, moreover, was to have a building to serve as a hospital and as a poor-house.

No Spaniards, outside of the agent and his assisting friar, were to be permitted to live in the Indian villages. It was recommended, however, that reputable colonists be urged to marry the daughters of the village chiefs in order that their mixed-blood children should inherit the chiefship over the Indians and so be of more influence in the dissemination of Spanish and Christian culture.

The Indians were to be deprived of the use of firearms. And finally, the gold mines or washeries, which were the property of the Crown, were no longer to be worked on shares by the colonists, but by the Indians. One-third of the product of these mines was to be the share of the Crown (it was one-fifth when they were worked by the colonists). The other two-thirds was to belong to the Indians.

The committee of each group of villages—composed of an agent, a friar, and a chief—was to expend this two-thirds share in purchasing cattle, poultry, furniture, tools, and so on, for the Indians. Out of this sum also they were to hire Spanish prospectors to seek out new sources of gold for the Indians to exploit.¹ This plan was again taken up by the Emperor Charles V in 1529, for initial application in Cuba.²

We have explained elsewhere how, after a step toward putting this plan into effect had been made, an epidemic of smallpox and various colonial disturbances caused the plan to be given up.³ Thenceforth the segregation ideal of the Crown expressed itself not in the form of the secular reservation but in the missions, in the regulation of the *encomienda*, and in the *administracoens*, of Brazil.

In time, however, there was established in each government in Spanish and Portuguese Americas, a "Protector of the Indians", whose function it was to see that the laws favouring the Indians were enforced. He was, as was the case with similar officials in North America, responsible not to the local governor, but to the Crown directly. His department corresponds to the Indian departments in the North American colonies.

¹ Helps: *Conquest*.

² Wright: *Cuba*.

³ See above, p. 85.

THE FIRST ACTUAL RESERVATIONS, 1642

The reservation in Spanish America, called the *resguardo de Indigenas*, did not come into being again after the failure to put into permanent effect the plan already described, until 1642. After 1607 no more *encomiendas* were granted, and those already granted were lapsing. By 1698 the last grant of *encomiendas* had lapsed and the official forced-labour system went out of existence. The missions, of course, were at the height of their activity.

Many of the Indians of the lapsed *encomiendas* were landless, and became peons of their former *encomenderos*. Many still held title to land, and these were organized into *resguardos*. Many "wild" tribes not reached by the missionaries were persuaded to settle near the Spanish towns as *resguardo* Indians.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish lands in 1765, the great Guarani missions of Paraguay were secularized, were made *resguardos* instead of missions, to their complete ruin. The lands of the *resguardos* or reservations were the property of the Indians, but they were inalienable. The reservation government was under the jurisdiction of the Crown, not of the local government.

PRESENT DAY LATIN AMERICA

When the Spanish colonies, one after another, tore themselves loose from their European moorings and became republics and sovereign states, they fell heir to the Crown's reservation plan. The reservation then became the generally approved plan for settling and ruling the unassimilated or "wild" Indians in the Latin American republics.

The secular reservation in Latin America as in North America has proved itself a splendid scheme for "graft" on the part of governmental officials; and has proved itself deleterious in its effects on the Indian. Civil administrators have been shown to have no interest in the welfare of their wards, and the reservation Indians, robbed and browbeaten, instead of becoming receptive to European civilization have

drawn back into the shell of their own conservatism with an intense hatred of their Latin American mestizo exploiters.¹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY COLONIAL RESERVATION IN NORTH AMERICA

We have already explained that the early Indian policy pursued in New England and Virginia up to well past the middle of the seventeenth century is distinctly similar to the policy of the Spaniards in that it did not recognize the Indians' title to the soil. Consequently the first Indian reservations in North America originated in the same manner as did reservations in Latin America. The Indian tribe dealt with was assigned land, and the title to this land was given the tribe by the colonial government.

After a short period of experiment it was, as in Latin America, found expedient to make the reservation lands inalienable, due to the fact that otherwise the Indian could be made drunk by settlers in the environs when he would sell them his land for a song.

EFFECTS OF THE PEQUOT WAR, 1637, 1647.

The first reservations in the English colonies took their beginnings in a most interesting and instructive fashion. In 1637 the armies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut had crushed the powerful and irritating Pequot tribe which had dominated Connecticut and upper Long Island. Most of the remaining bands of the Pequots were placed under the sovereignty of Uncas, a former Pequot chief who was now chief of the Mohegans, who were formerly a Pequot group, but who had been allies of the English. Uncas, after the war of 1637, was an independent sovereign in alliance with the New England colonies.

The conquered Pequots under his jurisdiction had to pay heavy tribute in wampum money—then legal tender in

¹ On Protectors of the Indians, and *resguardos*, under the crown, see the *Recopilacion*. On the subsequent history of the *resguardos*, in Colombia, for example, see Herrera; in other Latin American republics see Salas, p. 69 seq.; in Peru and Bolivia, especially concerning abuses, see Walle.

European New England and New York—not only to the English colonies but also to Uncas, whom they looked upon as a tyrant and whom they hated because of his assistance to the English in accomplishing the destruction of their tribe.

The Pequot band settled on the site of what is now New London, Connecticut, was headed by their own chief, Cassassinamon—who, however, was subject to Uncas. In 1640 some English settlers moved to this locality, and made a friendly arrangement with Cassassinamon whereby the English settlement and the Indian village could live peaceably together. Cassassinamon now began to insist that he was under the protection of this English settlement and free from the sovereignty of Uncas. Uncas prepared to assert his sovereignty violently and to collect his tribute. Then Cassassinamon began petitioning the Connecticut General Court to formally take him and his band under their protection, to assign them land with legal title to it, and to free them from Uncas.

CONNECTICUT, 1647–1649

In 1647 Connecticut flatly refused the request; such an act would anger Uncas, and Uncas was too powerful an ally to offend. In 1649, however, urged by John Winthrop of the town of New London, the Court went so far as to assign Cassassinamon and his band a tract of land and give them title to it. So far as government was concerned, they insisted that these Pequots, although now to live on land over which Connecticut was sovereign, were to be under the jurisdiction and government of Uncas, an independent sovereign!

MASSACHUSETTS, 1651

Four years later, in 1651, Massachusetts Bay Colony went much beyond this half-way step. Eliot had converted to Christianity some hundreds of the Massachusetts tribe of Indians. These coastal Indians were a friendless, weak people, in dread of their stronger enemy tribes of the hinterland. From the very beginning of settlement they were

glad to have the English near to protect them from the assaults of other tribes.

It was on the request of these now Christianized natives that the colony assigned them land to which they were given legal title, and established them on this land under the colonial jurisdiction. The first of these reservations was the "town" of Natick. These Christian Indians were called the "Praying Indians".¹

CONNECTICUT AGAIN, 1654

Shortly after this Connecticut, on the continued urging of the Indians concerned themselves, took the chance of permanently offending Uncas and took Cassassinamon's band under their jurisdiction. At the same time another Pequot band, that of Cashawashet or Herman Garrett, was made a reservation group. This was in 1654.

Under the new order the hereditary chief of each Pequot band was made the officially appointed agent of the colony on his reservation, and he was assisted by one of his sub-chiefs. The chief and sub-chief as agents of the government were called "governor" and "assistant governor", and their appointment had to be confirmed by the colony each year.

The powers of these agents were magisterial. The reservation bands were forbidden to make war without the consent of the colony; they were to continue to pay the annual tribute—a very heavy one—imposed on them as a result of the war of 1637; and they were obliged to submit to some of the Blue Laws of the colony. The Indians were delighted to be taken under the jurisdiction of the colony and freed from the tyranny of Uncas.²

MASSACHUSETTS AGAIN, 1656

Then Massachusetts took a new step, toward the creation of an Indian Department. The reservations of Praying Indians had multiplied. A thousand or more Indians were settled on them. In 1656 Gookin was appointed "superintendent of all the Indians" in Massachusetts. His powers

¹ De Forest, pp. 226-227, 242; Gookin, pp. 179-180.

² De Forest, 246-248.

were magisterial. His work was to supervise the reservations and coördinate their governments, and to go from one Indian "town" to another and to sit with the native Indian officials in a sort of municipal court.¹

VIRGINIA, 1656

Virginia took steps to create reservations for its legally landless Indian remnants, by 1656. The wars of 1622 and 1644 had nearly accomplished the extermination of the Virginia tribes, and the colony considered that their lands were forfeit to the colony by right of conquest. In the regulations set forth in this year the various tribes were assigned lands and their chiefs by appointment were made agents of the colony. In these regulations we have the first appearance of the rule that the lands assigned the aborigines are to be inalienable. Laws of 1658 supplemented those of 1656. In 1658 it was ordered "that in the future there be no grants of land to any Englishman whatsoever until the Indians be first served with the proportion of fifty acres of land for each bowman . . . with liberty of all waste and unfenced lands for hunting for the Indians".²

CONNECTICUT FURTHER, 1663

Connecticut now made further innovations in her regulations, as year by year new bands of Indians were on their own request being assigned lands and accepted under the colonial jurisdiction. It was ordered that while the native chief should be the official agent for his reservation, his assistant or adviser should be a white man. In 1663 the collection of tribute from the reservation Indians was discontinued.³

¹ Gookin, pp. 120, 177.

² *Laws . . . Indians, Virginia*. In 1792 Indians were permitted to buy and sell land among themselves, but not to whites. By 1786 a Board of Trustees was in charge of each reservation.

³ De Forest, pp. 259-262, 270.

OTHER COLONIES

In 1704, to dispose of the Nanticoke tribe, Maryland assigned them a reserve. The tribal chiefship was hereditary, but succession to the position had to be ratified by the colonial governor.

In 1717 the proprietor of Pennsylvania assigned the Conestoga Indians land on his own manor near the Susquehanna and placed on their reservation a white farmer to live with them and teach them European methods of farming.¹

In 1707 the South Carolina government provided for the appointment of resident Indian agents; but these were, like the Indian agents appointed by Sir William Johnson under the Crown after the French and Indian wars, representatives sent completely to rule outlying Indian tribes for the European governments. South Carolina soon gave up this plan of having resident representatives among the remote tribes.

In the Carolinas, however, broken remnants of tribes were from time to time made into reservation groups, during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century, in the same manner as in Virginia, by assigning them land to live on in the neighbourhood of some settlement of whites, and by bringing them under the jurisdiction of the colony.²

THE FATE OF THESE EARLY RESERVATIONS

These early reservations of the coastal tribe remnants, established largely before the French and Indian Wars following 1754, continued to remain in fact under the jurisdiction of the various colonies, later, of the various states, even after the affairs of the Indian of the Appalachians and westward had been brought under the jurisdiction directly of the Crown, and later, of the United States federal government. Scattered like little islands in the midst of our Atlantic coast populations, many of them still exist. There are, however, practically no full-blood Indians left on these old reservations. Many of them have absorbed considerable

¹ *Pa. Archives*, v. 8, p. 49. Also note that on March 24, 1789, Pennsylvania granted some Senecas a reserve in Warren County where some mixed bloods still live on the reserve.

² On the Carolinas see Lauber; and for neighbouring areas, Swanton, 1922, p. 69 (1675).

negro blood. Freed negroes found a haven of rest in these little islands, intermarried, and thus acquired land. Having been trained to labour, and in European agricultural methods, these ex-slaves and their mixed descendants made for temperance and industry on the Indian reservations.¹

¹ Compare Chase: *Wampanoag*, p. 891 (1764); Apes: *Marshpee*; Speck: *Nanticoke*. On an eastern Indian group virtually without negro blood see Donaldson: *Cherokee*; for a group of mixed negro-white-Indian blood see Estabrook and McDougal (rather unsatisfactory study, however). A similar triple mixture is present in the Rappahannocks and the Nanticokes described more adequately by Speck. See also Speck: *Tuskigi*, *Machipongo*, and *Rappahannocks*.

For further information on regulation of the early colonial reservations see *Laws . . . Indians*, and the various colonial archives, all of which are readily accessible in libraries and which are well indexed.

The Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1924 has several chapters devoted to these old reservation groups as they exist to-day.

This report (p. 6—and see also Knoepfler) points out that the jurisdiction exercised by the states over some of these groups is probably without warrant of law, but the situation, as, for example, in the case of the New York Iroquois reservations, has never been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

PART V
THE SWEEP OF EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FRENCH WAR AND ITS EFFECTS, 1754-1763

"On the 14th inst. the proclamation of war against the Delaware Indians was published at the Court House in the presence of the Council, Supreme Judges, Magistrates, Officers, etc., and large concourse of people. . . ."

"For the scalp of every Indian woman produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of 50 pieces of eight."—*Declaration of War against an Indian Tribe by Pennsylvania, and the accompanying Scalp Bounty, April 14, 1756.*

BY 1664, when the Dutch West India Company was driven from the Hudson, British colonies occupied a continuous stretch of territory from the region held by the French on the St. Lawrence River down the Atlantic coast as far as the Spanish settlements in Florida. However, British settlement and political control only extended inland a few miles. At this time the lands beyond the Appalachian mountain chain were as yet practically unexplored. The Mississippi valley was the heart of a dark continent. By this date, too, with its adoption the year before by the newly established colony of Carolina, the various colonies followed a rather uniform Indian policy. The native tribes were treated as independent, sovereign nations, not to be disturbed. Their lands were to be acquired only by formal cession by deed or treaty, usually for a money consideration.

THE SWARMING OF THE BRITISH HIVE

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the swarming population of the English colonies, increased by a steady immigration of indentured servants, released criminals, and dissident religionists of all sorts from both Great Britain and the Continent—some of them of the finest racial stock, some of them of the worst—had flooded westward to the Appalachians. Land speculators, companies and individuals, anticipated its overflow to the fertile fields over the Ohio River and beyond the mountains, and were always busy trying to

get grants of lands which they could subdivide among settlers at a profit.

By 1749 there was a population of about 1,000,000 in the English colonies, and only about 80,000 or less in those of France in North America. The population of Spanish Florida at this time was negligible.

The 1,000,000 British had a relatively large birth rate and a low death rate and tens of thousands of persons desiring Indian lands to farm were beginning to push against the Ohio River and the Appalachian borders of the already occupied coasts.

The French were eager to check the possibility of the overflowing of this human reservoir beyond the natural barriers referred to. They wanted to reserve the west for the fur trade.

In 1749 King George granted 500,000 acres of land in the Ohio valley to a company of land speculators, the Ohio Company. This company was composed of wealthy Virginians. Two brothers of George Washington were members of it; as was also the governor of Virginia.¹ By the terms of the King's grant, this company was required to plant one thousand families on this land, and to maintain a fort on it for defence against Indians and all possible aggression by any other peoples.²

¹ Compare Alvord: *Miss. Valley*; and C. Bacon-Foster: *Potomac Route*. George Washington was the first President of the Patowomeck Company, which operated from 1748 to 1828. Miss Foster's study is from documentary sources. Alvord offers interesting maps illustrating a number of great western real-estate promotions such as that of the Ohio Company.

² The progress of French fortification of French "spheres of influence", or "mandates" of a sort, may be summarized here. (1) *From 1534 to 1611* there had been little more than exploration; in 1608 Port Royal (in Acadia, or Nova Scotia) had been founded; also Quebec. Meantime the Spanish were exploring as far north as western Nebraska—Quivira of Coronado, 1540; as far north as Nashville, Tennessee—De Soto, 1541; and establishing missions on the Rio Grande, 1582, and in New Mexico, 1598; and conquering Florida—St. Augustine, 1565. Meantime the English had founded Jamestown, Virginia, having failed in the Roanoke Colony in North Carolina in 1585. (2) *From 1611 to 1665* there was continued relative inaction save in exploration by the French, while the English were busily populating Virginia and New England, and beginning their undertaking in Carolina. (3) *From 1665 to 1700* the French fortified the upper and middle Mississippi valley and the Great Lakes (five forts on the Mississippi and three on Lakes Superior and Huron). Meantime English settlement in the tidewater area was becoming denser and the ruin of Spanish Florida was initiated. (4) *From*

THE CLASH WITH THE FRENCH FUR-TRADING
INTERESTS

The Revolutionary War looms big in the school histories, and justly so. But the French and Indian Wars of which we now write were more costly to Great Britain than was the War of the Revolution. As a matter of fact the British government sent to America in the French and Indian War a larger number of soldiers and sailors, and spent more blood and treasure in defending the colonies and in wresting North America from the French for the colonies' benefit than she spent in attempting to suppress their rebellion. Although, in the various attempts at the reduction of Canada, no large armies, like those of Burgoyne or Cornwallis, were lost by surrender, yet the number of men slaughtered in siege and battle was greater and the expeditions, being in the wilderness, were more costly.¹

In 1750, George Washington, then a young surveyor, had been sent out to survey and locate the grant of the Ohio Company, and he and his men succeeded in surveying as far along the Ohio River as Louisville, Kentucky. The company then decided to erect a fort at the junction of the Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny Rivers—now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Meantime the French became alarmed at this effort of the colony of Virginia, through a colonizing company with the support of the British Crown, to fortify and settle territory which France considered as its own sphere of influence. They, too, began to build forts from Lake Erie south to Pittsburg, and in 1754 French soldiers and Virginian militiamen finally clashed.

This clash between Virginia and colonial French troops was the opening of the first war in North America which was not a mere colonial reflex of war between the parent

1696 to 1717 fortification and plantation developed on the Lower Mississippi and the adjacent Gulf Coast: 1696, Pensacola; 1717, Natchitoches and New Orleans. The British still were consolidating and deepening their grip on the Atlantic tidewater and intruding now on the piedmont beyond. (5) In 1753 and 1754 the French began to fortify the Ohio River valley for defence. Four forts were built including Du Quesne (Pitt or Pittsburg), forming a chain which reached northward to the two forts already on Lake Ontario. The English at last were prepared to break down the French defence.

¹ Griffis.

states in Europe. In this case it was war in the colonies which led to war between the parent nations in Europe and the rest of the world. If the colonies, French and English, had been left to fight out the issue themselves, it is evident that the tremendous superiority of the English colonies in point of numbers and ability to raise militia for military operations would eventually overwhelm the resistance of the 80,000 French¹ fur traders and farmers and their Indian allies.

But colonial affairs were not to be decided merely by military operations and political policy in the colonies. The war which was to decide the issue in North America was a world-wide war. The British Crown in 1754 immediately put colonial military operations under the supreme command of General Braddock, who proceeded to supplement his command of British soldiers with colonial militiamen, notably Virginians, and took the field against the French forces. War in North America was on, but a formal declaration of war between France and England was not made until 1756.

Hostilities in North America ended in 1759 with the British conquest of Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley, but hostilities continued in the Old World, and peace was not signed until 1763. Britain and France warred for control in India as well as in North America. To North America France sent only five thousand new troops for operations and consequently was relatively weak there. The peace of 1763 resulted in the complete surrender to Britain of the St. Lawrence valley, the Great Lakes region, and the Ohio valley, with the trans-Allegheny area west to the Mississippi River save for New Orleans and its neighbouring territory.¹

THE WAR AND THE INDIANS

As a sector in a great World War, effective in widening the sphere of British influence in North America, the war of 1754 to 1763 in North America is of great historical import. For our study, however, the effect on the Indians and the Indian

¹ One might read Pouchot for an interesting contemporary account of "the late wars" between France and England in North America. On Braddock's and other campaigns, and on negotiations for peace with the Indian tribes, see Volweiler; Thwaites.

policy is the centre of interest. From this point of view the war was critical in its effect in disrupting the Iroquois Confederation. This we have already discussed.¹ The war caused devastation in the lands of the Creeks, and other great Indian confederations of the southern piedmont and Appalachians, but this did not bring about any actual crisis in their history, so we will summarize events there when we consider the crises which were later to eventuate among them.

The conclusion of the war in favour of England made for Pontiac's war—more important in Indian history than the French war prior to 1763, the chief interest of which from the point of view of the Indian frontier centres on the interesting declaration of war of Pennsylvania upon the Delaware Indian tribe and that colony's dealings in Indian scalps.

SCALP BOUNTIES

Before war had been formally declared between England and France, Sir William Johnson had attacked Crown Point, General Monckton had taken Acadia and exiled many of the French nation (an event which gave rise to Longfellow's beautiful "Evangeline"), and Braddock had suffered a terrible defeat in an attempt to take Fort Duquesne.

Braddock's defeat was accomplished by the Indian allies of France rather than by the few French soldiers in the attack. The enemy Indian force included Ojibways and Ottowas from the Great Lakes, Abenakis from Nova Scotia, Canawaughas (Mission Iroquois), Hurons (Wyandots), and Shawnese and Delawares.

In June of 1755 General Braddock had offered his own soldiers a bounty of five pounds for each enemy scalp, French or Indian; and special rewards—two hundred pounds for the scalp of Shingass (Wild Cat) a Delaware chief, and *one hundred pounds for the scalp of Father Le Loutre, a Jesuit missionary among the Ohio Indians*. This offer of scalp bounties continued a practice begun by the Dutch and Puritans.² Braddock's initiation now led to adoption of this plan of stimulating offensive war against the Indians, by various of

¹ Above, pp. 290-291.

² Above, pp. 223, 244, n. 1, and p. 401.

the colonies. The governor of Pennsylvania, notably, the very next year, announced a series of premiums for scalps which for a number of reasons is particularly deserving of notice.

In the minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania for April 14, 1756, is entered the "Proclamation of War against the Delaware Indians", by the government of Pennsylvania, signed by Deputy Governor Robert H. Morris: "On the 14th inst. the proclamation of war against the Delaware Indians was published at the Court House in the presence of the Council, Supreme Judges, Magistrates, Officers, etc., and a large concourse of people. . . ." This was a great day for the Philadelphia populace. The atmosphere must have exuded hate for those infamous Delaware Indians who, evicted by the government two decades before (1742),¹ were now taking their revenge by harrying the frontier.

The proclamation went on to the point where the good citizens are urged to go out and get scalps: "And whereas the commissioners appointed with me to dispose of the £60,000 lately granted by Act of General Assembly for His Majesty's use, have, by their letter to me of the tenth inst. agreed to pay out of the same and several rewards for prisoners and scalps hereinafter specified; and, therefore, as a further inducement and encouragement to all His Majesty's liege people, and to the several Tribes of Indians who continue in friendship and alliance with us, to exert and use their utmost endeavour to pursue, attack, take, and recover such of His Majesty's subjects as have been taken and made prisoners by the said enemies; I do hereby declare and promise, that there shall be paid out of the said £60,000 to all and every person and persons, as well Indians as Christians not in the pay of this province, the several and respective premiums and bounties following, that is to say:

"For every male Indian enemy above twelve years old, who shall be taken prisoner and delivered at any forts garrisoned by the troops in the pay of this province, or at any of the county towns to the keepers of the common jails there, the sum of one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars or pieces of eight:

"For the scalp of every male Indian enemy above the age

¹ Above, p. 263.

of twelve years, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight:

“For every female Indian taken prisoner or brought in as aforesaid, and for every male Indian prisoner under the age of twelve years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, one hundred and thirty pieces of eight:

“For the scalp of every Indian woman produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of fifty pieces of eight:

“And for every English subject that has been taken and carried from this province into captivity that shall be recovered and brought in and delivered at the City of Philadelphia to the Governor of this province, the sum of one hundred and fifty pieces of eight, but nothing for their scalps. . . .”

Persons “in the pay of the Province”—that is, soldiers—received only one-half of these sums as bounties.¹

Scalping was a native custom which was merely a variant of head-taking.² Here we find it adopted by Christian Anglo-Saxon states of great civilization, wealth, and power. Adopted not in hate and the heat of anger, or for reprisals, so much as cold-bloodedly, merely as a military expedient which was designed to encourage the cowardly and lazy to take the field in their spare time.

It was, in a way, a money-saving expedient, in that if the many thousand frontier farmers could be encouraged to make offensive war against the Indians on a commission basis there would be needed so much less a number of regular soldiers paid and maintained by the government during long periods of inactivity. The plan encouraged the killing of innocent non-combatants, and the murder of Indians who were not a party to war against the English. It is notoriously a fact that in those days many Indians even of tribes actively allied to the English were murdered by the frontiersmen with a view to getting scalps to turn in for the premiums offered.

What official could tell the difference between the scalp of a murdered Christian Indian and that one of a slain enemy Indian? We note, further, the inducement offered in the

¹ Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, in the *Archives*, v. 7, pp. 88-90. On other scalp bounties see our index.

² See Friederici, and Grinnel. As a variant of head-taking scalping also formerly was practised in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Pennsylvania premiums for the man-hunters of the frontier to kill their prisoners, or, rather, not to take prisoners at all. What frontiersman would ordinarily take the trouble and go to the expense of dragging Indian men and boys as prisoners to a fort or county seat to collect one hundred and fifty pieces of eight for each *when, by tomahawking them and merely bringing in their scalps at his leisure when he had bagged enough, he could collect for each one hundred and thirty pieces of eight!*

Circumstantial evidence for the deduction that the Pennsylvania government deliberately determined to encourage the murdering of those males who might otherwise be taken prisoner lies in the fact that while the difference in the rewards for the dead and the alive in the case of male children and male adults is insignificant, the difference in the case of women and infants is great.

The Delaware Indians against whom this declaration of war had been directed had done much damage to life and property on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers following the defeat of Braddock. But as the tide of war began to turn against the French in the course of the next year, they subsided. Some bands were brought again under the influence of the neutral Iroquois in 1756—those bands, chiefly, who still resided in the northern Susquehanna valley.

In 1758 Christian Post journeyed to the Ohio valley and negotiated peace between the Shawnese and Delawares there and the English, assuring their neutrality for the brief remainder of the war. In 1759 Quebec was taken. Fighting was ended in North America, between French and English. Peace between France and Great Britain in the Old World was made in 1763.

THE CROWN ARROGATES INDIAN AFFAIRS TO ITSELF, 1754-1763

For our study these events are of further significance in that they led the British Crown to take personal charge of Indian affairs. Hitherto each colony dealt in any way it chose with its own neighbour Indians. The Crown had been led immediately to take over Indian affairs upon the inception of the war in the colonies due to the fact that it was apparent

that the independent Indian tribes were destined to be a considerable factor in deciding the issue of military operations.

The French relied to a large extent upon Indian allies, and their administrative centralization facilitated their dealings with the Indians, while the English colonies were sadly at odds with one another in dealing with the numerous Indian tribes. General Braddock, therefore, was led to appoint one Indian agent to deal with the tribes of the North and another to deal with those of the South. Sir William Johnson had the more important task of acting as agent for the Iroquois and other tribes of the North. Braddock's move soon received the approval of the Crown. These agents during the period of hostilities were subordinate to the military command, but after 1763 they were civil appointees acting under the immediate direction of the Crown and its advisory committees on colonial affairs.

THE POLICY OF THE CROWN

The Crown in its dealings with the Indians adopted the policy which had been evolved by the colonies, and made that policy uniform and definite. The Indian tribes were to be treated as independent nations under the protection of the Crown. Their lands were their own until they voluntarily might transfer any or all of them to the Crown. This policy, moreover, was extended to dealings with the many Indian tribes who had hitherto been under the French influence and had been dealt with according to the somewhat different French policy.

Yet, the British Crown claimed that its sovereignty extended over all the Indians and their lands westward to the Mississippi, and refused to concede that the Indians were possessed of a full title to their lands. The apparent inconsistency of practice and theory underwent a number of specious rationalizations at the hands of jurists. What the situation actually amounted to in fact, however, is simply explained.

The British Crown recognized the fact of the absolute political independence and the actual ownership of the land of the Indian tribes, but it claimed for itself an option on the purchase of these lands. No one else might buy, neither

any foreign state, nor any subject of the Crown. The assumption of the direct control over Indian affairs by the Crown naturally was to result in a change in the process through which Indian reservations were to evolve. But for reasons which will be apparent it will be better to consider this change as regards reservations when we take up the Indian policy of the United States.¹

¹ The report of the Lords of Trade to the Council at the Court of St. James, November 23, 1761, formally advised the adoption of the land-purchase Indian Policy by the Crown. On December 2 of the same year, the Crown formulated its policy in the document called "*Draft of an Instruction for the Governors of Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, forbidding them to Grant Lands or Make Settlements which may interfere with the Indians bordering on these Colonies*". The Lords of Trade and the Crown were motivated by the fear of irritating the Indian tribes and thus forcing them to continued French alliance as had been done with the Shawnese and Delawares (see above, p. 269). It was not until after the issuance of the above orders that the Indian agents of the Crown in the North and South were free from limitations imposed heretofore upon them by the military and by the colonial governors. The Proclamation of 1763, an epoch-marking document, followed. (Compare Thomas in Royce, p. 556; and Alvord: *Genesis*, the latter being an especially valuable study. Supplementary to Alvord consider Henderson, Williams, and Goodpasture.)

CHAPTER XXVII

PONTIAC AND HIS BEAVER WAR—1763-1765

“Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death.”
—*Benjamin Franklin, on massacres of children and aged persons.*¹

THE signing of the treaty of peace between England and France in 1763 left the French power in North America in control of New Orleans and of the west shores of the Mississippi River, and of the great Indian country westward over the plains or prairies to the desert and mountain borders of the then Spanish dominions. The great fertile territory northwest of the Ohio River up to the Great Lakes, fortified by the French but virtually without inhabitants save for the various Algonkian Indian tribes whose home it now was, was ceded to England and English garrisons occupied the forts.

It was now the task of the British Crown through its northern agent, Sir William Johnson, to establish amicable relationships with the Indian tribes of this “Old Northwest”. The task was no easy one, and the attempt ended in failure and a serious war—a war not only serious for the English colonies, but also a war which virtually broke the back of Indian power in the Northwest.

THE INDIANS DISTURBED

This territory was occupied by the already enfeebled Central Algonkian tribes. These had been joined from time to time by immigrant tribes who were able to find accommodation in this already partially depopulated region. The Algonkian Delawares and Shawnese had moved over the Ohio and Wyandot or Huron bands had come to establish their villages.

The geographical and political relationships of these northwestern tribes were chiefly with the Seneca tribe of the

¹ See below, p. 415.

Iroquois Confederation. The northwestern tribes were friendly to French interests; the Senecas, although neutral along with the rest of the Iroquois tribes, always had inclined towards the French rather than the English. Incidentally, the Senecas were by far the most populous and most powerful of the remaining Iroquois tribes.

The northwestern tribes had from the beginning of their relationships with the French been petted and showered with presents and kind words. Their trade and their alliance had been necessary to the expansion of French influence and power. The French sent out no broods of squatting farmers to encroach on the Indian hunting territories. French traders were men carefully selected by the trading companies to deal amiably and honestly with the natives. The French made no attempt to limit the political sovereignty of the native tribes.

Naturally enough, then, these tribes as well as the Iroquois hesitated to see French power, as a counterbalance to English power, pass from the continent. Some of them, the Shawnese for example, would have preferred to trade with the English for the same reason as did the Iroquois, because English industrial products were cheaper, but yet they took up arms for France in order to keep the French on the Ohio.

Fighting ended in North America, as we have observed, in 1759, although Old World difficulties were not finally compounded and peace signed until 1763. There were, then, four years of truce in North America, years in which the Indians were in an upset state.

In the fall of 1760 Major Robert Rogers was sent to take over Detroit, Michillimackinac, and the other northwestern forts of the French. In November, on his way to Detroit, he met Pontiac, who had been leader of the Ottawas as allies of the French against the English. Pontiac at this time appeared sincerely willing to coöperate with the English, and it seems that he hoped to obtain personal aggrandizement through such coöperation.

But from this day, when English power stood unchallenged in the Northwest, the English authorities felt no need to cater for the political sensitivities of the Indian tribes and their chieftains. Treaty presents decreased in value. Less dignity was accorded the chiefs in their political conferences

with the English officers. English squatters began to move in on Indian lands, feeling that the Indians were cowed. English traders felt safe in ruthlessly cheating and insulting the Indians.

Altogether the English became immediately distasteful to the Indians, and they longed for a return of French power to check the dominance of the English and put the Indians again in the saddle as holders of something of the balance of power.

The despair which overtook the natives is evidenced in the fact that a messiah of whom we shall speak in a later chapter appeared among the Ohio Delawares and his message was eagerly accepted by large numbers of all the northwestern tribes.

The French traders made use of the Indian discontent. They explained to the Indians the fact that France and England were still at war in the Old World. They insisted that the defeat of the French in North America was only temporary, and that if the Indians would rise and drive the English from the Northwest, in a short time the French King would send French troops who would help the Indians keep them out.

PONTIAC: HEAD CHIEF OF THE OTTOWAS AND PRIEST OF THE MIDEWIWIN

The first sign that this underhand stimulation of Indian hate was having effect appeared in the growing hostility to the English of the Seneca Iroquois in 1761. Then the hereditary head chief of the Ottowas, Pontiac, who was also a principal priest of the great religious secret society of the Algonkian tribes, the Midewiwin, decided to assume the leadership of the discontented Indians.

Pontiac was then about fifty years old. His tribe, the Ottowas, had long been loosely allied to the Ojibways (Chippeways) and the Pottowattomies, and he soon was the leader of this triple alliance. He began to preach—somewhat under the influence of the Prophet who had arisen among the Delawares and whose message was spreading in the Northwest—that the various Indian tribes should abolish war among themselves once and for all and bend all their energies in unified military action against the English.

In the autumn of 1762 he began to send out ambassadors to tribes far and wide urging them to join with him in a simultaneous attack on all the forts occupied by the English. Around the Great Lakes, down to the tribes behind the Carolinas, and as far south as the region of New Orleans, his ambassadors travelled with their wampum belts. These messengers carried also letters written in the native hieroglyphics on birch bark.

Pontiac kept two secretaries busy, one to write his birch-bark messages, another to read them; he endeavoured to keep the one ignorant of what the other knew. Later, during the siege of Detroit, he requisitioned provisions from the French settlers near the fort, and gave in exchange promissory notes in birch-bark hieroglyphics signed with a figure of an otter, his own clan insignia; all these, it was said, were faithfully redeemed in the course of time.

Pontiac was immediately joined by the Senecas, the Wyandots (Hurons), the Delawares, Shawnese, Miamis, Kickapoos, and, of course, had with him his own three tribes, the Ottowas, Ojibways, and Pottowattomies. The Creeks to the South agreed to help, but the Cherokees, who had lately suffered badly at the hands of the Carolinians, felt they had had enough of war for the time. In the Northwest, the Sacs, Foxes, Menominees, and Winnebagos, all large and important tribes, insisted on remaining neutral. The Illinois tribes did not agree to assist until nearly the end of the war, when their help was useless.

Pontiac, therefore, did not have the solid backing of all the northwestern tribes; and those that did join merely agreed to fight under the direction of their own chiefs. Pontiac was not a commander-in-chief and there was apparently no confederation of tribes effected.

On February 10, 1763, the treaty of peace between France and England had been signed. All Canada and the Northwest were surrendered by France to England. And secretly, France had transferred all of greater Louisiana to Spain.

Pontiac did not learn of this treaty of peace of 1763; and the French traders surreptitiously continued to promise that France would yet come to the rescue. Forged letters from imaginary agents of the French Crown were delivered to Pontiac, promising eventual aid.

Pontiac set May 2, 1763, as "The Day". Then all the tribes in his alliance were to attack simultaneously all the forts in British possession. The garrisons were to be lulled into a sense of security, entrance to the forts gained by strategy, and the garrisons treacherously taken prisoners or murdered. Pontiac himself was to take Detroit.

An Indian girl, mistress of an officer, gave away the plan at Detroit in time for the garrison there to be prepared and save themselves. So on May 2 Pontiac could merely begin to besiege the fort.

While Detroit was besieged, by Pontiac and his three tribes with some Wyandots, the main body of the Wyandots by strategy and treachery took Fort Sandusky. The Senecas took Fort Venango, massacred the garrison, and burned the commander at the stake. Other old French forts, then in English hands, fell to the Indians—St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, Ouatanon, Miami, Presqu' Isle, and Le Bœuf.

In August Fort Pitt was openly and very bravely attacked by the Delawares and Shawnese, aided by some Senecas and Wyandots, but they could not take it.

For six months, from May 2, 1763, Pontiac kept up the siege of Detroit. In July disaffection appeared among the Wyandots and the Pottowattomies, but the others held out. Military help was on its way from the East for the garrison. By September Pontiac realized that he could never take the fort. The failure to take Detroit was a vital blow to Pontiac's "conspiracy", and the holding out of Fort Pitt was lamentable enough.¹

BITTER WAR IN PENNSYLVANIA

Although Fort Pitt had not fallen, the garrison there was powerless. So, during the summer of 1763, the Delawares and Shawnese plunged eastward through the forests of Pennsylvania and fell on the outlying settlements of the frontier. All settlements west of Carlisle were completely destroyed and the 20,000 or so inhabitants forced eastward to depend on the charity of the more fortunate colonists.

In July, 1763, Bouquet and a force of Scotch Highlanders and English regiments moved west from Carlisle and in

¹ See Parkman; Drake; Thacher.

August defeated the Delawares at Bushy Run, in a battle in which one hundred and thirty British and sixty Indians were slain. Bouquet then took possession of Fort Pitt. Meantime in the north, Bradstreet and a force of 3,000 men were moving to lift the siege of Detroit.

It was the furor of the Delawares on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania in this summer of 1763 which precipitated an illuminative crisis in Pennsylvania. In Virginia there resulted no internal strife in the colony because there was a militia law which promptly effected the placing of 1,000 paid and well-armed riflemen in the field to take the offensive against the Indians. But the government of Pennsylvania was consistently unprepared. The Assembly, under Quaker control, did not wish to make war on the Indians. It did, however, provide for a measure of defence which the frontiersmen of the colony considered inadequate. The Assembly passed a bill providing for the raising and equipping of a force of seven hundred men. This force was to be enlisted from among the farmers of the frontier, was to draw pay only during the harvest season (when they would lose by reason of not being able to apply their labour on their farms), was not to perform any garrison duty, and was not to leave the area of settlement to pursue Indians.

The purpose of the force was merely to protect the farmers of the frontier from murder by the Indians while going about their peaceful pursuits. The Rev. John Elder, pastor of the Presbyterian congregation of Paxton, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was given command of the force raised in his county. The frontiersmen of this region, dissatisfied with mere defence, organized a company of unpaid volunteers, commanded by James Smith, which attacked the Delawares who still were settled on the upper Susquehanna.

Sir Jeffry Amherst, then commander-in-chief of the King's forces in the colonies, as well as of the frontiersmen in Pennsylvania, was indignant at this Quaker compromise between absolute pacifism and that adequate defence which requires that the war be carried into the enemy's country.¹ So the

¹ During the war with the French and Indians following 1754 the Quaker-controlled Assembly of Pennsylvania was reluctant to vote credits for troops for the defence of the frontier. There was then also much bitterness between the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish who made up the bulk of the frontier population and their confrères in Philadelphia.

bitterness of the Delawares' revenge came and went during the summer of 1763. Then in the winter of that year, after a lull in the storm during the autumn, came another surge of warriors down upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

QUAKERS VERSUS SCOTCH-IRISH

The consequent devastation of the frontier settlements brought to a head the conflict between the men of the outer frontier and the men of the old region settled further east. Pennsylvania at this time had a population of about 220,000. Rather less than 40,000 of this was Quaker. The Quakers were of English, Welsh, and Anglo-Irish national origin. Members of their sect were rather uniformly of middle-class European origin, and on this side of the Atlantic were comfortably situated on the Delaware River, where the Dutch and Swedes and Iroquois had gone to prepare a place for them.

Although only about one-sixth of the population of Pennsylvania was Quaker, by virtue of inequitable distribution of representation, favouring the old eastern counties, the Quakers held a majority in the Assembly.

Besides the Quakers there were 110,000 settlers of German stock, and about 40,000 Episcopalians of English stock. The population of the outer edge of settlement, the actual frontier, was almost solely Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. While some of the members of this stock and sect lived in Philadelphia, most of their 40,000 population lived on the frontier. These Scotch-Irish were largely of English stock, as were the

One of those in Philadelphia who was particularly bitter in his denunciation of the pacifism of the Assembly was the Rev. Wm. Smith, first provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He was charged with having "promoted a libel against the Assembly" for his criticisms, and was ordered to apologize or go to jail. The old Walnut St. jail of Philadelphia was a terribly unpleasant place, but Mr. Smith refused to recant. The minutes of the university for February 4, 1758, record the fact that the trustees of the then college "considered how the inconveniences arising to the College might be best remedied, and Mr. Smith having expressed a desire to continue his lectures to the classes which he had formerly attended them, the students also inclining to proceed in their studies under his care, they ordered that *the said classes should attend him for that purpose at the usual hours in the place of his present confinement, this being in the County Prison at the corner of Walnut and Sixth Streets*". See Smith. (My italics.)

Quakers. In the north of Ireland there had been a mixed immigration after the establishment of the plantation of Ulster. French Huguenots had come to establish flax-growing and linen-making;¹ Scotch Highlanders, Scotch Lowlanders, and English of the upper classes and English of the criminal and slum classes all had come to take up land or to work as labourers. Some converted Irish had been absorbed. But aside from the French immigrants, racially the stock was "Nordic" mixed with the pre-Nordic British type; and a large part of the immigration came directly from England. The emigration from the north of Ireland to America of course effected a selection of stock. Good and bad family strains had migrated to the north of Ireland; good and bad family strains left the north of Ireland for the colonies. And it was not always the best stock of Europe which filtered through the north of Ireland out onto the edge of the Pennsylvania frontier.

When the poor emigrating Scotch-Irish tenant got to Pennsylvania, he set out for the frontier because it was there that land was to be had cheaply. Sometimes he was too nearly penniless even to afford the small sums required to take up land bought from the Indians by the government, and he would then slip over as a squatter on land belonging to the Indians. The Indians invariably would complain and the government usually then would purchase the land from the Indians and for a nominal consideration yield it to the squatters. Sometimes, however, as in 1730, 1743, and 1750, the government would turn the squatters off. In 1750, sixty-two settlers were driven off Indian lands by the government in Pennsylvania, and their houses burned to discourage them from returning.²

The poorer elements out on the frontier were seriously irritated by the restrictions placed upon their desire to take up Indian hunting grounds and put them under the plough.

¹ In my paternal town in Derry, Ireland, Drummond Township of Limavady, in the past generation most of the population were of French extraction solely, the names being Du Bois or Boyce, Oliver, Morell, Molyneaux, Gault, Delancy, Christie, Lily, Lestrangle or Strange, and so on. They were settled there during the Plantation with a view to introducing flax culture and manufacture as practised in France, and established the Ulster linen manufacturing, which once led the world in its field. Compare above, pp. 165, 242, 376, and p. 414.

² Compare Ford, pp. 268, 271.

They did not sympathize with the government's Indian policy. So when the Indians opened war on the colony, the frontiersmen thought it time that the Indians should be pursued and exterminated, and the opportunity taken to bring to an end the policy of treating the Indians as land-owners. The colonial Assembly in Pennsylvania again hindered the ambitions of the frontiersmen and a wider and wider breach was opening between the Quaker minority which controlled the Assembly and the Presbyterian frontiersmen.

A SCOTCH-IRISH CHRISTMAS

The Indians were an innocent party to this internal strife among the European immigrant population. Especially innocent were the two little groups of friendly reservation and mission Indians who resided within the bounds of the frontier and who peacefully went on with their pursuits while the "wild" Indians beyond the frontier clashed with the frontiersmen. Yet these harmless creatures were to be made victims of the hatred of Presbyterian for Quaker.

In the winter of 1763 there were about one hundred and forty Delaware Indian converts of the Moravian missionaries living in three tiny settlements in northeastern Pennsylvania, supporting themselves by agriculture under the direction of the missionaries. In the winter of 1763 the band of rangers, led by James Smith referred to above, accused these Christian Indians of lending aid and comfort to the pagan Delawares at war with the province, and openly avowed their decision to massacre these Christian Indians, and the facts make it very clear that they would have carried out their threat. The government, however, moved the one hundred and forty Christians into the barracks in Philadelphia, where, during the events of the winter, one-half of them died of smallpox.

Foiled in their desire for Indian blood in this case, the rangers turned their attention to the little band of twenty Indians living at Conestoga, Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania. This little group was a mixed remnant of the once great and populous Susquehannock confederacy. They lived largely on the bounty of the province given in the form of treaty

presents, and got extra money for rum by peddling basketry in the neighbourhood and doing a little hunting.

On December 14, 1763, while the "younger Indians" were out selling basketry or hunting, a band of fifty of the Scotch-Irish settlers, led this time by one Matthew Smith, burst into the houses of these Indians and shot and hatcheted all they could find, three old men, two women, and a boy. They took their scalps off, and "otherwise mangled" the bodies. The surviving fourteen Indians who had not been at home when the Scotch-Irish called were gathered by the authorities of the county and put, for protection, in the county workhouse in Lancaster. The Christmas services in Lancaster, this winter, had been postponed until December 27. While the community were in church, the Indian-killers entered Lancaster, broke into the workhouse, and killed and scalped the four men, three women, and seven children remaining there.

Within a few months, due to the importunity of these frontiersmen, the province was again to offer scalp bounties.¹ The scalps taken from these victims were undoubtedly turned in for the scalp bounties through a "fence". *The scalps taken from these Conestoga Indians would net the murderers about \$1,500, more or less, according to the age of the children scalped.*

These murders stirred the whole province. They embittered the enemy Indians, and angered the Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin wrote a pamphlet concerning the murders. Among other things he noted that "there are some (I am ashamed to hear it) who would extenuate the enormous wickedness of these actions by saying: 'The inhabitants of the frontiers are exasperated with the murder of their relations by the enemy Indians in the present war.' It is possible; but though this might justify their going out into the woods to seek for these enemies and avenge upon them those

¹ The first reward for heads on the frontier was that by Kieft in 1641, ten gulden for each Indian head (above, p. 223). Dutch soldiers at Pavonia in 1643 brought many heads of slain Indians back to Manhattan (above, p. 226). The Puritans took heads as trophies (above, pp. 242, 243). In 1703, Massachusetts offered £12 for each scalp, and in 1722, £100 (above, p. 244). The last scalp bounty was that of Indiana, 1814, but the whites continued to take scalps as trophies (below, p. 448).

murders, it can never justify their turning into the heart of the country to murder their friends."¹

Franklin's words concerning a later massacre of Christian Indians in 1782 during the Revolutionary War may be used in connection with reflections of this massacre of 1763: "Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death."²

The Rev. Elder, pastor and commandant of these murderers, in his own words "expostulated" with them on their way to commit the crime of the 27th, but in vain. He wrote an explanation of their act, immediately, to the provincial authority, in which he condones their act. The act, of course, he observes, was regrettable, but "the men, in private life, are virtuous and respectable; not cruel but mild and merciful". He so far sympathized with them that he failed to assist the authorities in their apprehension and punishment; partly no doubt because of his fear of the inflamed public opinion of the Presbyterian elements of Lancaster County; he warned the authorities that it is "dangerous to act in opposition to an outraged multitude".³

The Rev. Elder's parishioners, like those of the Puritan clergy, evidently felt that they were agents of the will of God in their use of gun and hatchet and scalping knife against the heathen. A passerby had come upon the murderers red-handed on December 14, and ventured to express horrified surprise; whereupon one of them "demanded if he believed in the Bible, and if the Scripture did not command that the heathen should be destroyed".⁴ It was about this time that one of those directly implicated gave birth to a phrase which, in variations, has been a favourite of militant Puritans: "What remains is to leave our cause with our God and our guns."⁵

A generation later this event was vividly remembered on

¹ Franklin: *Narrative*, 1764, v. 3, p. 260 seq., of Bigelow's edition of his complete works.

² Franklin: *Letter*, 1782, in *ibid.*, v. 8, pp. 121 seq. Compare Franklin concerning support of the Conestoga Indians, below, p. 449.

³ Elder: *Letter*, in Parkman: *Pontiac*, Appendix E.

⁴ Parkman: *Pontiac*, p. 415.

⁵ Documents in Parkman, Appendix E. Compare above, pp. 224, 335, n. 3, for like aphorisms.

the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. The Rev. J. Doddridge, recounting what his parents had told him of it, condones the murders, as did the Rev. Elder, and explains, apparently by way of exculpation: "Should it be asked what sort of people composed the band of murderers of these unfortunate people, I answer that they were not miscreants or vagabonds; many of them were men of the first standing in the country." He further observes that any of the community or "country" who might wish to lift his or her voice in protest against the vile deed, dared not, because the murders were generally and popularly approved of.¹

Another clergyman must be brought to the bar as a witness to the frontier psychology of the day. This man was at that time a Presbyterian clergyman, not of the wilderness, as was Elder, but of the city of Philadelphia. He is urban in his attitude and therefore somewhat cleverer. He takes a purely juristic point of view. In view of our consideration in earlier chapters of the nature of Indian policy of the day² we must confess that his reasoning is good and his conclusion undeniable. It is surprising that nineteenth- and twentieth-century apologists who have sought to remove the tarnish from the escutcheon of the Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian people of America have invariably overlooked this one thesis which alone offers a foothold for whitewashing. Were any murders committed at all? No! coolly answers the Rev. John Ewing! He explains: "'Tis not a little surprising to us here, that orders should be sent from the Crown, to apprehend and bring to justice those persons who have cut off that nest of enemies that lived near Lancaster.³ They⁴ never were subjects to his Majesty; were a free independent state retaining all the powers of a free state; sat in all our treaties with the Indians, as one of the tribes belonging to the Six Nations, in alliance with us; . . . And what surprises us more than all the accounts we have from England is that our Assembly, in a petition they have drawn up to the King for a change of Government, should represent this

¹ Doddridge. Compare below, pp. 485-86, for similar situations in Oregon of later date, and p. 244, for like psychology among the Puritans.

² See above, p. 403.

³ Ford; Hanna.

⁴ "They" and "the enemies" refer to the several massacred families of Conestoga Indians!

province in a state of uproar and riot, when not a man in it has once resisted a single officer of the government, and not a single act of violence committed, unless you call the Lancaster affair such, although it was no more than going to war with that tribe, as they have done before with others without a formal proclamation of war by the government."¹ This argument, however, was never admitted to court, and the murderers continued, by the Crown's officers, to be considered murderers, of the most vicious stamp; but they could not be apprehended.

THE FRONTIER MARCHES ON THE CAPITAL: A
"BACON'S REBELLION" IN PENNSYLVANIA

These two overt acts of protest during December on the part of the aggrieved Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the frontier were the instigation for the outbreak of an intense and general hysteria in which the dominant note was hate alike of Quakers and Indians. The frontiersmen had the active sympathy and support of the Presbyterians of Philadelphia, and apparently of all the non-Quaker poorer classes of that city. The frontiersmen decided to march on Philadelphia. Their aims seem to have been indefinite, except that they were absolutely determined to massacre the Moravian Delaware Indians who were being supported at the public expense in the city barracks. They expected to meet little or no resistance, and had they not met serious resistance the result would undoubtedly have been a political revolt and a more aggressive Indian war similar to "Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia. The pacifist Quakers immediately shipped their Indian wards through New Jersey to New York; the New York governor refused them admission and they were returned

¹ J. Ewing to Joseph Reed; see Reed's *Life and Correspondence*, v. 1, p. 34, February, 1764. (The Rev. Ewing does not observe the fact that it was, even amongst his co-religionists, presumed to be "unchristian" to slaughter women and children noncombatants.) See also Rupp, and Wither; the latter affords an excellent picture of Pennsylvania frontier life at first hand (see especially p. 105 for the Black Boys as well as the Paxton Boys). Many persons do not realize that on isolated mountains in the Pennsylvania Appalachians there is to-day a considerable population akin to that of the southern mountains. They are known in Pennsylvania as Hill-Hawks, and are apparently of as defective racial stock as their southern poor-white kin.

to Philadelphia—but not until after the impending danger had passed.

About 1,000 frontiersmen reached Market Square, Germantown, on the outskirts of Philadelphia, on February 4, 1764. There they had a surprise in store for them. All the respectable elements of the city except the Presbyterians had armed and organized into military companies. They were goaded into intense anger at the frontiersmen, and were determined to fight. Benjamin Franklin was the leader of their diplomacy.

The older Quakers insisted on pacifism at any cost, but a large section of the young Quakers forsook their pacifist tenets and organized for war under the Quaker, Joseph Wharton. The Quakers were apparently not too shocked at desertion of the young people in a worthy cause, for the Friends' Meeting House of Germantown, near the Square—which is still there,¹ and is still used—was occupied by the Quaker troops during the rain and sleet! A Quaker contemporary wrote in a letter: "It happened to be the day appointed for holding of Youth's meeting, but never did the Quaker youth assemble in such a military manner, never was the sound of drum heard before within those walls, nor ever till now was the banner of war displayed in that rostrum from whence the art has been so zealously declaimed against."²

The frontier ebullition dissipated and slipped back to the forests, leaving Matthew Smith, leader, and his associate, James Gibson, to talk to Franklin, and to present a memorial concerning their grievances to the Proprietor, John Penn. Most of the grievances detailed in their memorial are concerned with the inequitable distribution of representation in the Assembly of the province, and the supposed abuse of power by the Quaker minority in control.

They declare also against giving treaty presents to the Indians at treaties rather than distributing those sums as charity to those families on the frontier made destitute by Indian war. They complain, furthermore, at the lack of reward for frontiersmen willing to carry the war into the

¹ Opposite the present St. Luke's Church.

² *Letter*, in Appendix E of Parkman. On the Whartons compare above, p. 205.

Indian country; they want a scalp bounty declared; they state: "In the late Indian war, this Province, with others of His Majesty's Colonies, gave rewards for Indian scalps, to encourage the seeking of them in their own country, as the most likely means of destroying them or reducing them to reason; but no such encouragement has been given in this war, which has dampened the spirits of many brave men, who are willing to venture their lives in parties against the enemy. We therefore pray that public rewards may be proposed for Indian scalps, which may be adequate to the dangers attending enterprises of this nature."¹

In this matter alone Penn, on July 7, 1764, listened to the prayers of the Irish, and offered a series of premiums for scalps.²

PONTIAC'S FAILURE

The Indian war against the English continued during 1764. Pontiac and his Ottowas remained in the vicinity of Detroit. The campaigns of Bradstreet in the north, and of Bouquet in Ohio, moving west from Fort Pitt, were discouraging Pontiac's native allies, and tribe after tribe left him and came to terms with the British.³ Bradstreet in the lake region sent the agents of the lakes tribes to treat with Sir William Johnston, Indian superintendent for the Crown. Bouquet brought the Delawares, Shawnese, and Ohio villages of Senecas to terms. Pontiac then retired to the Maumee Valley for refuge among the Miami and other tribes who still believed with Pontiac that the French would yet come to their aid. The Illinois forts, Chartres, and Vincennes, had

¹ Article 6 of the *Memorial*, in Appendix E, Parkman, p. 615; see also in Parkman, pp. 618, 619.

² On all the above in Pennsylvania see especially Ford, Chapter 10; and original documents in the appendices to Parkman, with Chapter 24 of the same work; also Eschleman, pp. 375-388, for other documentation. See also *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, v. 9, especially p. 121; also pp. 89, 92-94, 100-112, 126, 142, 995.

³ In September, 1763, the Senecas withdrew into the shell of neutrality again, seeing the failure at Detroit. Then, under Johnson's persuasion the other Iroquois tribes joined the English. In February, 1764, a party of two hundred Iroquois took forty Delawares prisoner and turned them over to the authorities at Albany. Later the Iroquois attacked those Delaware villages on the upper Susquehanna which had formerly been raided already by the Scotch-Irish of Lancaster. (See Parkman, pp. 406-407.)

not yet been taken over by the English; and the tribes of the vicinity had not yet been in conflict with British troops.

Pontiac then began to prepare for new hostilities with the aid of the tribes of the region—the Miami, Kickapoo, Piankeshaws, and the branches of the Illinois Algonkian, namely, the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, Mitchigamias, and Tamaroas. Then he went to St. Ange, the French commander of Fort Chartres, and demanded that the French promises be immediately realized. St. Ange of course was not empowered to help; his duty merely was to maintain the fort until the British sent a garrison to take it over.

Pontiac began to suspect that the French had duped him. He decided to go over St. Ange's head and send an embassy to New Orleans and there demand help. In the summer of 1764 his ambassadors left Illinois by canoe, and, visiting various tribes en route, arrived in New Orleans in March, 1765.

HIS DISILLUSIONMENT

It was just at this time that the secret transfer of Louisiana to the Spanish was becoming generally known in New Orleans, and the terribly shamed officers of the government there were preparing for the arrival at any moment of Spanish officials and soldiers to take over New Orleans and the other posts of Louisiana (including the newly established post, St. Louis).

The French governor, D'Abbadie, was weak with illness, and, it is said, weakened by his shame at the imminent transfer of Louisiana and at the imminent necessity of telling the ambassadors of the faithful Pontiac that France could not help.

The Shawnese chief who was speaker of the Indian embassy faced D'Abbadie and demanded the assistance of munitions and troops for Pontiac. At the conference were several red-coated British officers who happened to be visiting New Orleans. The Shawnese speaker incidentally referred to these British when, in making his final demand, he said: "These red dogs have crowded upon us more and more; and when we ask them by what right they come, they tell

us that you, our French fathers, have given them our lands. We know that they lie. These lands are neither yours nor theirs, and no man shall give or sell them without our consent. Fathers: we have always been your faithful children, and we now have come to ask that you will give us guns, powder, and lead, to aid us in the war."

The virtual stoppage of trade with the Indians during the war was causing a serious lack of powder and shot among them, while their guns were getting badly out of repair and many were being lost. Without the munitions of war they could never successfully resist the English.

The council adjourned for a time after this speech of the ambassador. During the interim D'Abbadie died of his illness. Meantime the Indians were informed of the bitter truth—that there could be no help; that the French were leaving North America. M. Aubrey took D'Abbadie's place. In the next council a Miami chief spoke: "Since we last sat on these seats, our ears have heard strange words. When the English told us that they had conquered you, we always thought that they had lied. But now we have learned that they spoke the truth. We have learned that you, whom we have loved and served so well, have given the lands we dwell on to your enemies and ours. We have learned that the English have forbidden you to send traders to supply our wants; and that you, whom we thought so great and brave, have obeyed their commands, like women, leaving us to starve and die in misery." In this is deep and genuine tragedy.

He continued: "We now tell you, once and for all, that our lands are our own; and we tell you, moreover, that we can live without your aid, and hunt and fish and fight as our fathers did before us." Here is the messianic note which we shall consider more fully in a later chapter.

He concluded with a demand for indemnification: "All that we ask of you is this, that you make up to us the guns, the powder, the hatchets, and the knives, which we have worn out in fighting your battles."¹

The ambassadors ascended the Mississippi, and informed Pontiac of the facts. Pontiac saw how he had been made a

¹ Parkman, Chapter 39. For the then political situation in Louisiana see the brilliant writings of De Villiers du Terrage.

tool of the French traders; made to fight a war for the maintenance of a fur trade route for the French, or, as Pontiac cleverly expressed it, "a beaver war".¹

THE FRONTIER AND THE REVOLUTION

In February, 1765, while Pontiac's embassy was nearing New Orleans, George Croghan was leaving Fort Pitt as ambassador for the Crown to Pontiac, and to take over Fort Chartres. At the same time a traders' caravan of seventy pack horses, carrying presents of great value for use in the Indian treaties, and stocks for trade to the value of £15,000, left the settled regions on the Susquehanna for Fort Pitt and thence to follow Croghan. But they had not gone far into the Pennsylvania wilderness when James Smith, whom we have met in the Conestoga massacre of Indians, and a band of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen halted the pack train, drove off the traders, burned up much of the goods and appropriated the rest. This was no mere theft; it was revolt against the frontier and Indian policy of the Crown.

The frontiersmen were protesting as best they might against the Indian trade which furnished the Indians with the rifles, powder, and shot which made them formidable, and against that policy which treated them as independent nations, owners of the land which the frontiersmen longed to spread out upon, and as political communities whose favour must needs be bought with the bestowing of valuable presents.

The commandant at Fort Loudon arrested and imprisoned several of the raiders. Their comrades besieged the fort, took some of the garrison prisoner, and forced the surrender of those of their number who had been arrested.

Johnson wrote in July, 1765, to the agents of the King, in London, of this and similar events along the line of the western frontier: "The frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, after having attacked and destroyed the goods which were going to Fort Pitt . . . form themselves into parties, threatening to destroy all Indians they meet, or all white people who deal with them. They likewise marched to

¹ Groghan to Gage; *Letter*, in Parkman, p. 588, n. 1. See also Marquis: *Pontiac's War*, in *Canada and Its Provinces*, v. 3, for a discussion of the commercial side of the war (that is, as a "beaver war").

Fort Augusta, and from thence over the west branch of the Susquehanna, beyond the bounds of the last purchase made by the Proprietaries, where they declare they will form a settlement in defiance of whites or Indians. They afterwards attacked a small party of his majesty's troops upon the road, but were happily obliged to retire with the loss of two or three men. However, from their conduct and threats since, there is reason to think they will not stop here. Neither is their licentiousness confined to the Provinces I have mentioned, the people of Carolina having cut off a party coming down under a pass from Colonel Lewis. . . ."¹

The Indian policy of the Crown did more than anything else to alienate the borderers from loyalty to the Crown, and led the frontiersmen to throw their weight on the side of sedition in the forthcoming struggle between constituted government and rebellion.² Turbulence on the border was continual from 1765 to 1775 when the torch of rebellion was lifted.

During this period Pontiac was murdered by a drunken Indian hired by a British trader. He had been visiting at Cahokia, Illinois, dressed in the full uniform of a French officer, which had years before been presented to him by Montcalm. Pontiac had remained quiet and peaceful. Nevertheless he was considered a potential danger so long as he remained alive.³

¹ Johnson, to the Board of Trade, July 10, 1765. Compare discussion in Lincoln, Root, and particularly in McCormac.

² Compare Alvord: *Mississippi Valley*.

³ On Pontiac's war see Parkman: *Pontiac*; Croghan's *Journal*; Sir William Johnson: *Papers*; Hutchins; Cort; Drake. The English drama, printed in 1766, entitled *Ponteach: Or The Savages of America: A Tragedy*, anonymous, is evidently written by someone who was acquainted with the American frontier of the day. Especially insofar as it is concerned with the cause of Indian disaffection it is an interesting and illuminative document. Marquis deals particularly with the French fur traders' interest in Pontiac. Alvord: *Mississippi Valley*, discusses frontier economics in connection with the causes and success of the Revolution. See also Cox: *Indian as a Diplomatic Factor*, for a valuable perspective.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TECUMSEH, THE METEOR, AND HIS BACKGROUND— 1774-1814

“One of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. . . . No difficulties deter him.”—*General Harrison's Characterization of Tecumseh*, 1811.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

MUCH water flowed down the Ohio River between the crushing of Pontiac and the second and last attempt of the Indians of the Old Northwest, led by Tecumseh, to again keep back the white tide of settlement.

The most noteworthy event was the acquisition of political independence by the thirteen contiguous colonies of England, which formed eventually the United States of America.

As we have noted, immediately after the peace of 1763, irritation was set up between the mother-country and her colonies in North America. In 1774 and 1775 the various colonies south of the St. Lawrence River and Nova Scotia organized a congress of independent states, severing their political dependence on Great Britain. In 1777 Articles of Confederation were drawn up which were finally ratified by all the states in 1781. In 1783 the confederated sovereign states signed a treaty of peace with the mother-country which recognized the independence of the former colonies. In 1790 a new constitution was ratified by the last of the new United States of America.

The United States from the very beginning adopted the Indian policy of the British Crown. The confederated revolutionary colonies organized an Indian Department which performed the same function in the same way as the Crown's two Indian agencies had done. The Crown and the revolutionary colonies competed with each other for the favour and alliance of the independent Indian tribes in the revolutionary war. This competition had resulted in the splitting apart and virtual destruction of the New York Iroquois Confederacy.

But the great confederacies of native tribes in the southern Appalachians came through safely, and in the peace conferences before 1783 it had been seriously proposed not only that Great Britain (the mother-country) retain the territory northwest of the Ohio (which, however, had been conquered by the revolutionary forces of Virginia), but also that the southern Appalachian region held by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, be considered a neutral territory, set aside for the Indians, and under the joint protection of Spain and the United States.

LORD DUNMORE'S WAR

Just prior to the definite outbreak of war between the colonies and the mother-country, "Lord Dunmore's War" had occurred. The colony of Virginia claimed the Ohio valley and the territory northwest of it as her own sphere of influence and intended eventually to settle it. We have seen how her interest in this region precipitated the French War in 1754. The growing brutality and murderous propensities of English traders, squatters, and prospectors for land speculators in the valley of the Ohio from Fort Pitt downward, brought on "Indian troubles" in the Spring of 1774. The Shawnese, Delawares, Wyandots, and some local settlements of immigrant Cayuga Iroquois were involved, tribesmen, all of them, from the Indian villages in the valley of the Scioto. Cornstalk, the Shawnese, and Logan, the Cayuga, were the principal leading chiefs.

The governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, promptly took measures to check Indian resistance. He sent two Virginia armies to the Ohio, each numbering 1500 men. One of these, on October 10, 1774, met an army of one thousand warriors on the Kanawha, at the mouth of Elk Creek. The Indians were defeated and intimidated and sued for peace.

The effect of Virginia's activities at this time was so thoroughly to pacify the northwestern tribes for a time that they offered no interference to the settlement of Kentucky; and for the first two years of the Revolutionary War they would not make war on the American frontiers.

In July, 1776, the Delawares and Shawnese and their neighbour tribes declared themselves neutral in the British-American

struggle. However, in 1778 they joined with the British, under the influence of the Iroquois Confederacy, which had allied itself to Great Britain against the Americans, and in the destruction of all their villages and farms and orchards by General Sullivan in 1778 suffered a blow from which they never recovered.¹

KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

Since 1768 some settlers had been located in what is now Tennessee, in a settlement called Wautauga, located in territory belonging to the Cherokee tribe and on land leased for an annual rent from the Cherokee. (This method of lease was a circumvention of the King's orders against buying of Indian lands by persons other than the Crown.)² After the battle of the Kanawha in Lord Dunmore's War, the Transylvania Company, organized by the land speculator Henderson, employing Boone, for \$10,000 bought from the Cherokees the territory which now forms Kentucky and began its settlement. (The Wautauga people now bought their land outright for \$2,000.) The Transylvania Company's purchase was made on March 17, 1775, and in one month settlers were being planted. The Company offered each settler four hundred acres at two and a half dollars the hundred acres, with an option on the purchases of one thousand acres surrounding at forty dollars the hundred acres.³ Not so very cheap, and not so cheap that it would keep the penniless and poor from crossing the Ohio, without authorization, to squat upon lands of the Indians.

EVENTS NORTH AND NORTHWEST

In 1778 Clarke, under authority of the now free state of Virginia, crossed the Ohio River, and by 1789 had defeated the British and the allied northwestern tribes, pacified the region

¹ See Thwaites on Lord Dunmore's War; and Drake on Logan and Cornstalk. On Sullivan's destruction of Iroquoisia see above, pp. 354-356.

² G. B. Jackson, p. 186. Note also the leasing of lands in early Maine.

³ Roosevelt: *West*, v. 2, chap. 1. At this time the company's stores were selling lead at sixteen cents a pound and powder at two dollars sixty cents a pound, while labour could be hired for thirty-three cents per day.

up to the Great Lakes and at last actually made it territory belonging to Virginia. However, New York State laid fanciful claim to this territory northwest of the Ohio by virtue of its one-time conquest by the Iroquois, and several of the New England states laid claims to all or part of it by virtue of their original colonial charters; eventually all the states concerned gave up their claims and the area was made a territory of the United States.

It was in this same year that four hundred Iroquois under Brant, with four hundred British partisans under Butler (including many of the MacDonnell clan colonized in the Mohawk valley a few years before by Sir William Johnson) devastated the Wyoming valley in northern Pennsylvania. The next year, on orders of General Washington, Sullivan, by way of reprisals, destroyed all the native improvements in the country of the six Iroquois tribes¹ (including now the Tuscaroras).

In February, 1782, a large band of organized frontier Americans in cold blood massacred a band of Christian Moravian Delawares at their village of Gnadenhutten, on the Muskingum River in what is now Ohio. The Indians were defenceless. Out of one hundred and fifty Indians, there were slain twenty-nine men, twenty-seven women, and thirty-four children, boys and girls. They were scalped and their bodies mutilated.²

In 1783 the thirteen revolting colonies, by the treaty of peace with Great Britain, became free. They were granted all the trans-Appalachian region west to the Mississippi, and the territory northwest of the Ohio. Florida, ceded to England by Spain in 1763, was returned to Spain. The St. Lawrence River with its dominantly French population remained under the British Crown.

¹ Cp. above, pp. 354-356. This and the eventual victory of the Americans over the British, practically spelled the end of Iroquois history. Already many groups of several Iroquois tribes had moved west into Ohio, separating from their people. Many were on the Canawaugha Christian reservation in Canada. After the Revolution the Mohawks completely, and some members of the other tribes, migrated to reservations under the Crown in Canada; some of the other tribes remained in New York; others eventually even moved west of the Mississippi River.

² See Loskiel, Heckewelder, Franklin: *Letter*, July 7, 1782; Stocker, pp. 12-15. Franklin, in his letters, says it is reported that British scalp bounties had brought in, in Indian hands, the scalps of over two thousand white Americans by 1782!

THE UNRESTFUL NORTHWEST

The British, however, still had a foothold in the Northwest, and did not until 1796, thirteen years after the signing of the treaty of peace, surrender all the forts there. The fur-trading interests were reluctant finally to give over complete control of the Great Lakes and the region south of the Ohio. The situation in this region after 1783 is comparable to that existing after 1763.

Again the northwestern tribes were reluctant to see the passing of the fur-trading interests whose political and military power served as a check to the colonizing ambitions of a rival European power. They wanted British power to remain in the northwestern country. The British secretly encouraged them, with promises of renewed British war on the Americans.

The results were the hostilities between Harmer and St. Clair and the Indians in 1790-1791, and Wayne's destructive war on the Indians in the Maumee valley in 1794. These hostilities ended in a large cession of Indian lands beyond the Ohio to the United States, which legalized the presence of the settlers who had come as squatters and encouraged the continued flooding of settlers over the Ohio and the continued request that tribe after tribe sell more land.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803

The population and power of the United States continued to grow tremendously; that of the Indians east of the Mississippi to decline. New states were brought into being and new territorial governments created. In 1791 the state of Vermont had been carved out of one of the thirteen original states. In 1792, the state of Kentucky was created; in 1796, Tennessee. In 1790 the area of these two states already held more than one hundred thousand population—nearly equal to the population of all the tribes east of the Mississippi!

In 1801 Spain transferred the Louisiana Territory back to France. Napoleon planned its development, but considerations of expediency led him to sell it two years later to the United States for \$15,000,000. This acquisition led immediately to agitation for the removal of the eastern Indian tribes to the country west of the Mississippi, in order that cheaper land might be made available for settlers.



MAP 9.—THE TRIBES OF THE OLD NORTHWEST, AND THEIR ALGONKIAN KIN.

(A, indicates the Arapaho; C, the northern and southern Cheyenne; K, and W, on the Pacific Coast, the Yurok and Wiyot, whose Algonkian relationship is doubtful. For the bounds of the East coast tribes see Map 2. The Blackfoot, Piegan, and Blood are checkered. For discussion see Appendix X.)

THE RISE OF TECUMSEH

In 1795, after the terrible havoc of Wayne on the Maumee, a messiah appeared among the northwestern Indians. He gradually won a hearing even in his own country.¹ In the early 1800's he won the ear of his brother Tecumseh, who began the last serious organized Indian resistance against white power on the continent of North America.

TECUMSEH

Tecumseh² was a subordinate chief of the Shawnese tribe. He was a twin brother of Tenkskwatawa, the Prophet, of whom we shall speak at length in another chapter. His father had died in battle against the Virginians in Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. His two other brothers had also died fighting the whites, one at his side in battle against Wayne in 1794. This death of three members of his family at their hands no doubt inspired his antipathy to Americans. He was also influenced as to policy by his religious brother, who was inspired by the Great Spirit to preach against the absorption by the Indians of any elements of European culture, and who taught that the Great Spirit would not favour the Indians until intertribal war was ended.

Being a Shawnese, moreover, he was chief of a landless tribe. The Shawnese lived in their settlements in Ohio on land which belonged to the Miami. They were mere guests. This fact certainly motivated his attitude toward the land problem.

In 1808 he joined his brother, the Prophet, in forming a settlement of about four thousand population at the junction of the Wabash and the Tippecanoe Rivers. This settlement comprised bands of various tribes, all disciples of the Prophet—Shawnese, Delawares, Ottowas, Ojibways, Kickapoo, and Pottowatomies. This settlement was on Miami lands. In it Tecumseh witnessed the possibility of intimate coöperation between Indian tribes.

Not far away were villages of Senecas and Wyandots, from whom he might learn the story of the political integra-

¹ See below, Chapter 34.

² His name means "The Meteor" (see Gatschet).

tion of the League of the Iroquois, in which league the lands of the several tribes were considered ultimately to be the property of the Confederation.

In 1809, the territorial governor, Harrison, purchased land from the Miamis for the United States. Tecumseh now began to feel that his tribe would soon again be set adrift with no land to live upon in security and permanency. He had already been dreaming of the formation of a great confederation of all Indian tribes, apparently something after the fashion of that of the Iroquois, in which all hunting lands would be considered the common property of all tribes in the confederation, and in which no land could be sold by any tribe without the consent of all the confederated tribes.

It was no doubt under the instigation of British agents, who anticipated the forthcoming War of 1812 between the United States and England, that he decided to claim that all sales by individual tribes of land north and west of the Ohio River, which in 1868 had been established as the boundary between the United States and the Indian tribes, should be invalidated.

After the 1809 sale of land by the tribe on whose lands the Prophet's village was established, Tecumseh quickly began to prepare for the realization of his plans. He soon felt sufficiently sure of their practicability, and on August 15, 1810, he visited Harrison at Vincennes, insisted on a return to the Ohio boundary, and the invalidation of the sale of all lands by separate tribes. To Tecumseh's insistence Harrison replied: "... that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent had found the Miamis in the occupation of all the country on the Wabash, and at the time the Shawnese were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation . . . and that the Shawnese had no right to come from a distant country and control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property."

Tecumseh threatened to go to war on the United States if they did not give up their claim to the lands bought from the Miamis. He stated to Harrison: "... that it was with the greatest reluctance that he would make war with the

United States, against whom he had no other complaint but their purchasing of the Indians' land; that he was extremely anxious to be their friend and if he could persuade the President to give up the lands lately purchased, and agree never to make another treaty without the consent of all the tribes, he would be their faithful ally and assist them in all their wars with the English." He further advised Harrison that he, Tecumseh, would "give no rest" to his feet, until he "had united all the red men in like resolution."

HIS PREPARATIONS

Tecumseh knew that the spread of the Prophet's new religion was quickly carrying abroad some agreement with Tecumseh's political ideals, with which the Prophet at this time was beginning to sympathize; he held over Harrison's head the imminence of war with the English in which Indian alliances would be desirable.

This modern Hiawatha,¹ then forty years old, upon Harrison's final refusal to comply with his demands set furiously to work to repeat Pontiac's attempt to win over all the Indian tribes beyond the frontier north and south, to joint action against the Americans. He was soon fortunate in winning over the Wyandots, a powerful group, and they were made "the keepers of the great wampum belt of union and the lighters of the council fire of the allied tribes".

After this even the Miamis, so long jealous of the Shawnese, came into the alliance. The priests of the Prophet's new religion, now carrying also Tecumseh's message of war, travelled as far west even as the Blackfeet of the plains of Saskatchewan and obtained the promise of these western tribes to join in hostility against the Americans. The Prophet's religion and Tecumseh's political ideals took firm root among the Creeks and other nations of the southern sector of the frontier.

Tecumseh himself, relying less on ambassadors than did Pontiac, decided on a trip to the southern tribes after returning from one to the tribes of the Great Lakes. He went to the Creeks, and to the Cherokees, and even into the

¹ Hayowentha (Hiawatha) was the semi-historical founder of the Iroquois Confederation.

Peninsula of Florida to the southern Creeks or Seminoles, receiving promise of the adherence of these tribes to his cause.

Harrison thought that Tecumseh's absence from the north would offer the best opportunity to nip in the bud his plans for a general war. He wrote to the War Department of the United States: "The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. . . . No difficulties deter him. For four years he has been in constant motion. You see him to-day on the Wabash, and in a short time hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi, and wherever he goes he makes an impression favourable to his purposes. He is now upon the last round, to put a finishing stroke to his work. I hope, however, before his return, that that part of the fabric which he considered complete will be demolished and even its foundations rooted up."

THE RUIN OF HIS PLANS: THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE

While Tecumseh was on his way home en route through Missouri and Iowa from his visit to the Seminoles of Florida, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Cherokees and others, his brother, the Prophet, permitted himself to be led indiscreetly to open the war.

Harrison had led troops onto the Indian lands and opened diplomatic negotiations with the Prophet and his warriors. Instead of fighting for time until Tecumseh's return and meantime maintaining peace at any cost, the Prophet on November 6, 1811, ordered a surprise attack during the night on the camp of Harrison's nine hundred troops. The Prophet had one thousand warriors at his command, but the camp was well-sentinelled and they could slay only sixty-two soldiers, being forced to retreat, themselves, with about equal loss.

The Prophet had made all sorts of pretensions to supernatural power which were not fulfilled. It was quickly rumoured

that he was an impostor. In a few days Tecumseh reached Tippecanoe¹ to find his brother discredited among the tribes, an initial and important victory gained by the whites, and his whole plan weakened at "its foundations".

The Indians did not fight again until the British began the War of 1812. Then in the South the Creeks, led by the fanatical priests of the Prophet's religion,² bitterly warred on the United States; in the north Tecumseh with fifteen hundred warriors joined the British army in Canada. In the battle of the Thames, Harrison defeated the British and Indian forces, and in this battle Tecumseh and one hundred and twenty of his men were slain.

Tecumseh himself, since his youth, had always opposed torture of prisoners or mutilation of bodies; but the American soldiery horribly mutilated his body, carrying away pieces of his skin as mementoes; at the time it was rumoured that some pieces were made into valuable souvenir razor strops.

FRONTIER CONSOLIDATION EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

After 1814 Great Britain and the United States were permanently at peace. By 1818 virtually all the territory east of the Mississippi had been carved up into states of the United States, and some of these states were calling more and more loudly for the removal west of the Mississippi of the Indian tribes resident within their borders.

In 1819 Florida was sold to the United States by Spain, and Spain quit claim to the Oregon Territory, all for \$5,000,000. By 1825 in the territory of the United States, largely east of the Appalachians, there was a population of 11,000,000. Settlers were just beginning to trickle across the Mississippi.

Ships were beginning to look to rounding Cape Horn to get to the Oregon fur country, and soon the development of the shipping trade to this region, and later, the discovery of gold in California, drew American emigration across the

¹ Tippecanoe is the English corruption of the Indian name of the Prophet's town, Kehtipaquanonk.

² The Creek prophets, like Tenkswatawa, had the belief that they could make the native villages impregnable; see Drake: *Book*.

great American desert and the Rocky Mountains, before it could stop to occupy the prairies, so that the Pacific-coast Indians were to be nearly destroyed before the Plains Indians were seriously interfered with.

The federal government of the United States had come into possession of a vast domain which it held and which it had to govern independently of the several states. One by one the various states surrendered their conflicting claims, developed during colonial days, to lands northwest of the Ohio River, and west of the Appalachian Mountains. By 1802 the thirteen original states had agreed on their present boundaries. In the very next year, by agreement with Napoleon, Emperor of France, the federal government of the United States acquired the French rights in Louisiana, which then included the great plains westward to the Rockies, north of Spanish Mexico. This "purchase" of course was merely the acquisition of a new sphere of influence, inasmuch as the great plains were occupied by Indian tribes over whom no European nation had ever exercised sovereignty.

The federal government proceeded as rapidly as possible to subdivide the Indian Country into territorial governments. Gradually, new states were formed from the territorial governments. Kentucky became a state in 1792; Tennessee in 1796; Ohio, in 1803; Louisiana, 1812; Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Missouri, 1821; Florida, 1825; Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837. (Meantime Maine had been separated from the government of Massachusetts, in 1820; and Vermont had been created a separate state, in 1791.) This erection of new states is some measure of the spread of Anglo-Saxon population and the corresponding weakening of Indian power.

But the territory of the Indian tribes within the exterior boundaries of each of these new states and territories and the Indian tribes resident on that territory were still outside the jurisdiction of the local or state governments. The federal government alone had the right to regulate trade with the Indian nations, to make treaties with them, and to receive cessions of land from them.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL OF THE INDIAN TRADE

In concluding our consideration of this disturbed Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period we find probably the best point to summarize the history of the governmental control of the Indian trade, for this was effected on the largest scale by the federal government of the United States from 1776 to 1822.

The United States adopted a plan evolved by Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1694, which was later imitated by the colony of Pennsylvania in 1753. In making note of the development we have again to point out the importance of the business corporation in the history of the Indian frontier.

In 1626, six years after its establishment, Plymouth Colony bought for itself alone, from the English joint-stock colonizing company which the Plymouth colonists represented locally, the right to a monopoly of the Indian trade within the colony limits. This trade the colonists had found to be very profitable. A joint-stock company was formed by the colony to exploit the trade; each family in the colony was permitted to buy a share in the company. Within one year, however, it was found expedient to rent out the monopoly for a period of six years to a private joint-stock company, composed of only twelve members.

Massachusetts Bay Colony likewise faced the problem of the Indian trade. In 1643, four of the New England colonies—Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven—united in a loose confederation known as the United Colonies of New England. One of the purposes of the federation was the united control of the Indian trade, which was placed under the control of the federation authorities.

Meantime Virginia dealt with the same subject. In 1637 private trading had been forbidden in Virginia. In 1656 it was again permitted, and its evils constituted a cause of Bacon's rebellion in 1676. In 1677 Virginia experimented with a method whereby private trading was permitted, but was confined to fairs at given locations on certain dates during the year; at these fairs traders and Indians would freely meet.

In 1754 there was an important conference between delegates from most of the colonies, and between them and the

Iroquois sachems, at Albany, New York. The object of this conference was to bring about greater coöperation between the separate English colonies. Many of the objects of the conference were not realized at this time, but it was a stimulus to intercolonial coöperation.

At the conference there was, for example, a discussion of the trading-post plan of controlling the Indian trade instituted by Massachusetts Bay Colony after the dissolution of the old New England Confederation;—the plan later to be adopted by the United States.

In 1694 Massachusetts Bay (which had long since purchased Maine from the heirs of Gorges) forbade all private trading with the natives, and gave the management of the trade over to the government to be financed with funds from the government treasury. Regular trading posts were established, and only at these points might the Indians trade. The prices of all commodities exchanged in the Indian trade were regulated by the government. This same plan was adopted by South Carolina in 1716, and by Pennsylvania in 1753.

In 1753 Pennsylvania had been particularly worried by the impending aggression of France on the frontier, and the weaning of Pennsylvania Indian tribes, such as the Delawares and the Shawnese, over to the French alliance. The Pennsylvania government's aim in adopting the Massachusetts plan at this time was to correct the abuses of private trade which had served to irritate the Indians, and so to regulate the prices of goods sold the Indians that the French traders would be undersold and the Indians would again seek the trade and the goodwill of Pennsylvania. Profit from the trade on the part of the colony was not expected at this juncture of affairs.

Although the 1754 conference failed to establish an effective unity of the colonies, this unity was obtained in the Revolutionary War. In 1776 the confederation of revolting colonies, on Franklin's motion, adopted the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania plan of trade control. Control of the trade was given over to a congressional committee and the government set apart from its treasury £140,000 sterling as capital for the trade. This plan was continued by the United States and was successful for nearly half a century.

But after the passage of five decades or so, the Indians no

longer held a balance of power between rival powers on the continent and their friendship was not of so much moment. Moreover—and this was the more important factor in concluding the governmental trade—the frontier was moving into the great plains and the Far West where the congressional committee in charge was finding it impracticable to control it; private traders were operating in defiance of law, and although the government prices were on a no-profit basis for the benefit of the Indians, yet the private traders, who made good profits, were able to undersell the government! In 1822 the governmental trade was abolished and the Indian trade opened to private interests.¹

¹ James: *Institutions* considers the story of government experiments in the Indian trade.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE RISE OF THE GREAT RESERVATION SYSTEM

" . . . there is nothing in the whole compass of our laws so hard to bring within any precise definition, or logical or scientific arrangement, as the relation in which the Indian stands toward the United States." *Attorney-General of the United States*, 1846.

The reservations were "government almshouses where an inconsiderable number of Indians are insufficiently fed and scantily clothed, at an expense wholly disproportionate to the benefits conferred."¹

THE early reservations of decayed coastal tribes came into being through a process somewhat different from that which brought into being the reservations of tribes in the Appalachian region and westward, chiefly during the nineteenth century. The reservation system on the Atlantic coast must be considered as one of the three distinct developments in the Americas of reservation systems: first, that of the Spanish; second, that of the individual colonies in British North America; and third, that of the British Crown and the federal government of the United States. The third development is not a growth out of the second and probably was in no way moulded by it.

In the colonial development which we have already described, tribes officially considered as without title to land were assigned land and given title to it, and taken under the colonial or state jurisdiction. In the third development which we shall now describe we see that the status of the Indian tribe was not changed; it remained as an independent nation on its own land.

After 1754 in British North America, the Indians in the "Indian Country" and in the Appalachian region and westward were no longer to be dealt with by the several

¹ G. Bailey, Disbursing Clerk, Interior Dept., and Special Investigating Agent, California, November 4, 1858, in *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 298, on the California reservations. Bailey was a penetrating observer of the effect of the Spanish missions in California and of the American reservation system which succeeded the mission system. His 1858 reports the general reader will find it worth his while to go back to and read.

colonies, but by the agents of the Crown.¹ The federal government of the United States fell heir to the rights of the Crown in the area controlled by it.²

After the French and Indian wars the Indian Country was a great solid area occupied and owned only by the many independent nations of Indians. Gradually, however, as tribe after tribe on the boundary sold much of its lands, the tribal areas became islands surrounded by territory belonging to the Crown or to the United States. Tribe after tribe became isolated from geographical contiguity to other tribes. This process of land selling and isolation of the independent nations amid the great sea of Euro-American settlement was accompanied by a gradual lessening of the degree of sovereignty of the tribal governments.

The tribes were, first of all, reduced definitely to the condition of protectorates or protected nations.³ They were put under obligation by treaty not to sell any of their land to any nation other than that under whose protection they were. For example, Article 2 of the treaty of the United States with the tribes of the territory northwest of the Ohio, of January 9, 1789, which guaranteed them the possession of their lands forever, provided that: "the said nations, or either of them, shall not be at liberty to sell or dispose of the same, or any part thereof to any sovereign power, except the United States; nor to the subjects or citizens of any subject power, nor to the subjects or citizens of the United States."

Of the same date, a treaty between the United States and all the Iroquois tribes except the Mohawks—"the Indian nations in the northern department"—a treaty which was merely, however, a renewal of the treaty of Fort Stanwix of October 22, 1784, stated that "the United States of

¹ In 1755 Sir William Johnson was appointed agent for the northern tribes and E. Atkin for the southern tribes. Practically, the northern area meant the Iroquois and the northwest Algonkian; the southern area, the Cherokee and the Muskhogean Appalachian Confederacies. In 1763 John Stuart succeeded Atkin. Stuart was in charge in the South until 1779. He took the side of the Crown during the Revolution. See G. B. Jackson's study for Stuart's activities.

² Compare McMurray on the policy of the United States (1789-1801) in the area formerly in charge of Stuart under the Crown.

³ McMurray, p. 29 seq., offers a résumé of materials of value in connection with the treaties discussed below.

America confirm to the Six Nations all the lands which they inhabit . . . and relinquish and quit claim to the same and every part thereof . . .";¹ the treaty, in its own words, fixed "a boundary line between the Six Nations and the territory of the United States, forever".²

But the Iroquois were bound by treaty not to dispose of any of these lands to Great Britain or any other nation but the United States.

In the Hopewell treaty of November 28, 1785, between the United States and the Cherokee nation, a terminological advance was made. The Cherokees "do acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other sovereign whatsoever".³ So also in the treaties of January of the next year with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and with the tribes northwest of the Ohio.

The treaty of September 18, 1778, between the United States and the Delawares was merely an alliance of offence and defence between two absolutely sovereign nations. However, the Delawares agreed to trade exclusively with the United States, not with the English. So it was in the treaty of 1785 with the Cherokees.

After the Revolutionary War was over we find in the treaty with the Delawares (1785) and the other northwest tribes the provision that any Indian who commits a crime against a citizen of the United States shall be delivered up to the tribunals of the United States for punishment according to the laws of the United States. So in the treaty of the following month with the Cherokees; with the additional note to the effect that it is understood that any Indian so delivered up shall not be punished more severely than would a white man for the same crime. This Cherokee treaty further provided that in the case of a citizen of the United States

¹ Signed, among others, by the chiefs The Blast, Dancing Feather, Dogs-Around-the-Fire, Falling Mountain, The Wasp, Tearing Asunder, Broken-War-Club, Twenty-Canoes, The-Wood-Bug, the Cornplanter. (One does get tired of the names flaunted by sentimental girls' primers and Wild West Shows.)

² Compare the January 21, 1785, treaty with the northwest tribes, and contrast the inconsistent phrasing of Article 2 of the Hopewell Treaty, November 28, 1785, with the Cherokees.

³ Signed by the chiefs Corn Tassel of Toquo, Rising-Fawn, Young-Terrapin, The Waker, The Rabbit, The Yellow-Bird, the Chicksaw-Killer, Wyoka of Look-out Mountain, the Waylayer, and the Porpoise.

committing an offence against a Cherokee, the offender shall be punished under the laws of the United States by the United States, but in the presence of Cherokee delegates as witnesses.

The actual independence of the confederacies of the southern Appalachians, despite this infringement of their sovereignty in the matter of criminal jurisdiction, is indicated in Article 6 of the 1785 Cherokee treaty, which appears also in the treaties of this year with the Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws. This article reads: "It is understood that the punishment of the innocent under the idea of retaliation is unjust, and shall not be practised on either side [i.e., on the part of either the United States or the Cherokees] except when there is a manifest violation of this treaty; and then it shall be preceded first by a demand for justice; and, if refused, then by a declaration of hostilities."

We have here apparently an interesting definition of war by the United States as constituting a form of blood revenge, that is, "the punishment of the innocent under the idea of retaliation".

This article makes it clear that the Indian nations are expected to make war on the United States if the United States violates the treaty; but the article apparently aims at having the Indians formally declare war before going on the war-path. The general practice of Indian tribes was that of many modern nations—to take the enemy by surprise and then notify him that a war is on.

A further limitation on tribal sovereignty in the matter of criminal jurisdiction is evidenced in the treaty of January, 1789, with the Delawares and other tribes northwest of the Ohio. These tribes agreed that the United States should extend its criminal jurisdiction over them, applying the criminal law of the territory or state which surrounded the tribal domain. Practically the same step was taken in the Creek treaty of 1790.

The Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States gave the federal government, alone, the right to negotiate treaties with the Indian tribes. However, some of the individual states had continued to treat with the Indian tribes on their borders, aiming to protect themselves from possible hostilities by the tribes. In 1783, for example,

North Carolina treated with the Cherokees. Hence, in the treaty of August 9, 1790, between the Creek nation and the United States, we find the United States federal government jealous of its prerogative, and it is provided that the Creeks agree "to be under the protection of the United States of America and of no other sovereign whatsoever; and they also stipulate that the said Creek nation will not hold any treaty with an individual state or with any individuals of any state". Here was the first expression of the differences between the states and the federal government which led finally to the trouble between Georgia, the Cherokees, and the United States, and, at last, to the Civil War.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century we find the first attempts to end internecine strife between the Indian tribes on the frontier. In the treaty of December 30, 1805, between the United States and the Piankeshaws—whose tribal domain was surrounded by Indiana Territory—it is agreed that "the United States take the Piankeshaw tribe under their immediate care and patronage"; and "the said Piankeshaw tribe will never . . . make war upon any of the other tribes without the consent of the United States".

The change from "protection" to "care and patronage" is a mark in the degradation of the tribe from a protectorate to a "dependent nation" or a community of "wards" or reservation Indians. The reservation agent in this development takes his origin from appointments made when Indian affairs were taken out of the hands of the separate colonies in 1754.

The intercolonial conference of 1754 had recommended that for each Indian tribe a resident agent be appointed "who was to have no concern in the trade", who was to be under the direction of the superintendent of Indian affairs who was, in his turn, responsible directly to the Crown alone.¹

Sir William Johnson, who in 1750 had become superintendent of Indian affairs for the colony of New York replacing the committee of Indian Commissioners which had formerly had charge, was the logical man for superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern colonies and was so appointed by General Braddock when he took charge of the Crown's military offensive against the French. Another superin-

¹ See *Documentary History of New York*, v. 2, p. 356.

tendent had charge of the tribes of the South. These superintendents during the war with the French, and their agents resident with the various tribes, were, as we elsewhere explained in another connection, during that time under orders of the higher military officers, but after the war were independent of the military.

When the United States of America was formed, this organization of a superintendent or department and its subsidiary agents was taken over as a part of the federal government, while in Canada, Indian affairs remained under the British Crown. Until after the end of the Revolutionary War, however, the agents among the various tribes were mere ambassadors, with purely ambassadorial—that is, political—functions.

The idea of using these political agencies as civilizers of dependent communities first appears in the treaties between the United States and the Creeks and the Cherokees, in 1790, wherein it is provided in order “that the Creek nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful domestic animals and implements of husbandry. And further, to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit and at the same time to establish a certain amount of communication, the United States will send such, and so many, persons to reside in said nation, as they may judge proper, not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves as interpreters. These persons shall have land assigned them by the Creeks for cultivation, for themselves and their successors in office; but they shall be precluded exercising any kind of traffic.

“And it is further agreed on the part of the United States that in lieu of all former stipulations relating to blacksmiths, they will furnish the Creek nation, for eight years, with two blacksmiths and two strikers.”

NO DREAM OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

It must be emphasized that the Crown, and later, the United States, did not have in mind, nor anticipate, any establishment of what eventuated in a reservation system.

There was in early days no anticipation of the events which from time to time followed—the Revolution, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, the great removals of the large eastern tribes to the newly acquired lands of the Louisiana Purchase, the acquisition of Texas, the expropriation of the Mexican West and Southwest, and of the Oregon Territory.

During the Revolutionary War it was thought by the United States that the various independent Indian tribes might in time be given representation in Congress; or that a number of them might be consolidated and made a separate state in the union of the United States.

In the discussion leading up to the Treaty of Peace of 1763 between France and Great Britain it for a time was considered having the four great confederations of the southern Appalachians and their territory under the joint protection of Spain and of the United States, and no longer to be considered as a sphere of influence of any one nation.

In the treaty of 1785 between the United States and the Cherokees it was stipulated "that the Indians may have full confidence in the justice of the United States respecting their interests, they shall have the right to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress". (His status and functions would no doubt have been comparable to those men the Filipinos send to sit in with our sessions of Congress.) In the treaties of January, 1786, with the Choc-taws and Chickasaws, for some reason or other this clause was omitted. But in the treaty of September, 1778, with the Delawares, which was ratified by Congress as late as 1805, Article 5 stipulated that "should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interest of both parties, to invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, *and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head,* and have a representation in Congress; provided nothing contained in this article to be considered as conclusive, until it meets the approval of Congress".¹

Through Jefferson's administration, after the Louisiana Purchase, it was seriously thought that the Indians west of the Mississippi could be consolidated in this fashion and

¹ For treaties cited see *Treaties . . . Indians*. The italics are my own.

built up into one or more states of the United States. In his last annual message to Congress in 1825 President Monroe proposed that after the removal of the eastern tribes west of the Mississippi these tribes could be confederated into a protectorate of the United States and used to extend the influence and trade of the United States westward to the Pacific.¹ It was plain from the context that even he, our most renowned Imperialist President, author of the Monroe Doctrine, could not imagine how rapidly, like a flood tide, a population of white settlers was going to pour across the new lands west of the Mississippi, south into Mexican Texas, west into Mexican California, and northwest into the Oregon Territory, making quite vain all attempts to maintain the political integrity of the Indian nations.

So, gradually, the sovereign Indian nations diminished in population, in political and military importance, in size of territories held, in the degree of their sovereignty, until they became in effect "wards" of the United States, and, in Canada, of the British Crown. The territories and population of these fragments of the collective "Indian Country", these attenuated, weakened "domestic nations" are what are known as "Indian reservations".

PAUPERIZATION

For reasons which we have elsewhere indicated, the secular reservation was inherently unsuitable as a civilizing scheme. An Indian Bureau or Department and its agents inevitably are doomed to become swathed in red tape, to become the agents of political spoilage, to grow cold, callous, indifferent to the fate of their charges. The incapacity of the United States Indian Bureau in the nineteenth century is too well known and generally conceded to need recounting here.

In Canada where education on the reservations was at last given in charge of the missionary organizations (attempted once in the United States), there is a less dreary record of exterminative neglect of the natives, but yet the record is one of failure.

There is one aspect of this reservation system in North America which has been particularly fruitful in degrading

¹ See Abel, and Malin.

and ruining the natives. This we have left for our final consideration. The reservation Indians were made the victims of a pauperizing charity as a result of practices which developed out of the policy of treating the Indian tribes as independent political organizations and as landowners.

In Latin America the missions were subsidized by the Crown and by private foundations and persons. But these subsidies were merely extended until missions in the initial stages of their development could become self-supporting, and all energies were bent to the task of making the missions quickly self-supporting, and to make the missions thenceforth finance their own expansion into new territory.

Once helped out with an initial equipment of ploughs, tools, and so on, the missions did invariably become self-supporting, able to meet the expenses of expansion into wild regions, and even to yield revenues to the state. What a contrast to the effects produced by the expenditures on reservations in North America!—between the accomplishment of the monk and of the political appointee in charge of the secular reservation! The subsidization of new civilizing undertakings in Latin America is, in origin, motivation, and effect, entirely in contrast with the pauperizing payments and gifts made to the Indians in North America.

TREATY PRESENTS WHICH BECOME ANNUITIES

As soon as the French, English, and other north Europeans in early North America began to treat with the Indian tribes as free and independent nations, in order to win the goodwill of the tribes they adopted the Indian custom of exchanging presents at treaties.

It was the custom among the Indian tribes to exchange presents on the making of any ambassadorial visit or the signing of any treaty. Naturally in formal meetings with the Europeans the Indians would bring presents—often very valuable amounts of furs and wampum. According to their custom, they expected the other party to return gifts of equivalent value; an “Indian gift” was like our Christmas present. The Europeans, accepting the Indians’ gifts, had to make a return, and thus, without design, had adopted an Indian custom in dealing with the Indians. In rivalry

between the French and the English for treaties of alliance with the Indian tribes, a perversion of this practice developed.

The Europeans would, to curry favour with the Indians, return more than the equivalent of the Indian gift, as much more as they felt would win the Indians over from the enemy alliance. The Indians then proceeded to play off one European group against the other, demanding a greater and greater surplus above their own gift as a bribe for their friendship. In time the Indians' gift became merely nominal, while the treaty gifts of the French and English to the Indian tribes became enormous. But the goods given the Indians were hardly of a civilizing character, consisting to a large extent of rum, powder and shot, and firearms.

Finally, when the French were ousted, the English Crown, and later the United States, made large treaty gifts to the Indians oftentimes without any gift at all from the Indians. Sometimes these gifts were mere bribes to persuade the Indians to sign the treaty and keep the peace; sometimes they were made in recognition of the fact that, through one cause and another—the aftermath of a war, or the killing off of the game—the Indians were in real want, and even in danger of starvation.

These treaty payments became actually annuities. For, again according to Indian custom, a treaty once made required frequent re-ratification, with further present exchange. The Europeans, always in doubt of the constancy of their savage allies, were ever eager to have frequent renewals of ratifications of treaties with them. The renewals were frequently made annually. Thus, in Section 6 of the treaty of 1664 between the English and the Esopus Indians of Long Island, it is agreed that "the said sachems do engage to come once every year and bring some of their young people to acknowledge every part of this agreement in the Esopes, to the end that it may be kept in perpetual memory".¹

These treaty payments were a heavy expense for the several colonies, but the various governments were appreciative of the fact that the sums were well spent if they

¹ Ruttenber, p. 162. On the nature of "Indian gifts" and their use among the Indians, politically and economically, see MacLeod: *Clearing House*. On European assimilation of the practice in treaty-making see also Ruttenber, p. 131; and *Canada and its Provinces*, v. 5, pp. 342, 345.

effected the maintenance of peace, even if only for a time, between the Indians and themselves. It was cheaper to buy peace than to make war.

This fact the penny-wise-pound-foolish men on the actual frontier oftentimes did not understand. Countering the demand of the Scotch-Irish murderers of Delaware Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier who were demanding that Pennsylvania discontinue the making of treaty presents to the Indians and apply the money to making war of extermination on the Indians, Benjamin Franklin wrote about "the clamours of a few mean niggards about the expense of this public hospitality, an expense that will not cost the noisy wretches six-pence apiece (and what is the expense of the poor maintenance we afford them compared to the expense they might occasion if in arms against us?). . . ."¹

The North Carolina Assembly, treating separately with the Cherokees as late as 1783, stated that "holding treaties and appointing one or more agents to keep up a continual correspondence with the said Indians may prevent future wars and save expense of blood and treasure. . . ."²

Sir William Johnson, treating with the tribes for the Crown during and after the French and Indian Wars, indicates something more of the spirit in which he ordered the giving of expensive treaty presents—sheer opportunism: "I know that many mistakes arise here from erroneous accounts formerly made of Indians; that they have been represented as calling themselves subjects, although the very word would have startled them had it ever been pronounced by an interpreter. They desire to be considered as allies and friends, and such we may make them at a reasonable expense and thereby occupy our outposts and carry on trade in safety until, in a few years, we shall become so formidable throughout the country as to be able to protect ourselves and abate of that charge. . . ."³ But there was no abatement of the charge for over a century. The charge continued from motives of economy.

In Canada, for some years after the War of 1812 with the United States, the Crown's expense for the treaty presents

¹ Benjamin Franklin: *Massacres* (in his *Works*).

² *Description*, 1761, in Carrol, p. 247; and the *North Carolina Archives*.

³ Johnson: *Letters*.

was £150,000 per annum, and this charge decreased only very slowly thereafter.¹ The United States found much use for treaty payments as an expedient for keeping the peace.

The Indian Commissioners, for example, in California, February, 1850, after nearly \$1,000,000 had been spent in one month in carrying on a war of extermination on the California Indians—a war carried on by the state of California for which the state was reimbursed by the Federal Government—advised Congress that “*it was cheaper to feed the whole flock for a year than to fight them for one week*”.² So the government decided to support them rather than fight them, hoping, no doubt, that in a reasonably short time they would die off.

After the terribly expensive wars of the United States against a number of the Indian tribes of the great plains, the Secretary of the Interior Department in his report to President Grant in 1870 advised: “I think it still demonstrably clear that, as a mere question of pecuniary economy, it will be cheaper to feed every adult Indian now living to sleepy surfeiting during his natural life, while their children are educated to self-support by agriculture, than it would be to carry on a general Indian war for a single year.”³

LAND PURCHASE YIELDS ANNUITIES

While annuities to the Indian tribes evolved from this practice of making treaty presents, they also evolved from the practice of paying the Indians for their land. In the early days of white contacts with an Indian tribe, when the Indians sold land they did not suffer serious loss in their food supply; they looked upon the payment made to them as very much of a windfall. Invariably they were permitted after the sale to go on hunting over the ceded land just as before, until such time as it should become occupied by farmers. The Indians did not realize how rapidly the white

¹ Compare *Canada and its Provinces*, v. 5, 345.

² Ellison, p. 50 (compare p. 42). Compare likewise Beeson, p. 16 (after the Oregon wars).

³ *Senate Documents*, v. 57, Forty-First Congress, Second Session. Mexico of late years has been buying peace from the Yaqui Indians of Sonora. But as I write the republic has decided to “abate that charge and conquer the Indians, sending ten thousand troops against them”.

population could grow, and how rapidly the ceded land would be settled. So, in the treaty between the United States and the tribes northwest of the Ohio in 1780, Article 3 provided that "it is agreed between the said United States and the said nations that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States without hindrance or molestation so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the United States".

When any Indian group began to feel white pressure on their natural resources, and saw that with increasing population their lands were becoming of increasing value to the whites, they invariably demanded larger payments for their lands. Thus, Canassetego, for the Iroquois, in negotiating, in 1742, a sale of lands west of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, to Pennsylvania, observed: "We know that our lands are now become more valuable; the white people think we don't know their value, but we are sensible that the land is everlasting, and that the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. . . ."¹

But from the very beginning of colonial settlement, considering the meagre resources of the colonies and the low value of remote frontier land, the sums paid the Indians for their lands were a real financial burden to the colonies and bore some substantial ratio to the value of the lands.

At times the colonies wanted to shake off the burden of paying for the land, after the practice had got under way. Kieft, in 1639, and Stuyvesant again, in 1658, *in the very colony which had initiated the land-purchasing practice*, tried to shake off the burden and declare Indian lands expropriable without payment. But the Indians had been spoiled, and insisted on payment; and the Dutch West India Company was not prepared to go to the expense of fighting it out.² It came generally to be felt in all the colonies that it was cheaper to pay than to quarrel with the spoiled Indians.

Of course, as in the Pequot War of 1637 in New England, large areas were taken without payment when war with one

¹ *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, v. 4, p. 570; compare Ruttenber, p. 120, and Canassetego, above, pp. 268-270.

² Compare Ruttenber, pp. 101, 130.

of the Indian tribes had become for one reason and another inevitable, and in New England not only were large sections of Indian land taken by right of conquest (as also in Virginia) but the defeated Indians were badly exploited by being forced to pay tribute.

This practice, however, was typical only of the early and middle seventeenth century when the land-purchasing plan had not yet been universally diffused from its point of origin on Manhattan and had not become fixed as a feature of the Indian policy in the various North European colonies and supported by an intense and hectic sentimentality.

Occasionally the moneys offered the Indians for their lands were large, out of sheer charity, when through war the Indians had come to the edge of starvation. Thus at Fort Stanwix from 1768 to 1770, the Indians were paid goods to the value of \$50,000 for certain ceded lands, a sum which the King of England protested was too large. But the Indian corn crop of that year was largely a failure, and the Indians among whom the goods were distributed had to exchange them for corn to live on through the winter and spring. In later days in the plains the disappearance of the buffalo brought many a tribe to the edge of starvation. In such cases it became a practice of the government then to hand out rations to keep the Indians alive for a time.

In order that the Indians might not waste the large sums often paid them for their lands, the practice developed of not paying them in a lump sum but of putting the payment in trust for them and paying them its interest annually, or else merely settling an annuity on them.¹ In the Atlantic Coast region where the old reservations existed under the control of the separate states and colonies, this practice of paying annuities for land had early developed in dealing with the reservation Indians. Another practice also developed, which was particularly vicious in its effect on the reservation Indians.

As the coastal regions became rather densely populated, the reservation lands became more and more valuable from

¹ See, for example, the treaty with the Senecas, September 15, 1797, where \$100,000 was put in trust. See also, *Canada . . . Provinces*, v. 4, pp. 717-719, and v. 7, pp. 598, 607. For an early annuity arrangement see the Creek treaty of August 7, 1790. Compare, on the French and Choctaw, above, p. 151, n. 1.

the point of view of the surrounding settlers. The reservation lands, however, were inalienable. The Indians must not be permitted to part with their last hold on the land. So it was made legal for the Indians to lease their reservations. Settlers would then take the reservations over, here and there, and pay the Indians an annuity in the form of rental on a lease. The Indians thenceforth would sit around in drunken idleness. Pecuniary justice!

Under the Crown in Canada, and under the federal government of the United States it was usually illegal for Indians to lease their reserved lands to settlers. But it was done despite the law. As late as 1893 Roosevelt described the fact on the Omaha and Winnebago reservations, where the settlers used the reservation lands and paid the Indians rental just sufficient to keep them in rags and rum.¹

THE EFFECT OF ANNUITIES

There have been times, such as that just referred to at Fort Stanwix, when an emergency made material help for one or another Indian tribe necessary in order to prevent starvation. And there have been instances in which treaty payments and annuities were given in the form of live stock and agricultural equipment which the Indians actually wanted, could use, and would use. But almost without exception, from the very beginning of North European relations with the North American Indians the payments made to the Indians for one or another reason have worked for their destruction or pauperization.

Duncan, the lay missionary who turned a tribe of one thousand head-hunting Tsimshian Indians on the coast of British Columbia in a very short time into a prosperous, self-supporting Europeanized community, *without subsidization, treaty payments, or money from land sales*, wrote his opinion of the British Crown's system of treating with the Indians outside British Columbia as independent nations, and making them large presents at treaty conferences as follows: "The system of making presents of food and clothing to the

¹ Compare Gookin, p. 195, *Laws . . . Indians* (Mass., 1792; Maryland, 1723; Maine, 1826, etc.). Also see Roosevelt, pp. 20-22 (*Reservations*).

individual and uncivilized Indians cannot be too strongly condemned; its tendency is to sap self-reliance, to foster indolence, pauperism, and discontent. The Indians while surrounded by their old tribal associations do not trace the presents made to them to any good feeling on the part of the whites, but regarding such gifts as a bribe to secure their favour they remain perforce both ungrateful and disloyal. . . . To treat the Indians as paupers is to perpetuate their babyhood and burdensomeness. To treat them as savages, whom we fear and who must be tamed and kept in good temper by presents, will perpetuate their barbarism and increase their insolence."¹

The unwisdom with which land purchase moneys held in trust for Indian tribes have been expended is notoriously evident in every report made by Indian agents and commissioners; especially so in the United States. Oftentimes the expenditures, although well meant, have been so foolish and unproductive that if the affair were not so serious, it would provoke laughter at the ridiculousness of it all. It is the old story of official incompetence.²

¹ Welcome, p. 382, and Trimble, p. 279; compare *Canada . . . Provinces*, v. 5, p. 342 seq., and N. MacLeod, p. xxxix. Two of the most scathing early denunciations of the annuity system may be found in Heckewelder, pp. 311-313, written in 1817; and in Schoolcraft, *Notes . . . Iroquois*, pp. 12-13, written in 1847.

² Official incompetence which, on the American Indian frontier, began with the appointment of Bishop Fonseca, in 1493 (see above, p. 78).

CHAPTER XXX

THE EASTERN TRIBES MOVED INTO THE GREAT PLAINS

“Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them still further into the wilderness. . . . Thus, though lavish in its expenditures, . . . government has continually defeated its own policy, and the Indians in general, receding farther and farther to the West, have retained their savage habits.”—*President Jackson, Annual Message, 1829.*¹

WE have hitherto devoted no special chapters or sections to the great Indian confederations of the southern piedmont and the Alleghenies. They have been with us all along and played a minor part. But in the history of the frontier so far they have not been of such outstanding significance as the Indian peoples to whom we have given most of our space. But after the American purchase of the great prairies or plains from Napoleon,² these southern peoples came to the great critical moment in their history.

The reluctance of some of these tribes to take the easier path at the crossroads brought about revolt of several of the southern states against the Indian policy of the federal government, the first guns, in fact, of a civil war. But before considering the crisis, it were well that we look backward over the major incidents in the history of the southern highlands.

EARLY SPANISH RELATIONS, 1540-1695

These great Indian confederations of tribes which I refer to as the southern Appalachian confederations were the Cherokee, Creeks, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The first explorer to reach their territory was Fernando de Soto, who from 1539 to 1542 killed and burned in the South in a way which even the northern general Sherman during the Civil War could never hope to imitate. Although De Soto over-

¹ See above, p. 381. For data in earlier chapters especially contributive to the subject of this chapter, see above, Chapter 24.

² On the Louisiana Purchase see E. S. Brown, and Marshall.

ran the territories of the other three groups—crossing the Mississippi River from Memphis, Tennessee, in the Chickasaw country—he did not enter the Cherokee country. Subsequently the Spanish conquerors of the coast of Georgia sent troops now and then against this latter confederation, but without much avail.

EARLY ENGLISH RELATIONS, 1695-1736

Not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century did the frontier of French and English settlement approach the country of these upland confederacies. In 1732 Oglethorp arrived in Georgia to arrange for its colonization under the trust company to which the Crown had granted it. By this date the coastal tribes had been exterminated, so he made treaty with the Creeks of the piedmont. The Creeks gave him, free of charge, all the lands he wanted, and were eager for trade. Particularly, however, they desired his alliance against their hereditary enemies the Cherokee, whom, they thought, they could destroy with English aid. About this time (1730) the Choctaw were helping the French exterminate the Natchez Indians; and (1736) assisting the French in their war with the Chickasaw. These are the chief events up to the French war. The early dealings with traders we have covered elsewhere.¹

THE FRENCH WAR, 1754-1763

Just before the French War of 1754 to 1763, English traders were busily influencing the eastern villages of the Choctaw Confederacy. The French held their influence in the western villages. So, in 1754, the confederation split wide open, the eastern villages siding with the English, the western with the French.

The Chickasaw, inveterate enemies of the Choctaw, defeated them and the French in their wars with them from 1736 to 1740, and 1750 to 1752, and remained rather pacific thereafter. The Cherokee entered the war on the English side and sent warriors to assist in the attack on the French

¹ These earlier developments are best covered and documented by Swanton, 1911, 1924; and, for the Spanish dealings of this period, see Serrano Sanz.

Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg, Pa.). These warriors, in 1756, were on their way home, coming down the mountain trails. Now, Virginia had offered scalp bounties as an incentive for her soldiers to kill French Indians. Of course the bounty was given for any Indian scalp as one could not distinguish the hair of a French Indian from that of an English one.

Some German settlers in the mountains—part ancestors of the “mountain whites” in the Appalachians to-day—led by a British officer, eager for scalp money, ambushed and slew forty Cherokees.¹ The whole Cherokee Confederacy, in retaliation for this crime, thereupon turned to the French side.

Heretofore neutral, the Creeks, seeing an opportunity to destroy the Cherokees, now joined the English. Meantime smallpox raged throughout the Cherokee villages.

In 1759 Governor Littleton of South Carolina declared war on the Cherokee. Throughout 1759 and 1760 the Cherokee continued to devastate the frontier. In 1760, South Carolina appealed to General Amherst, head of the British forces in North America, for help against the Cherokee. Amherst sent Colonel Montgomery with a battalion of kilted Scotch Highlanders, and four companies of Royal Scots. This army suffered severely at the hands of the Cherokee warriors, but managed during the year to destroy a number of the Cherokee villages. Then it withdrew, leaving an insufficient force to protect South Carolina from Cherokee revenge.

In the next year (1761) the South Carolinians again had to appeal to Amherst, who sent a new army under Colonel Grant, which wrought havoc in the Cherokee country and destroyed nearly all of their villages and ruined their corn. Were it not for the service of the Creek warriors as scouts for the British army, there is no doubt but that Montgomery's and Grant's armies would have suffered the fate of Braddock's army before Fort Du Quesne. After 1763 the two halves of the Choctaw Confederacy united again; and from 1765 to 1771 the Creeks and Choctaw were continually at war.²

¹ Their crime uncovered, they argued that the Cherokees had stolen some horses: see *Description*, 1763.

² Drake satisfactorily describes and documents these wars in the southern Appalachians. For more recent excellent monographs, including study of economic and political development of this “Old

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In the Revolutionary War all four of the southern confederations were on the British side against the colonists. In this war, as in the French war, the Cherokee were the most active, and the worst sufferers. In the eighteenth century they appear to have been the most irritated by undesirable types of frontiersmen. In 1774, for example, just before the outbreak of the Revolution, the "poor whites" of the frontier of Georgia were involved in that general protest against the British Indian policy which actuated the whole frontier and were, unfortunately, in their crude way, drawing a colour line which made the murder of an Indian scarcely so much as a misdemeanour.

The government of Georgia in this year ordained that the murder of an Indian should be punishable under the laws of the province even as the murder of a white man; and the preamble to the law observed that the law is passed because "it has been represented that some Indians in amity with this province have been barbarously murdered, to the great scandal of society and the danger of involving the province in a bloody and expensive war; and there is reason to believe that several ill-disposed persons have not considered such inhuman actions in a proper light but being influenced by the ill-grounded prejudice which ignorant minds are apt to conceive against persons differing in colour from themselves, and, unaware of the consequences, have looked on these murders rather as meretorious. . . ."

The damage, however, was done, and the Cherokee joined the British. The first year of the Revolutionary War the Cherokees attacked the settlers south of the Ohio River (the founders of what are now the states of Kentucky and Tennessee), and the settlers countered by burning to the ground all of the northern Cherokee villages. Meanwhile the Creeks, under the leadership of certain notorious half-breed chiefs, ineffectually raided the frontier settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas.

Southwest", see McMurray; S. C. Williams; A. Henderson; G. G. Jackson; A. V. Goodpasture; T. E. Matthews; Pickett; Milfort; Bowles; Turner and Dale (Introduction); Foreman; Rowland; Halbert; and Flint (whose "West" is the "Old Southwest").

THE WAR OF 1812

The renewal of the struggle, in 1812, between Britain and her separated colonies again found the southern tribes in the English interest. The Creeks, aroused by the mission of Tecumseh, had fallen under the messianic delusions of his brother the Prophet, and, encouraged by their own lesser Prophets, were an especial menace on the American frontier. In the years 1812 to 1814 they paid dearly for their hostility, especially at the hands of the armies led by General Andrew Jackson.¹

COLONIZATION OF THE EASTERN TRIBES IN THE NEW WEST: BLACKHAWK'S WAR

For reasons later to be more fully considered, the acquisition of "Louisiana" by the United States in 1803, led to the development of a popular and official ambition to have the tribes of the territory northwest of the Ohio and the southern confederations removed.² This eviction, under the name of

¹ In 1763 France ceded her great Louisiana territory to Spain. Two years later Spain took over the government, seated at New Orleans. Spain then was master of the whole of North America west of the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, save for the Alaskan area controlled by Russian trading companies. By planting a settlement at Nootka on Vancouver Island, Spain soon began effectually to challenge Russian supremacy in the remote Pacific Northwest. In 1800, however, Spain, whose colonizing energies were by this time rapidly waning, returned Louisiana to France. France, just getting over the throes of the (French) Revolution and being embroiled in its Napoleonic aftermath, was scarcely capable of holding it, or of developing it. Prior to this return of Louisiana to France, the American settlers in the area now occupied by Kentucky and Tennessee were seriously considering transferring their allegiance to Spain and thus giving Spain control of the east side of the Mississippi south of the Ohio River; the settlers hoped thereby to gain materially in trade and to shake off the obligation imposed on them by the Indian policy of the United States government. Considerations of trade made it expedient for the United States to negotiate with France for the purchase of New Orleans and the whole lower east side of the Mississippi immediately; the negotiations led to the purchase of the whole of the Louisiana Territory in 1803.

² See above, p. 381. Some idea of the movement of effective economic and political control of the United States northwest of the Ohio River and south of the Ohio west of the Appalachian Mountains, may be gathered from note of the erection of new territorial and state governments.

From 1781 to 1802 the thirteen original states ceded to the federal government their separate, conflicting claims to jurisdiction over lands northwest of the Ohio and south of the Ohio west of the Appalachians.

colonization, was to be successfully effected by the interests especially eager for it, but not without considerable popular furor over the Cherokees' temporary refusal to move.

After the crushing of Tecumseh, and the American victory in the War of 1812, the Indians of the Old Northwest were so thoroughly ruined that the United States experienced little trouble in "persuading" them to move. There was only that disagreeable little skirmish with the Sac, Fox, and Winnebago, in 1832, dignified by the name of the Black Hawk War. In this war Abraham Lincoln won his wooden sword for insubordination; and in it Jefferson Davis was also an officer. The only other Indian trouble in the Old Northwest was a mild resistance on the part of the Kickapoo, led by their new Prophet of whom we later speak.¹

Claims to lands northwest of the Ohio were ceded by New York in 1781; by Virginia, in 1784; by Massachusetts, in 1785; by Connecticut, in 1786.

Claims to lands south of the Ohio, west of the mountain ridges to the Mississippi, were ceded by Virginia in 1789; by North Carolina, in 1790; and at last, by Georgia, in 1802, for a considerable consideration.

(Meantime, incidentally, in 1790, New York had ceded, for \$30,000, her claim to the area now constituting the state of Vermont. Vermont was admitted a state to the union in the following year, with, of course, the same senatorial representation as New York!)

In 1787 all the area northwest of the Ohio was made a territory, with territorial government. In 1790 the area south of the Ohio already ceded by the southern states was given territorial government. In 1792, with seventy-five thousand white population and many negroes, Kentucky—so shortly before a "dark and bloody ground" fought over by Iroquois and Cherokee—was admitted a state with the usual representation of two senators. In 1796 another section of the old dark and bloody ground, with about the same population of whites, and ten thousand negroes, but no Indians, was made the state of Tennessee.

In 1803 came the Louisiana Purchase. In the same year the first state was carved out of the territory northwest of the Ohio, the state of Ohio.

In 1816 Indiana became a state; in the next year, Mississippi; the next year, Illinois; and the next year, Alabama.

It was becoming necessary that for every two senators from the North there should be two senators from the South. This cry for senators was eventually destined to open up the consolidated Indian country in 1854. Louisiana, cleaned of Indians by the French, and populated by French and negroes, had become a state in 1812; Florida, sold by Spain to the United States, became a state in 1819.

¹ See F. E. Stevens, and below, Chapter 34.

THE REMOVAL OF THE CREEKS, SEMINOLES,
CHICKASAW, AND CHOCTAW

Nor was there any particular trouble in getting rid of the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks, save for their small emigrant branch in Florida known as Seminoles. In fact, as smallpox decreased the Indian population on the west side of the lower Mississippi, these peoples had voluntarily begun emigration across the river and onto the plains. This had begun before Spain and France had relinquished their hold on the Louisiana territory. Before 1780, in fact, it was noted that the Choctaw were warring upon the Caddoan and Siouxan tribes west of the lower Mississippi and beginning to settle on the western lands they had taken from the western tribes. This westward movement continued through the troublous times of the Wars of the Revolution and of 1812. The Chickasaw likewise were slowly trickling across the river at an early date.

Then came the United States' acquisition of lands for them from the plains tribes and the exchange of these western lands for lands held east of the river by the several confederacies. In 1820 the formal purchase of lands west, for the Choctaw, began, and by 1830 virtually the whole of the twelve thousand Choctaws were west of the river, in what is now the state of Oklahoma. The whole Chickasaw population had not moved, however, until 1837. The Creeks were less familiar with the prairies west of the great river, not having possessed lands on the Mississippi, as had the two peoples already mentioned. Until 1826 they opposed the formal removal urged upon them by the United States, but in this latter year they consented.

The Creek immigrants into the peninsula of Florida, the Seminoles or Lower Creeks—still more distant from the Mississippi and still less acquainted with what lay west of it—did not, however, share the willingness to remove of their northern kinsmen, and this unwillingness to move occasioned the Seminole War, begun in 1835 and ended in 1842 with the eviction from Florida and removal to the west of virtually all of the Seminoles.¹

¹ See *Osceola*. In 1818, the year before Spain's relinquishment of Florida, these Creek immigrants to Spanish territory were troubling Georgia. Jackson took punitive measures and crossed the Spanish border, pursuing the Indians.

The Cherokees, essentially a mountaineer people, were unwilling to join the other groups in their movement to the western plains, and consistently insisted on their right to remain in the East. The United States, bound by treaty with the Cherokees, admitted the Cherokee right to refuse to "trade in" their eastern lands for lands to be given in exchange in the West, but the state of Georgia insisted that the Cherokee hunting lands must become its property. The result was a conflict between Georgia and the United States over "state's rights" which threatened to reach the point of war between government and the state.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHEROKEE TROUBLES: AND THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED

The Articles of Confederation and, later, the Constitution of the United States gave to the federal government of the United States the exclusive right to treat with and otherwise regulate trade and intercourse with foreign nations, including the sovereign Indian tribes.¹

Several states of the South never, in fact, fully conceded this right to the federal government so long as any sovereign tribes remained within their borders. Had the tribes remained, civil war would perhaps have been earlier precipitated.

Governor Sevier of Tennessee, for example, one of the frontier officials who in 1788 was flirting with the possibility of secession from the United States and transference of the Old Southwest to Spanish rule,² was particularly clear in his expressions for such a change of policy to accord with the

¹ See above, Chapter 29.

² See discussion on "The Spanish Conspiracy" in Cox, p. 552; Henderson, and McMurray. Cox affords a perspective. After the Revolutionary War, McGillivray, the Creek head-chief since 1782, played off Spain against the United States. In 1784, through his activity, Spain and the Creeks treated with each other. In 1790 the United States and the Creeks treated. In 1790 McGillivray received from the United States the title and rank of Brigadier-General with a stipend of \$1200 per annum, and shortly after he was appointed by Spain, at a salary of \$2000 per annum (raised in 1792 to \$3500) as Superintendent-General for Spain of the Creek Nation. In 1793 McGillivray died. McGillivray was only one-fourth Indian in blood. These facts serve well to illuminate the status of the Indian "nations" discussed above, in Chapter 29

increasing relative impotence of the Indian nations in military matters.

What was wanted was either that the federal government should promptly buy from the Indians, lands claimed by them within the state, liquidate the tribal government; and thereby end the inconsistency of a sovereign state of the United States having domiciled within its borders a foreign government and foreign territory whose Indian citizens and inhabitants were not subject to the sovereignty of the white state and its laws and could be treated with only by the federal government of the United States. Or that the state itself be permitted to apply the policy of the Spaniards, confiscate the Indian hunting lands, grant the Indians title to their agricultural lands, dissolve the tribal governments and place the Indian communities under the sovereignty and law of the state.¹ Upon such insistence the Cherokees sold their lands in Tennessee and North Carolina and held only their original homeland in the Georgia piedmont.

In 1802—one year before the Louisiana Purchase with its new possibilities for Indian removal west—when Georgia, for a substantial consideration, gave up to the federal government her claim to lands west of the present border of the state of Georgia, the state bound the federal government to an agreement to purchase the lands of the Cherokees and deliver them to the state of Georgia. The anticipation was apparently that the Indians would sell out and become citizens of the state. But the Cherokees would not sell out, and the federal government was not empowered to force them to sell. So, early in 1787, we find the state of Georgia

¹ See McMurray. About this time frequent public utterances such as that of John Quincy Adams were made. Adams spoke on December 22, 1902, before the Sons of the Pilgrims society (speech cited in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1867, p. 143) and insisted that it was absurd to over-regard the Indian title to extensive lands which were desired by dense populations, exclaiming with the bombast typical of American politicians of presidential calibre: "Heaven has not been thus inconsistent in the work of its hands. Heaven has not thus placed at irreconcilable strife its moral laws with its physical creation," that is, the white men's needs and Heavenly justice are not at odds, and the Indians should be ordered off. Logically this worthy ex-President's arguments might be used by a nation like Germany, or by any nation conceiving of its culture as superior to another's or its population as denser and more in need of land; any such nation would have a "moral" right, whatever that may mean, to drive out or subject another people and utilize the neighbouring soil more adequately.

lending moral support to squatters upon Cherokee lands who opposed eviction by the federal government. This sort of irritation continued up to the crisis precipitated in 1827.¹

THE CRISIS IN THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES

In 1827 the Cherokee Confederation remodelled itself in imitation of government in the United States and Europe. It adopted a written constitution and organized three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial.² Georgia determined once and for all to end this division of sovereignty within her own borders. She determined, in disregard of the constitution of the United States, to apply the Spanish method of handling the Indians with respect to land and government. In 1827 the state legislature refused to recognize the Cherokee government, and declared Cherokee lands to be the public domain of the state. She prepared to grant the Indians lands on which to subsist in the same way and same amount that whites would be granted parcels of the public domain. The Indians were to become individual subjects of the state, but under some of the legal disabilities attaching to freed negroes.³

Georgia prepared to enforce her will on the Indians, in despite of the federal government, with military force. There was doubt that the federal government would protect the Indians.⁴ For several years the situation developed

¹ Compare Georgia's aggressive moves against the Cherokee in 1811, 1814, and 1821 (see *Laws . . . Indians*).

² On cultural assimilation among the Cherokee compare Foster on Sequoya (a half-breed), who invented the Cherokee syllabary, and the fact that so early as about 1700 even the relatively remote Choctaw were using cattle on carts and ploughs in their agriculture; see *Early Account*, p. 71. Compare the fact that by 1709 some soon-to-be-extermiated Indians of coastal Carolina kept cattle and built European type houses (Lawson). And on Creek slavery, above, p. 305.

³ In this Georgia also followed the lead of Tennessee. In 1794 Tennessee ordered that no Indian might be considered a competent witness in court against a white man, which put them under the same disability as negroes. So also Georgia in 1828. See *Laws . . . Indians*, Tennessee, p. 231; Georgia, pp. 198, 223.

⁴ On the removal troubles in the South see Abel; Parker; Penn (Pseudonym); Weil: *Speeches on the Indian Bill*, 1830; *Laws . . . Indians*, under Georgia; and Royce for a map of all Indian land cessions to the United States. See also the excellent maps of colonial land cessions in U. B. Phillips, especially chaps. 2 and 3 on the Creek and the Cherokee land sales to the colony and state of Georgia.

slowly, with many negotiations. In 1833 Georgia again prepared for the clash, and the Cherokees, in despair at their own helplessness, agreed to trade their Georgia lands for lands in the West.¹ The Cherokees began their westward trek, and by 1838 all but a few insistent mountain refugees—whose descendants are still there in their old homes—had gone to their new home in the prairies. Georgia thereby missed the perhaps unpleasant task of instituting a change in the old established order of things in dealing with the Indians. The opportunity to make a change came (1858) to British Columbia, but of that, more later.²

¹ On those remaining to-day in North Carolina see Donaldson, and Mooney. On the Choctaw remaining east of the river see Bushnell, and Swanton, 1911.

² See below, Chapter 32.

I do not deal with the change in Indian policy witnessed in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and the Republic of Texas, inasmuch as scarcely any Indians were affected, having died off or migrated, and the facts had no noteworthy historical effect. Texas as a republic adopted the Spanish plan (then Mexican). See Marshall, chap. 8, and Muckleroy. Of course when admitted as a state into the United States the federal government's policy came into force. Mississippi in 1827 abolished the tribal government of the Chickasaw and Choctaw within the state, but few of these Indians remained. In enactments of 1820, 1821, 1829, Alabama, and in 1831, Florida, extended state criminal jurisdiction over any Indians who might elect to remain within the state, but few remained. See *Laws . . . Indians*.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE INDIAN COUNTRY OF THE PLAINS

“ With this uninhabitable region on the west of the Indian territory, they cannot be surrounded by white population. They are on the outside of us, and in a place which will ever remain on the outside.”—*Report of the Senate Committee for Indian Affairs, 1836.*

THE NEW CONSOLIDATED FRONTIER

BY the year 1842 only little, negligible islands of reservation Indians remained in the United States east of the Mississippi River. The then “ Indian Country ”—sometimes called the Indian “ Territory ”, but not meaning that any territorial government had been established over the Indians—was a great solid area between the westernmost white settlements on the west banks of the Mississippi and the desert and mountains of the Far West which bordered the Spanish dominions. Furtherest west in the Indian Country were the native tribes of the plains, some of whom had once lived along the Mississippi River. Between the plains tribes and white settlement were the eastern tribes who had been colonized there by the United States.

The easternmost plains tribes, terribly reduced in population by smallpox,¹ possessing millions more acres than they needed, had been willing enough to sell the United States the land required for the colonization of the eastern tribes. By 1833 the title of the original plains Indians to the areas now the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, and southern Nebraska, had been purchased by the United States and was in process of being transferred to the eastern tribes being colonized on this range. The Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Yuchi were located in what is now the state of Oklahoma. North of them were settled the Sac, Fox, Shawnese, Delawares, Pottowattomie, a group of Seneca,² and other tribes from the territory northwest of the Ohio river.²

¹ Father St. Cosme noted so early as 1698 that one plague of smallpox had virtually exterminated the Arkansaw (known also as Akansa and Quapaw). See *Original Narratives* (Northwest), p. 359.

² See Royce (Maps), and the *Handbook*.

But not all the land sold by the plains tribes had been allotted for the colonization of the eastern Indians, for the Mississippi River was not the line of demarcation between red man and white. Before 1842 when the colonization of Indians may be considered to have been finally effected, so rapidly had the settlement of whites along the western banks of the Mississippi proceeded that in 1821 Missouri was considered sufficiently developed to be admitted as a state; and by 1832 its aboriginal plains Indians had sold every inch of their territory within the state and moved further west. In 1836 Arkansas became a state; in 1837, Michigan; in 1846, Iowa.

The Mississippi was by this time a great trade artery of both present and future importance and one which, for the greater part of its length, was lined on both sides by white settlements organized into states of the United States. The United States had effected this solid unification of the Indian tribes and their territories between the frontiersmen's farms along the Mississippi and the desert and mountain wall to the rear, with the best of intentions, though not with the greatest foresight or wisdom.

The motives were various, but outstanding was the belief in the virtues of a segregation policy, and the added belief that segregation could not be applied when white settlement surrounded the territory of an Indian tribe.

There in the West, all consolidated, every Indian tribe would be for the most part surrounded by other Indian tribes. To the west would be impassable mountain and desert. On the east would be a single line of contact between Indian and white which could be controlled more easily than hundreds of small tribal boundaries.

It was an attractive segregation ideal. But, as we have indicated in an earlier chapter, before the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 it had been generally believed in even the most foresighted circles of American politics that the Mississippi would forever remain the uttermost western extension of the territorial expansion of the United States and of Anglo-Saxon population and culture. In the first decades after the Louisiana Purchase it was thought that the lands acquired as a sphere of influence by this purchase would remain the western limit of American influence and

that the tier of territories and states to be erected along the western shores of the Mississippi, between the river and the Indians, would forever satisfy the demands of the expanding agricultural populations of the Americas—despite the fact that for a century or more the Americans had been out-Malthusing Malthus!

The presence of the desert and the mountain wall behind the solid Indian country, it was thought, would prevent an encircling of that Indian country, with a consequent increase in the amount of contact between white country and Indian country. So, with the utmost assurance and smug satisfaction the *Report of the Senate Committee for Indian Affairs* in 1836 observes concerning the consolidated Indian tribes, that “with this uninhabitable region on the west of the Indian territory, they cannot be surrounded by white population. They are on the outside of us, and in a place which will ever remain on the outside. . . .”¹ The prospects for the perpetuation of such gratification were not disturbed particularly by the pushing of the frontier of settlement into Texas.

Americans had for ten years or more then been moving into Mexican Texas. As early as 1827, and again in 1828 with a better offer, the United States had offered to buy Texas. Southern slave-breeding and slave-using interests from the Pennsylvania border southward were beginning to crave more room for the expansion of Southern influence and the increase in number of Southern states and senators to balance the expansion of the power of the North in the further northwest about the Great Lakes. Mexico refusing to sell, the American settlers in Texas rebelled and set up the Texan Republic in 1836. In 1845 Texas entered the United States as the state of Texas.²

¹ Cited in Malin, pp. 32-33.

² On Texas see Marshall (with Maps).

The development of the plan of consolidation of the Indian tribes in the West is treated ably by Malin, and by Abel; see also Turner, and Paxson.



MAP 10.—THE CONSOLIDATED INDIAN FRONTIER, AND ITS SUBDIVISION IN 1854.

(The "Indian Country" was "unorganized territory" of the United States. Figure 1 indicates Nebraska Territory, 1854; figure 2, Kansas Territory, 1854; and figure 3 the Indian Country or "Territory" remaining in 1854, since become the state of Oklahoma.)

CARAVANS THROUGH THE CONSOLIDATED INDIAN COUNTRY

By the time the United States policy of consolidation or general segregation was in effective operation, economic phenomena were rapidly developing which were to make

its further maintenance impracticable, and which by 1854 were to cause the liquidation of the policy.

The development of the overland trade between the United States and Spanish territory over a route popularly known as the Santa Fe Trail led the way for further extension of American imperialism. The trail and its branches ran from American territory to El Paso on the Rio Grande, down to Chihuahua, and also west to Tucson, Fort Yuma, and up to San Francisco. In the first decades of the development of this trade artery, traders carried their goods in pack trains, caravans of horses. In 1822 was introduced the practice of taking goods over the trail in covered wagons.

The independence of Texas in 1836 made so much less of this trail run through Spanish territory. Nevertheless much of it continued to run through the land of Indian tribes, and this made necessary treaties between the United States and remoter tribes in order to obtain free passage for the traders.

THE OREGON TRAIL

During the early days of trade on the Santa Fe Trail, trappers of the Far West had discovered a much desired pass through the Rocky Mountains whereby from the upper waters of the Missouri and La Platte Rivers one might go through the mountains and descend the upper waters of the tributaries of the Columbia. The discovery of the South Pass, a little gateway twenty miles wide, made possible the Oregon Trail in its entirety. At first of interest only to the half-savage trappers and fur-traders, the South Pass was shortly to become a great doorway for the passage to the Northwest Coast, of trade, emigration, and empire.

The East had developed its earliest interest in the Oregon territory through the interests of New England in the sea trade with China¹ and in the whaling business, and further through the reports of representatives of the fur-trading companies who reported on the equability of the climate and fertility of the soil. Further still, through the reports of the missionaries to the Indians of the region, who incidentally made their wide circle of churchly readers well acquainted with this foreign region.

¹ Compare Cordier.

In 1819 Spain had ceded to the United States her claim to the Oregon territory, which included the areas which now are British Columbia and Vancouver Island. But Great Britain claimed the territory as her own. Later Britain admitted American traders and settlers under a plan of joint occupancy between herself and the United States.

By the 1830's the American people were not only well acquainted with the Northwest and of the practicability of journeying there through the South Pass, but became imbued with the idea that if Americans could dominate the region by sending there a heavy emigration it would make possible the ousting of British interests and the adding of another great country to the United States of America.

In 1837 the financial crisis unsettled the frontier around the Great Lakes and furnished an increment of emigrants from an impoverished and restless population ready to try its chances in the new Northwest. In 1834, by wagon train, the first agricultural American immigrant left over the Oregon Trail for their five months' journey from its eastern terminal at Independence, Missouri.

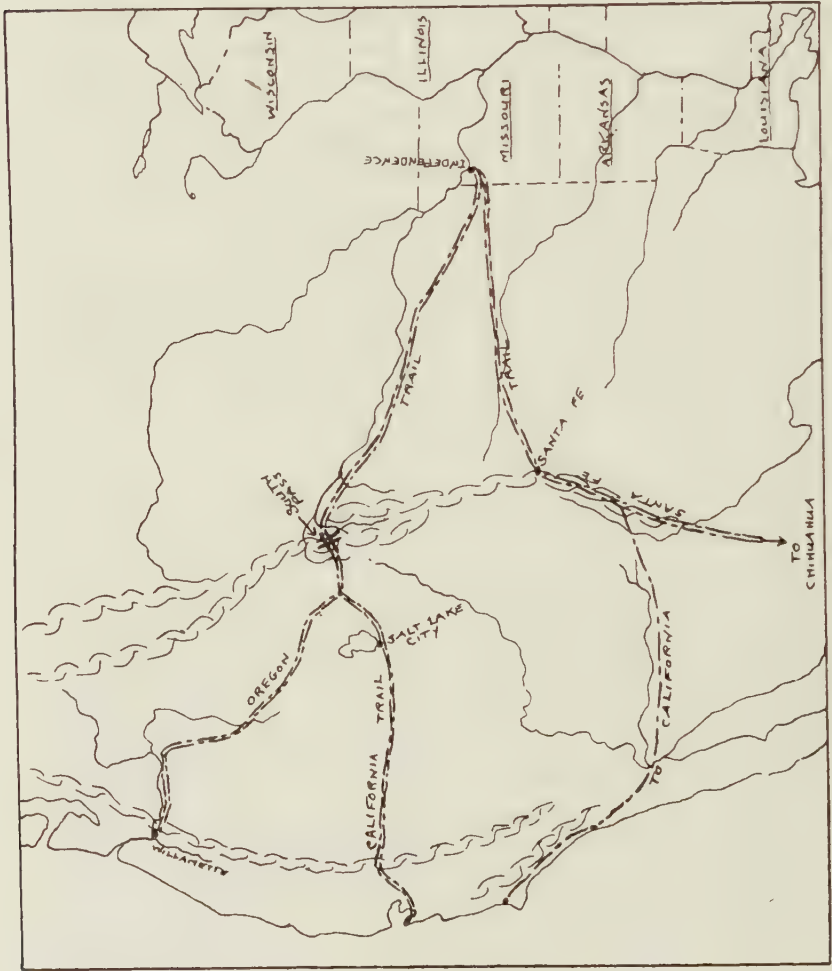
By 1843 the stream of immigration first became considerable. In that year one thousand went over the trail. In that same year most of the Americans were settled in the valley of the Willamette River, south of the Columbia, in what is now the state of Oregon. Already they had organized a provisional government, and there was under way, stimulated in great part by the generally-felt need that the Indians must not obtain alcoholic drinks, the first American prohibition crusade—a crusade which affected the Middle West and the East and was destined to result in the present interesting attempt to enforce prohibition on all the states.¹

By 1846 there were ten thousand Americans in the far Northwest, and but a negligible number of British. In that year Britain ceded her claim to that portion of the old Oregon territory which lay south of latitude 46° 40', the present northern border of the western United States. In 1848 the United States' Oregon country was furnished with a territorial government.

Meantime, drawn by the reports of the Santa Fe traders,

¹ See Allen: *Oregon*, pp. 345-347. On June 24, 1844, Oregon passed a strict prohibition law.

a few American agriculturists and industrialists between 1842 and 1846 had settled in the Sacramento Valley in California. By 1846 there were only five thousand of Latin population in the whole of the further Southwest including



MAP 11.—CARAVAN ROUTES THROUGH THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

the region now the state of California. The thirty thousand mission Indians and the wild tribes of the hills were politically and militarily virtually negligible. America could plainly have California and the western deserts and mountains with a minimum of effort. In 1846 the American immigrants to

the Sacramento already looked forward to imitating the Texans and freeing themselves from the consequences of the political instability of the incompetent Mexican government. From 1846 to 1848, through war, American imperialism reached out and deprived her Latin neighbour of California and the regions adjacent.¹ The Santa Fe Trail was now wholly American.

THE MORMON COLONIZATION: AND PUSHCARTS

The existence of the Oregon Trail as a traversable and traversed highway through the Indian country in the period before the great rush for minerals gave direction to the second movement of emigration from the United States. This was the emigration of those religious enthusiasts known as the Latter Day Saints or Mormons. In 1830 their sect had organized in western New York State. Persecution, and, for a time, a desire to convert the Indians, led them gradually to move westward, first to Ohio, then to a point in Missouri on the Oregon Trail, then back to Illinois, and, finally, in a great and truly heroic trek, in 1846 and 1847, over the Oregon Trail, through South Pass, then off the trail toward California, finally settling down at Great Salt Lake, to be the founders of what was to become the state of Utah, and the founders of the first settlement of the Rocky Mountain and plateau states of the United States.

The original settlement of sixteen thousand at Salt Lake soon drew fanatical religionists even direct from Europe. Those that were too poor to equip themselves with a wagon train *formed trains of pushcarts*, some of which traversed the thousand-mile road to the desert oasis. Many of them left their bones to bleach in the desert.

In 1850 Utah Territory, embracing a vastly greater area than the present state of Utah, was organized by the United States government. In 1857 the Mormons and the United States were at war and the Mormons were the victors. They nevertheless came to terms with the United States

¹ The war with Mexico was occasioned by a dispute over the Texan boundary. (In 1853 an additional stretch of desert was purchased, the Gadsen Purchase.)

government. Not, however, until 1896 was the Mormon-controlled Utah Territory made into a state of the United States.¹

THE GOLD RUSH THROUGH THE CONSOLIDATED INDIAN COUNTRY

The European lust for gold and other minerals has always been a menace to Indian tranquillity. Gold was the source of much of the harm done to the Indian of the West Indian archipelago; of the conquest of Mexico and Peru; of the ravages of De Soto in southeastern North America. And even as the desire to exploit the pearl fisheries of Venezuela and the peninsula of California made for the destruction of the missions to the Indians in those regions, the suspicion that gold was in the Paraguay sub-soil made for the harassing and destruction of the mission state of Paraguay. The search for gold was an urge for the Chilians to continue their centuries-long war with the Araucanians, and for a time drew the Dutch interlopers to seek to enter the Araucanian country. The lure of gold was a stimulus to the state of Georgia to suppress or expel the Cherokee nation.²

Unfortunately for the Indians of North America in the middle nineteenth century, the way to gold led through the consolidated Indian country; and, worse still, even within that country there was gold, and silver.

¹ For a social-scientific study of the Mormon stock and Mormon culture, compare Harris, and Butt; see also Mormon bibliography in G. W. James: *Utah*, and Burton: *Saints*.

² The Portuguese of Brazil were eager to possess the mission territory and get rid of the mission Indians chiefly because of gold supposed to be in the mission subsoil. No gold being found there, the territory was considered worthless and was returned to Spain. Meantime, for seven years, 30,000 Indians were homeless and in the status of outlaws, without benefit of clergy save for Father Hennis. (See Dobrizhoffer, v. 1, pp. 18-34; and above, p. 116, n. 1.) Southey, v. 2, tells of the Dutch trying to persuade the Araucanians of Chile to accept Dutch aid against the Spaniards in 1642. The Dutch were eager to get at the gold supposed to be in the Araucanian subsoil. The Dutch ambassadors asked the Indians about mines. "The natives . . . did not conceal their suspicion and abhorrence when they heard them enquire for mines." (Southey, v. 2, p. 24; compare pp. 22, 51, 104.) Juan and Ulloa a century and a quarter later tell how even then the Araucanians held to their dread of European desire for mines. Experience with the gold-lust (and consequences) of the sixteenth-century *conquistadores* was partly the cause. (Aboriginally gold was worked in Chile.)

Before 1848 the United States had been protecting the emigrant caravans over the great trails which passed through the Indian country, with traffic agreements between the United States and the various Indian nations.¹ The emigrants and traders under these agreements had the right to pass over the trails, but not to leave the trails to disturb the bison, to prospect for minerals, or to farm. Many emigrants abused their privileges, but generally traffic was not so heavy that the traffic agreement between the United States and the Indian nations was not adequate for the arranging of peaceable passage of emigrants. But in 1848 a lumber-mill worker had discovered gold in California.

In March, 1849, twelve thousand prospective miners left the Atlantic coast states for California by way of Cape Horn. Many more left to journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama. But about twenty thousand decided to go over the Oregon Trail, through the South Pass, and thence southwest past the Great Salt Lake Mormon settlement into California.

The Mormon settlement had, luckily, come into existence in time to furnish a necessary outfitting post at the head of the worst section of the now important California Trail. On the other hand, the gold discovery with the consequent passage of tens of thousands of prospective miners was a lucky event for the Mormon settlement, making for its prosperity and permanent success.² In 1849 California had a population of 122,000 and for the next several years immigrants arrived at the rate of about five thousand a year. By 1850 the agricultural frontier, east of which the population density was six or more to the square mile, *was virtually no further west than it was in 1820!* It was barred for a time from further westward movement by the solid wall of the almost empty Indian country.

¹ Such traffic agreements, concerning wagon roads, river water routes, and such, *characterized also the treaties with the Indians of the old Northwest and the old Southwest*, and with the earlier Iroquois. See, for example, the Cherokee treaty of July 22, 1791, in *Treaties*.

² F. W. James' books on Utah and neighbouring western states are both scholarly and entertaining, with bibliographical material and incisive interpretations.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE GREAT "INDIAN COUNTRY"

The idea of maintaining this consolidated Indian country was soon to pass. The desert behind the Indians had proven habitable. The Mormons were already there by tens of thousands. The formerly foreign territories of the remoter West were being packed with a great population of American whites and the native Indians of the west coast were being rapidly killed off.

The density of population both east and west of the official consolidated Indian country was rapidly increasing, while the tribes of the Indian country were rapidly diminishing in numbers from repeated epidemics of smallpox and other diseases.

Traffic over the Oregon Trail was becoming ever greater in volume. The passing whites were becoming more and more regardless of the treaties between the United States and the Indians which limited them strictly to the trail; they made farms along the trail, and hunted the buffalo. The Indians in despair witnessed this invasion of their country, this disregard of their ownership of it, this constant scaring and destruction of the bison or buffalo which was causing famine in their villages.

Fighting between the Indians and those passing over the trail who disregarded treaty limitations was becoming constant. It was becoming apparent that the consolidated Indian country could not be maintained.¹ But the immediate cause of its shattering was the increasingly bitter and serious rivalry between the South and the North over the erection of new states which should or should not permit the existence of the institution of slavery.

In 1849, the control of the Indian Bureau had passed from the War Department, to the newly created, civilian-manned Department of the Interior. This Department was called upon to furnish new territory which would be a bone for the slave and anti-slave parties to fight over. So in 1854 the consolidated Indian Country was broken up. The northern half was made the territory of Nebraska (including the territory now occupied by the Dakotas, and much other territory). Below this was the new territory of Kansas,

¹ On the trails through the Indian country see Paxson and Turner.

including much territory now west of the state of Kansas. The small, southeasternmost section of the old Indian Country (now the state of Oklahoma) inhabited chiefly by the "Five Civilized Tribes", remained as residual Indian Country. The tribes to the north in the new territories were gradually induced to sell the greater part of their lands and become "reservation" Indians, after the manner I have elsewhere described.¹

THE SPLURGE OF SETTLEMENT INTO KANSAS

Anglo-Saxon "civilization" moved into the territory of Kansas. The average reader is acquainted with the brutalities of the unofficial civil war which raged there and which was not settled until the outbreak of the great Civil War. The rush to win the new territory was not the result of a need for new land for settlers, but of the political needs of North and South. The political urge by 1855 had brought more than ten thousand whites into the territory of Kansas; by 1860, 106,500! This, in an area where in 1853 there had been, practically, not a single white settler!

RAILROAD AND STEAMBOAT

At the same time the steamboat and the railroad were ready to nose through the great plains. Since 1811, great numbers of steamboats were traversing the Mississippi. By 1832 the Missouri had been ascended by steamboat as far as Fort Union, and the Mississippi as far as Fort Snelling—which latter fort at that time (and up to the treaties of 1837) was a desolate military outpost in the midst of the wild Sioux, who were constantly at war with the Ojibway of the Great Lakes.²

By 1852 Chicago was connected to the East by rail; and by 1854 the railroad touched the Mississippi. In 1856 a railroad bridge crossed the great river at Davenport, Iowa. These outpushing railroads had to serve, in the states of

¹ Above, Chapter 29.

² Boller pictures comparable situations in the remoter West. Boller's chapter on "The Indian Question" is worth while—as, indeed, is the whole of his book. Boller was a trading-post factor of scholarly proclivities and considerable refinement and keenness of observation.

Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin alone, a white population of 1,500,000.¹

The population of the Middle West and of the Far West was increasing at a vastly greater rate than the population of the East; and the numbers of these western populations were becoming so great that the centre of population in North America was moving rapidly westward.

Although all this while the Indians of the great plains were suffering politically and economically, and disease was to some extent continuing to take its toll of their population, it was not they among the Indians west of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi in Canada and the United States who were first to feel the impact of wholesale reservation removals, massacres, exterminative wars, and the health-infecting neighbourhood of dense white populations.

The actual centre of interest on the moving frontiers had leapt over the middle-western Indian country to the rich farmlands and gold-fields of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Lower California. So we must also leap over the plains for a while and consider the scene on the west coast.²

¹ Compare Albright.

² For a fairly complete picture of the details of exploration, settlement, and economic development outlined above, the reader should peruse in addition to references already cited, Austin; Catlin, Maximilian; McKenny and Hall; De Villiers; Bolton, Gabriel; Goodwin, J.; Butt; Hughes; Jackson; Philipps; Coman; and on the explorers of the fur trade of the West Coast and plateau, Chittenden; Laut; Dunn; Davidson.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WEST COAST TRIBES

"In the cave with the meat were some Indian children. Kingsley could not bear to kill children with his fifty-six caliber rifle. 'It tore them up so bad.' So he did it with his thirty-eight caliber Smith and Wesson revolver."

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST COAST INDIANS

WE have seen in studying the missions of California that the independence movement in that region under the Mexican régime, headed by the liberal Pio Pico, was destined to ruin the missions and make the mission Indians reservation Indians. But before Pio Pico's anti-clerical plans could be realized, the war between Mexico and the United States eventuated, and the Latin Southwest with its mission Indians became territory of the United States shortly to be divided into territories and states of the United States. Promptly the United States' Indian policy came into operation with respect to both mission and "wild" Indians.

Quickly the Indians were "bought out" and allowed to remain on the little land left them as "domestic nations, wards", of the United States. Frequently trading of land was forced upon them against their will, and they were gathered into little "consolidated Indian countries" known technically now as reservations. The process was exactly that by which the great consolidation of eastern tribes west of the Mississippi had been effected, only it was on a smaller scale, less dignity and power attached to the "domestic nations" concerned, and instead of one great block of "Indian country" the result was many little areas of Indian country—reservations.

Friction with the whites during this slow process of application of the United States' policy was attended by many Indian wars—small affairs, but exterminative for the meagre

Indian population. So it went in the entire Southwest proper, where the Pueblo Indians were more and more restricted; and in California, Washington and Oregon.¹

THE BRITISH CROWN NORTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Indian policy of the British Crown, described in an earlier chapter, continued effective in those colonies north of the United States which had remained loyal and stood outside the union of rebel colonies to the south. Until about 1830 a purely military administration continued to handle Indian affairs for the Crown. Its aim was merely to keep the Indians in peace and alliance with Britain. About 1830, no further danger of war in North America being apparent, without any change in the Crown's administration of Indian affairs, there yet appeared a change in its objectives. Its aim now was not merely quiet on the borders of the tribal territories but active education and assimilation of the Indians.

In 1858 in British Columbia a significant change in Indian policy was effected—but in that province alone. In the other provinces of Canada, the Indian policy continued to be exactly similar to that of the United States, with the British Crown in the place held by the Federal government in the United States.

In 1860, the Crown still continuing in charge of all Indian affairs, its functions, however, were delegated not to military departments but to the Crown Lands Department. (This is comparable to the transfer of Indian affairs in the United States from the War Department to the Interior Department.)

In 1868 Indian affairs in all the provinces north of the United States, including those now included in the Dominion of Canada, and those outside the Dominion known as the Maritime Provinces, were managed under a uniform plan defined in that year by the Crown Lands Department, and this plan has not since been deviated from.

According to this plan, all treaties with the Indian tribes after 1868—and this anticipated treaties with the tribes of the as yet "wild" western plains who still owned enormous

¹ See the contemporary reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

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territories—were to include provision that the tribes sell to the Crown all their hunting territories, and reserve only an area, a “reservation”, averaging one square mile to the family of five. Instead of a lump sum of cash or goods as purchase money, the tribe on the reservation would thereupon receive an annuity from the Crown, payable preferably in agricultural equipment.

The 1868 regulations provided, as similarly in the United States, that tribal rule under the tribal chiefs should remain; but, in contrast to the United States, the reservation Indians were nevertheless bound by treaty to observe the laws of the province in which their reservation lay.

In 1879 the bison disappeared, and, as similarly in the United States, the subsequent starvation led to rationing, a practice which continued long after the need for it had passed. In 1885 came a rebellion of the *metis* or half-breeds of the further western plains, aided by the Indians, but this was not serious and represents the only Indian trouble experienced in the British provinces north of the United States from the War of 1812 to the present day.¹

BRITISH COLUMBIA IN 1858 DOES WHAT GEORGIA WANTED TO DO IN 1827

It has been advisable thus to summarize the course of Indian affairs north of the United States to indicate the full significance of the contrast of policy between the United States and the British in dealings with the west coast tribes. For British Columbia tore itself loose from the traditional policy of the British Crown, succeeding in doing what Georgia was determined to do three decades before until the removal of Indians from Georgia removed the opportunity.

British Columbia was erected a Crown colony in 1858. James Douglas was appointed governor by the Crown. As was Ovando in Haiti centuries before, he was instructed by his sovereign as to how he should deal with the Indian tribes. Like Ovando he interpreted these instructions to suit what he considered the needs of the situation. The Crown clearly intended a continuance in British Columbia of the traditional

¹ See Scott, in *Canada and its Provinces*, v's. 4, 5, and 7, also *Indian Policy . . . Canada*; and Abbott. Abbott compares administration in the United States and in Canada, for the year 1915.

policy followed in the rest of British North America and in the United States. But the Crown's instructions were sufficiently inexplicit to permit of broad interpretation.

Douglas was at the time a correspondent of Bulwer-Lytton, the novelist, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Douglas learned from Lytton that in South Africa the native tribes were not dealt with as independent nations nor was the land purchased from them. He has himself stated that the Indian policy he designed for British Columbia was inspired by colonial policy in South Africa.

He did, however, have also the example of the success of the settlers of Vancouver Island before him, and no doubt he knew of it. Vancouver Island had no funds to pay the Indians for land, yet the Indians were quite content to let the settlers take to themselves stretches of shore and woodland, clear it and farm it, the decreasing native population needing less in the way of fisheries than in truly aboriginal days.¹

Douglas, likewise, it would seem, was motivated by a desire for economy. Douglas decided to break completely with the traditional Indian policy and to have British Columbia begin differently. He declared the Indian lands to be Crown domain, public lands, refusing to recognize an Indian title. He granted the Indians, by families and septs, title to whatever land they had improved, house sites, graveyards, farms, fishing stations, and so on. The rest of the lands were to be opened for settlement. The Indians were not recognized as independent political communities but considered subjects of the Crown. They were permitted to request and receive grants of the public domain, besides the improved lands initially allotted to them, on the same basis as other British subjects. Moreover, there were to be no segregated reservations of Indians. The Indians and their lands formed little communities of one or a few families scattered here and there over the province. They were to be allowed to come and go as they chose, and were not under the supervision of agents. They were extensively employed in mining and canning operations. No payments of any kind on account of treaties or land sales were made; there were no treaties or land sales.

This was a policy similar in many respects to that which

¹ On British Columbia, see Mayne, pp. 164, 165.

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the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth apparently had planned eventually to follow regarding the Indians, but which had been inhibited in its development partly as a result of the imitation of the Dutch West India Company's policy.

THE PEACE RESULTING FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA'S POLICY AS COMPARED WITH WEST COAST UNITED STATES

This erection of the new Crown colony and the formulation of a novel Indian policy took place during the period of the British Columbia gold rush. A large proportion of the settlers and miners of the region were immigrants from the coast and plateau western states of the United States below the line, from California up. Racially, socially and economically, the Indians of British Columbia were almost identical with the Indians below the line in the United States. But in the west coast states of the United States the federal government, despite the protest of many of its Indian agents who admired the new development of Indian policy in British Columbia, followed the old traditional policy of dealing with the Indians as independent nations and treating with them for the purchase of their land, giving the Indians an exalted conception of their rights and power and leading to constant trouble between settlers and Indians over the rights to territory.

British Columbia had no trouble with its Indians. There were no removals, and no wars. The Indians were quite satisfied, despite the fact that sentimentalists, intellectual heirs of Roger Williams, and cunning speculators, heirs in a sense of those of a century earlier in the eastern United States, tried to stir up the Indians to excited demands that the traditional Indian policy of the British Crown be applied in British Columbia.

Douglas' policy held fast, and British Columbia, by the time of her entrance into the federation, the Dominion of Canada, had satisfactorily liquidated her Indian problem. There were, then, no Indian "nations" for the Crown Lands Department to treat with.¹

¹ On British Columbia's innovation see Trimble; and, especially, the appendices to Wellcome, second edition.

THE FAILURE OF THE POLICY DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN DISEASES

But the Indians of British Columbia rapidly declined in population from the very beginnings of white settlement. It is plain that the policy of the colony, although it kept the peace, was not completely satisfactory. There were no Indian wars, but disease cut into the native population and destroyed the native fertility of the race. Prostitution of native women was clearly the most serious trouble, spreading venereal diseases and preventing the native population from recouping the losses from smallpox.¹

Some wisely planned segregation system such as that devised by the Latin missionaries in Latin America should have been devised to tide the natives over the early decades in which the superfluity of males among the settlers of the colony made for wholesale degradation of the Indian women and the rotting away of the native race. The west coast tribes in the United States, south of British Columbia wasted away from disease just as did those north of the line. So also did those of Alaska in their time, after 1867.² But while British Columbia's policy made for the absence of fighting and brutality, that of the United States resulted in deplorable eventualities and the consequent quickening of the pace at which the Indians died off.

THE PEOPLE OF THE COVERED WAGONS

In California and the Oregon Territory,³ the violence of the American settlers contributed to hasten the extermination of the natives probably more than did violence of settlers

¹ Compare data in Curtis, vols. 10 and 11; and notes in MacLeod: *Chiefship*, p. 499, n. 9.

² Russia had, up until the arrival of gold seekers in British Columbia, successfully prevented the spread of the dreadful venereal and other diseases, and of alcoholism, among the Alaskan natives. The problem they faced was relatively simple in that the only Europeans in the Russian territories were the agents of the trading companies. But with the arrival of settlers in British Columbia, and finally, with the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, the lid of Pandora's box was lifted, and the Tlingit, Haida, and other peoples rapidly declined, as in British Columbia, without war and bloodshed.

³ California was made a state in 1850; Oregon in 1859, the remainder of the Oregon territory being made into the territories of Washington and Idaho. Washington Territory had been carved out of Oregon Territory in 1853.

anywhere else on the frontier of the Anglo-Saxons in the New World. The home-seeking emigrants to Oregon included many vicious elements; the gold-seekers of California many more; and the northward movement of the gold-seeking population of California into Oregon added vicious new elements to the Oregon population. The saner or more decent population of California and Oregon, the Indian agents of the federal government, and the officials of the territorial and state governments, all too often were directly implicated in the criminal brutality towards the Indians initiated by the baser elements of the population.

Beeson, one of the early emigrants to Oregon, publishing his notes in the decade before the Civil War, says of some of his fellow heroes of the Covered-Wagon epoch: "The majority of the first emigration to Oregon were from Missouri; and among them it was customary to speak of the Indian man as a buck; of the woman as a squaw; until, at length, in the general acceptance of the terms, they ceased to recognize the rights of humanity in those to whom they were so applied. *By a very natural and easy transition, from being spoken of as brutes, they came to be thought of as game to be shot, or as vermin to be destroyed.* This shows the force of association, and the wrong of speaking in derogatory terms of those we regard as our inferiors." Elsewhere in Beeson's notes on early Oregon we see American democracy, or Democracy, at its worst. Just as in the days of the Conestoga massacres, or as in the days of the ebullition of the Puritan democracy, no one dare speak out for sanity under the pressure of threats by the mob: "On another occasion, a white man being found dead, he was supposed to have been killed by Indians. A company was made up forthwith, an Indian ranch was surrounded, and all the inmates put to death, men, women, and children. The domineering spirit grew by what it fed on, until, excited to madness by these oft-recurring scenes of blood, men became utterly regardless of justice, even towards those of their own race. Whatever a man's private views might be, he was expected to go with the crowd, to the full extent of every enterprise, and the more questionable the object, the more did they insist that all should participate. Personal freedom was thus frequently invaded; and life itself was not secure. On

one occasion, an aged white man who had persistently continued at his mining, and utterly refused to take part against the Indians, was visited by twenty men and forced to mount his pony, and go in pursuit. After resting on the mountains, they shot him, cut off his head, leaving it on the limb of a tree, and divided his property among themselves."

In Oregon the legislature, the subordinate Indian agents, the Methodist clergy, and the Know-Nothing political party,¹ all were directly implicated in carrying on systematically a series of massacres which no sane imagination would describe as they officially described it—as an "Indian War".² Women were regularly clubbed to death, and infants dashed against trees.

Whetting their appetites on the Indians, the Know-Nothing Party in its official newspaper, calling for the destruction of the Indians of Oregon or, alternatively, their removal from Oregon by the federal government, in the same editorial called for the extermination of all Catholics or their removal from Oregon!³

An officer in the Federal forces who had been in the Far

¹ Beeson, pp. 31, 47, 75, 78 (my italics). Compare above, pp. 415-416. Where is the individualism of the American frontier which the school-books speak of?

² Oregon and California looted the federal treasury in the course of their official massacres. Between 1850 and 1859 the United States reimbursed California \$924,000 for state expenses incurred in the prosecution of Indian "wars", and the United States in the same period itself spent \$1,737,000 in otherwise handling the 30,000 Indians, mission and wild, of the state (Ellison, p. 67, n. 60). In Oregon during the period of agitation of which we have spoken above, there was a slump in the mining industry which left many miners unemployed. At good pay these unemployed were supported through many months, their only duties as soldiers of the state being to go out in bodies and kill Indians. The federal treasury met the bill for this subsidization of the murderously inclined Oregon unemployed. (Compare Beeson, pp. 43-44, 58, 63.)

³ During the war hysteria of 1918 in Oregon, H. Stevens wrote his *The Pioneers and Patriotism*, an attempt to paint very white the Oregon frontiersmen and to urge the patriots of twentieth century Oregon to emulate these touched-up "Pioneers". This article should be read as an example of unconscious intellectual imbecility induced by an abnormal emotional state and presented and accepted by a provincial genealogical and historical society; and compared with the facts concerning the patriotism of the pioneers as recorded in contemporary documents.

On all the above see also Bancroft's various state histories, excellent sources which were merely published by Mr. Bancroft under his own name, written by others. See also S. Clarke, and M. F. Williams.

West throughout these events has likewise benefited us with his memoirs. The facts, some of which he barely mentions, are unfit to be printed in a book designed for general circulation. This officer himself exclaims: "Volumes have been written regarding 'Indian atrocities'; and the 'red devils' who perpetrated them have been pointed out as without mercy and without feeling; as fiends incarnate; but the whole damning story of white atrocities against the Indians must forever remain unwritten."¹

In California, the ruthless slaughter of "the very seeds of increase", the women and children, of the native population, not alone by venereal infection but by the rifle, began in 1849 and continued well on into the 1870's. I quote from the very frank note of one of the early settlers concerning events in which he participated at the late date of August 15, 1865: "I had often argued with Good regarding the disposition of the Indians. He believed in killing every man or well-grown boy, but in leaving the women unmolested in their mountain retreats. *It was plain to me that we must also get rid of the women.*"

And from another, for events of April, 1871: "The next day the whites trail the Indians with dogs, corner them in a cave, and kill about thirty. . . . In the cave with the meat were some Indian children. Kingsley could not bear to kill children with his fifty-six caliber rifle. 'It tore them up so bad.' So he did it with his thirty-eight caliber Smith and Wesson revolver."

A historian of the California frontier notes of this: "The tender sensibilities of the fellow who preferred to shoot babies with a thirty-eight caliber revolver are certainly worthy of remark."²

¹ Beeson, pp. 39, 95; Strong: *Wahkeenah*, p. 166. See also Strong, chap. 11, p. 157 seq., on the Yakima War. On p. 158 is note of an attempt to poison Indians wholesale. See also Dunn: *Massacres*, chap. 7, for the Rogue River, Yakima, and Klickitat "Wars", and chap. 11 for the war with the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, and Pelouses. (With Strong on poisoning compare the note in Burton, p. 474, regarding the attempts in Utah to get rid of Indians by poisoning the Indians' springs.) Beeson and Strong were not sentimentalist humanitarians of the type prevalent in the East who constantly insisted on the maintenance of the land-purchasing Indian policy; they were hard-headed, practical men of affairs. Otherwise I would not consider their generalizations worth quoting.

² Waterman: *Yana*, see p. 61, *Discovery of the Yahi Village in 1908*; and p. 64 seq., *History of the Last Survivor*. Ishii, the last survivor.

The last American scalp bounty had been offered by the territory of Indiana in 1814, when a reward of fifty dollars was set "to offer sufficient encouragement to the enterprise and bravery of our fellow citizens".¹ So men like Kingsley had nothing to do with the scalps of the women and children. However, one enterprising frontiersman of esthetic tastes, or of peculiar psychopathy, made a blanket out of the long-haired scalps of forty Indian women shot by him, and used it regularly.

All of which would not be so unfortunate if the survivors had been assimilated to American culture. But they were not, and even at the present day there are many groups such as the Utes of Navaho Springs of whom Dr. Lowie, the eminent anthropologist, had to report in 1912 of his failure to report on their customs that "they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter".²

was found running wild in 1911, and died in 1916 of general tuberculosis. On Ishii see also notes by his friend, S. Pope, in *Hunting with the Bow*, 1926. My above citations are from Waterman: *Yana*, pp. 52, 59, and 41.

¹ *Laws and Treaties*.

² Lowie: *Shoshone*, 1914, p. 192.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE REVOLT OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

"I do not believe in killing women and children who can be taken."—*General Curtis, to Governor Evans of Colorado, 1864.*

"I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired. My heart is sick and sad."—*Chief Joseph's Surrender, October, 1877.*

IT was after the west coast tribes were led well on the road to eventual extermination that the effect of the break-up of the great solid Indian country of the plains began to be felt by the Indians. The incursion of miners into the Colorado and other mining areas, the Civil War, and the conflict of methods followed in dealing with the Indian tribes by the War Department and the Interior Department of the federal government are the three most significant related factors surrounding the armed conflicts with the reservation Indians which ensued in the 1860's and later.

Of these, however, the bearing upon the Indian frontier of the Civil War is but slight. This war was one in which, between 1861 and 1865, the North, with a population of 22,000,000, forcibly imposed its will on the South, with a population of only 5,500,000 whites and 3,500,000 negro slaves; about 1,000,000 men being slaughtered in the process.¹

The more civilized of the Indian tribes—the southern Appalachian confederacies, then colonized in what is now the state of Oklahoma—were direct participants in the struggle, some on the side of the North, some on the side of the South.² The wilder tribes of the more northerly plains

¹ Territory and state making continued during this period. In 1858 Minnesota, in 1859, Oregon, in 1861, Kansas, in 1862, West Virginia (carved out of Virginia), and in 1864, Nevada, entered the union as new states. Washington, Dakota, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, and Montana were still merely territories until nearly the last decade of the past century, to about the time of Tavibo's messianism and Ghost Dance.

² See Abel.

and of the hinterland, in 1864 (following the minor Sioux wars of 1862 and 1863) broke out in a general war against the Northerners who controlled the West, but there was no alliance among the various tribes who simultaneously rose against the whites, and they appear to have had no interest in the Southern cause. It is very likely that they would have arisen at this time even if the whites were not divided among themselves in the East. They had been irritated to the point where they were driven to seek revenge for many injuries.

MINERS IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY

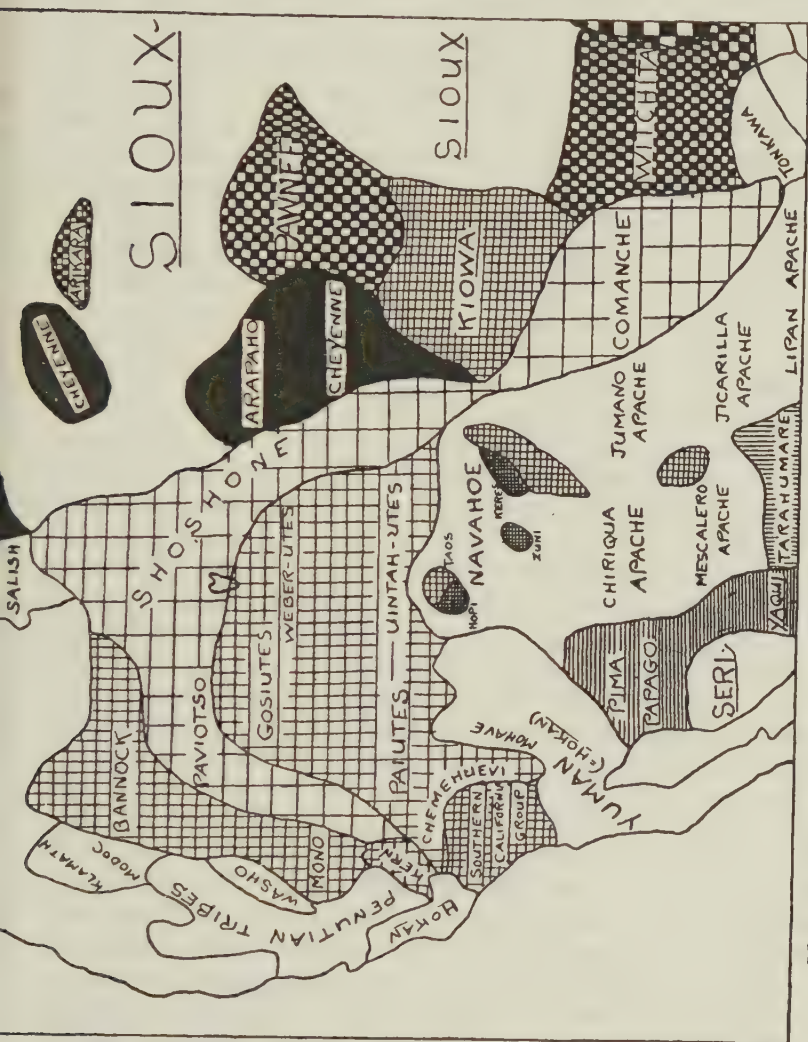
The entrance of miners into the Indian Country was of profound importance. In 1859 nearly one hundred thousand miners, followed by a developing stage-coach service, had crossed the prairies and settled in Colorado and the surrounding mineral-producing regions. These miners without waiting for the federal government to arrange with the Indian tribes for the liquidation of the Indian title to the mineral-producing lands, immediately set about laying out towns, developing mines, raising crops, laying out roads, and, in general, appropriating the lands of the Indians.

The anger of the Indians was undoubtedly principally aroused by the consequent scaring of the buffalo herds and the increased difficulty, therefore, of their finding sufficient supplies of buffalo within reasonable distance of their villages.¹ So long as there was no appreciable measure of European economic practices transferred to the Indians—by any method, such, for example, as the mission establishments of California in Spanish days—it was essential to the Indians that the buffalo should not be disturbed or killed off.

Before 1861 the Cheyenne and Arapaho particularly, were feeling the pressure of the mining frontier and suffering from the disturbance of the buffalo. Gradually their title to the greater part of their lands was purchased by the federal government for the benefit of the already established mining settlements, and these tribesmen were confined to reservations. In 1864 these two tribes and also the more southerly Comanche and Kiowa began attacks on the white lines of

¹ On the disappearance of the buffalo, see Hornaday.

communication by attacking stage coaches, and destroyed outlying settlements of whites. Governor Evans of Colorado then insisted on vigorous military action against the Indians,



MAP 12.—TRIBES OF THE SOUTHWESTERN PLAINS, DESERT, AND GREAT BASIN.
(For notes see Appendix X.)

and in the subsequent fighting the stupidity of the Interior Department of the federal government was of particularly unfortunate influence.

THE CONFLICT OF DEPARTMENTS IN INDIAN AFFAIRS

From 1832 to 1849 the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been a bureau of the War Department. Since 1849 it had been under the Interior Department, manned by civilians. But whenever the Indians became unmanageable, the Interior Department had to call on the War Department to suppress or coerce the Indians. In the 1860's a curious situation resulted. The officials of the Interior Department insisted that inasmuch as the Indians were having more and more difficulty in getting buffalo, it was necessary to help them by issuing them rifles to substitute for their bows and arrows in the chase! This was proposed instead of the adoption of measures looking to the cultural assimilation of the natives and their independence of wild animals for food. The officials were so ignorant of the economic life of their "wards" that they did not know that the buffalo were best hunted, not with the noisy rifle which scared the herds, but with the silent bow.¹ The Indians desired the rifles, not for the hunt, but for war with one another and for war against the whites.

All during the bloodshed on the plains in the 1860's the Interior Department of the United States government supplied arms and ammunition to the wild tribes, which these tribes promptly used in fighting the armies of the War Department. This situation stands interesting comparison with those in colonial days when, for example, King Philip bought arms and ammunition from Albany, New York, to war on the armies of New England.

SAND CREEK

The officials of the civilian Indian Bureau, moreover, backed by the sentimentalists in power in the East, were always unwilling to permit the War Department to carry on an Indian war, without cessation, to the point where the Indians would feel themselves finally and definitely crushed, and where they would thenceforth either starve on their reservations or accept any programme of civilization the

¹ On the superiority of the bow compare Harmon, 1903 ed., p. 285; and Hornaday.

Indian Bureau might possibly devise for their assimilation to the European economy. The War Department was forced to give the Indians peace whenever the Indians made overtures, and the Indians sensed the weakness in the American diplomacy.

Without this, things would have been bad enough, anyway. Boller, for example, writes of the Indians he lived among for this period: "All the Indian tribes look upon the whites as an inferior race, pretty much in the same light that we formerly regarded plantation negroes. They have the idea that the earth is one vast plain resting upon four huge turtles, and that the whites occupy a very small corner of it while the rest is the exclusive and illimitable domain of the Indians. One might talk to them for hours on this subject without being able to convince them one iota to the contrary; but would infallibly gain for himself the reputation of being an unmitigated liar if he persisted in asserting that the whites were as numerous as the leaves in the forest and cunning and skilful beyond all expressions. . . . The Indians look upon all Americans or 'Long Knives' as a nation of traders, who get their goods from 'a cunning people beyond the big water'."¹ The Indians finally came to believe that with impunity they could kill whites during the spring and summer and make peace by fall.

It was expedient for them to go out to war when their ponies could find plenty of grass, and be quiet in the fall and winter, during which time the Indian Bureau would distribute arms and ammunition to them, which they could use in the following spring. This situation was peculiarly irritating to the frontiersmen, and to the War Department. This irritation was heightened by the fact that the half-measures taken against Indians who were in intermittent revolt were inadequate to impress on these Indians, as yet untouched by European ethical ideals, that they must give up their aboriginal methods of war in which women and children might be slain without dishonour, and adopt the military code of the Americans.

These irritations were responsible for Sand Creek. They need not have caused Sand Creek, but given the type of men dominant on our frontier, they did cause it.

¹ Boller, p. 54.

SAND CREEK AND AMERICAN ETHICS, 1864

Sand Creek deserves note not so much for its actual historical importance as for the fact that at the time and for decades after it was considered in many respects important. Innumerable words were spent in condemnation and in condonation. Yet perhaps we should pass it over here inasmuch as we have had enough of this sort of thing to serve toward an analysis of neglected aspects of the psychology of the American frontier were it not for the fact that other historians, and one¹ truly eminent and scholarly, of the American frontier, have felt the need of condoning it. In an earlier chapter of this book we have agreed that it is no part of our work to praise or blame any men for their acts; yet, while we do not condemn, we cannot even directly be a party to the condonation of certain acts.

The writer above referred to in a book designed for general circulation says of Sand Creek that "what here occurred was horrible from any standard of civilized criticism. But . . .", and here he states concerning Indian wars that "in the mêlée the squaws were quite as dangerous as the bucks", and that "the only way to crush an Indian war is to destroy the base of supplies, the camp where the women are busy helping to keep the men in the field"; implying very clearly that one must kill off the women, and, necessarily therefore, also the sucklings, that is, to speak "the savages' own tongue with no uncertain accent". Our author ends with the meaningless nonsense that "the terrible event was the result of the orderly working of causes over which individuals have little control".²

As a matter of fact the implication that the American Indians of any tribe ever made a regular practice of killing off non-combatants is, so far as I have ever been able to learn, quite false. The Indians took prisoners and used some for the unfortunately cruel human sacrifices such as burning at the stake, accompanied among the Iroquois, Yuchi, and other tribes by ritual cannibalism. Some they adopted. Some exchange of prisoners was arranged.

¹ Paxson: *Last Frontier*, pp. 262-263.

² Paxson, unfortunately, uses the terms "buck" and "squaw". On the influence of the use of these terms, compare Beeson, above, p. 485.

Generally, however, prisoners were eagerly desired for use as slaves, and internecine war in aboriginal days was often little more than slave-raiding.

As the European influence ruined the native economy the demand for prisoner-slaves tended to fall off and disappear among the Indians, and prisoners were then adopted, sacrificed, or exchanged. The contrary idea that the Indians were heedless butchers is a falsity currently circulated chiefly as a result of the presence in home-libraries of a generation or two ago—alongside the family Bible and the stories of Israelite and Philistine—of books such as that of John Frost (LL.D.).¹

The author we have cited, and others, generally or always neglect also the fact that the women-folk of the white frontiersmen could shoot straight, and ably used the rifle in defence of the home village or fort. That is, white women were usually combatants, and thereby renounced their claim to special consideration in the event of war. On the other hand the Indian women could not, and almost invariably did not, try to handle the bow and arrow or the rifle.

To condone Sand Creek is too much, merely to get water to the soul of the Reverend Chivington.

A METHODIST PARSON SHOWS THE WAY

Briefly, what happened at Sand Creek was this. A village of Cheyenne was surprised at dawn of November 29, 1864, by a detachment of American troops, about nine hundred of them consisting of the Third Colorado Infantry and a part of the First Colorado Cavalry. They were, of course, equipped with rifles and howitzers. Two-thirds of these troops were enlisted for only one hundred days, merely for the suppression of the Indians. The troops were led by the colonel of the Third Colorado.

This colonel was a Methodist preacher of the frontier who for a time had been a missionary to the Indians! In leading the attack on the sleeping village he called out for his men

¹ Tecumseh forbade his warriors to burn at the stake. Compare also above, pp. 261-262. On prisoners and slaves compare my papers on primitive chattel and debtor slavery.

to revenge the white women and children who had been killed in the past by the savages.

The Indians had been negotiating for the usual autumn peace, and thought peace had been arranged. The troops, however, very clearly, did not understand that any truce had been arranged.

Only fourteen of the Colorado troops were killed in the resulting attack. Out of the perhaps five hundred Indians of the village, about three hundred were put to death, *somewhat half of these being women and children*. Seven women and children were taken prisoners. The details of the butchering were such that they are not printable.

General Curtis, the superior of Colonel Chivington, the Methodist-minister-in-arms, was ordered by Washington to investigate Chivington's act. Curtis pointed out in his report, that which he at least affected to deplore, that Chivington and his soldiery were no worse than any other frontiersmen. That: the popular cry of settlers and soldiers on the frontier favoured an indiscriminate slaughter which is very difficult to restrain. "I abhor this style, but so it goes, from Minnesota to Texas. . . ."

"The slaughter of women and children", he elsewhere observed, is against his own "views of propriety". Before the Sand Creek affair, in fact, General Curtis had written Governor Evans of Colorado that in the war with the Indians "women and children must be spared"; although he left the way open when he added in the same letter: "I do not believe in killing women and children *who can be taken*."¹

Determined, continuous, relentless war upon the tribes in revolt could have crushed these tribes and subdued them. Death to the Indian men responsible for killing any white women would have taught the Indians to refrain from their aboriginal barbarity in war. Of this there is no doubt. But war to the death can be carried, even against savages with the maintenance of the code of honour of honourable Europeans and Americans. Of this too there is no doubt. The cold-blooded, *en-masse* butchering of women and children has been disapproved of in the United States even by the masses these six decades past. And we may not consider

¹ On Sand Creek, see Dunn: *Massacres*, chap. 13; for Curtis' citation see p. 433.

as extenuating any circumstance surrounding the Sand Creek affair, although we may refrain from condemning the participants.

SEQUELS

With the winter of 1864 came a general peace. But with the following spring came more war. Sand Creek had accomplished nothing.¹ In the fall (1865) the Apache, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapaho made peace again. In 1866 and 1867 the Cheyenne and Sioux broke out again, but the Cheyenne were then finally pacified.

By 1870 the plains tribes were at the end of their desire any longer to fight. It was clear that for a long time they would remain "pacified". With the opening of President Grant's administration a "peace policy" was pursued towards the Indians. This "policy", however, was no radical change from the policies of previous administrations.

THE SECRET OF "CUSTER'S LAST STAND", 1876²

The "peace" policy brought little peace. From 1871 to 1882 there was constant war between the United States and the Apache tribes of the arid Southwest, a war in which the chief Geronimo achieved much notoriety.³

In 1876 came another war with the Sioux of the Dakotas. This war is noteworthy chiefly for the fact that the most dangerous Sioux band, led by their chief Sitting Bull, fled to Canada and there settled down under the protection of the British Crown; and that during its course occurred the notorious defeat of Custer and his command by the Sioux

¹ Despite Paxson's erroneous implication that the Sand Creek affair was conducive to peace.

² Just 200 years after the war of New England with Philip.

³ In 1876 Colorado had become a state, the first state admitted since 1864. Between 1876 and 1889 no new states were admitted. In 1890, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington and Montana, were admitted; in 1890, Idaho and Wyoming; in 1896, Utah. In 1890 Oklahoma Territory was cut out of the remaining consolidated Indian Country, eventually to swallow the remaining Indian Territory and enter the union as a state. In 1854, already negotiations were under way looking to the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands in Polynesia; in 1897 they were annexed, and in 1900 given territorial government. In 1898 came the war with Spain and the extension of empire over the Philippines and the West Indies.

under Sitting Bull, in which Custer and his whole command were slain.

I make note of the Custer incident further not because of any particular social-historical significance attaching to it, but because in the United States at least much popular interest has attached to it and the mystery surrounding it. Only several decades ago, when every tobacco shop had its wooden Indian on the doorstep, nearly every barroom had its lithograph of "Custer's Last Stand". Only this past year (1927) have the Indian survivors of that battle told their story of it; since there were no white survivors, there has hitherto been a deep veil of mystery thrown over the battle.

The story is merely one of a fight to the death in which every white soldier died fighting, save that it reveals the fact that Custer died by his own hand when he saw that the Indians were sparing him, thinking perhaps that he was being reserved for torture at the stake. He probably had forgotten the incident of seventeen years before which resulted in their sparing him, or else did not understand the plains Indian's concept of "Blood Brotherhood" ("Wehhunkawanz").

Away back in 1859 Sitting Bull, then a young medicine-man (shaman) and minor chief, visited the East as one of a delegation of Sioux chiefs. They also visited West Point where Custer was then a young cadet. Custer and Sitting Bull became immediately drawn to each other and in parting the Indian proclaimed the young white man his "blood-brother". To a plains Indian the so-called "blood-brother" is for life, nearer and dearer than any actual blood relative or near friend. So, through all the years, though Custer had probably forgotten, or perhaps did not know, the Indian chief, now a man of power, did know and had not forgotten. When on June 22, 1876, seventeen years later, the Indian leader heard that it was Custer leading the approaching cavalry he ordered that the white leader be spared.

I quote the tragic narrative of an old Sioux survivor who tells the story; from the point where Custer and the few officers surrounding him are alone on the battle-field: "Now we had to go get Custer. He was fighting like big brave. But we must not kill him for Sitting Bull. We had to charge

in and kill his chief companions any way we could—with knives, arrows, lances and bullets—not many bullets, though; we were afraid we would hit Custer.

"When his officers started to fall, Custer got down behind a dead horse and started to fire at us that way. He had his long hair pushed up under his hat. We made believe we did not see him, and went on killing the others.

"He fought bravely, and he got six of our chiefs—we left them on the river-bank in a funeral tepee.

"Just as we finished all the killing and were going to make the peace sign to Custer, and then go out and get him, we saw him stand up and peer hard all over the battlefield, with one of his hands shading his eyes. Lots of smoke and dust everywhere, and he was trying to see if there were any live Blue-Coats left. When he realized he alone was alive he put his gun against his body and pulled the trigger.

"He was dead right away. Sitting Bull went up to where he lay and stooped down and picked up his pistol and looked at it; and then he strapped it around himself and came back. Sitting Bull did not say anything then, but when we got up into the Land of the Red Sun [Canada] he used to be sorry that Custer had done that."¹

AN AMERICAN ANABASIS: CHIEF JOSEPH'S MARCH, 1877

The next year came the trouble with the Nez Perce Indians further to the northwest, eventuating in a long running battle which, although like Custer's affair of no great historical effect, is in itself an epitome of this whole miserable epoch of the jostling about of the dwindling Indian tribes from their ancient home sites to more or less distant reservations in those more barren parts of the West which the whites were least likely to wish to preëempt immediately for themselves.

About 1870 difficulty was had in inducing the tribes of the plateau around the upper waters of the Columbia River and

¹ The story was given to Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance in the winter of 1926-1927 and published in *Hearst's International-Cosmopolitan*, in June, 1927. At a gathering of old plainsmen of the West in Norfolk, Nebraska, June 18, 1927, reported in the current newspapers, there was some lack of credence for Buffalo Child's story; personally I think it is reliable.

its tributaries to sell their lands and move onto reservations. The Dreamer religion was working among them, stirring them up to passive resistance to white civilization. The little band of five hundred led by Chief Joseph, a Nez Perce group (the total number of the Nez Perce being 2,800), were all Dreamers.¹ In 1877 this band was still refusing to move from their ancestral seat, even though squatters were continually annoying them.

Finally, they agreed to move. Shortly before the agreement was reached one of the band had been murdered by a white, but the Indians took no revenge. Now, while they were gathering their cattle preparatory to removing on the very next day to the reservation selected for them on the plateau, a band of whites from the region, without provocation, attacked them and ran off most of their cattle, killing one Indian. The Indians could no longer be restrained from taking blood revenge.

On June 13, 1877, they attacked the whites and killed twenty-one of them.² The American soldiery then took up the defence of the settlers. The Indians resisted and slew fifty-three soldiers in the course of three engagements.

After the battle of July 4, 1877, the third engagement, Joseph led his band in a retreat, hoping to be able to flee across the border into Canada as the Sioux had done the year before. General Howard and his troops pursued Joseph; Colonel Miles waited to attack in front, and Colonel Sturgis and his Crow Indian scouts lurked on Joseph's flank. In a retreat lasting seventy-five days, through July and on into October, Joseph and his band were pursued for 1,320 miles!

The little band started on its retreat after the three battles on and before July 4, with only one hundred warriors, who had *three hundred and fifty women and children to drag along with them and to protect*. What cattle they had left, they had to take with them.

Joseph led his band up the Clearwater, across the mountains into Montana, turned at Big Hole Pass long enough to beat back his pursuers, killing sixty of the soldiers; then by devious mountain trails fled southeast into Yellowstone

¹ On the Dreamers see below, Chapter 34.

² The settlement of whites was White Bird Creek, Idaho.

Park, where he again turned on Howard and his troops, with a further killing; on again out through Wyoming and north again into Montana seeking the border. Intercepted in the neighbourhood of the Yellowstone River by Sturgis and his Crow scouts, he lost heavily himself this time, in two battles.

Now with only fifty able men left, carrying the wounded, Joseph crossed the Missouri River and entered the Bearpaw Mountains. When they were within fifty miles of the Canadian border, Miles, with fresh troops, cut them off and defeated them. In this battle Joseph's brother was slain, the noted chief Looking-Glass. On October 5, 1877, the Indians surrendered to Colonel Miles.

The surrender was conditional, the Indians being promised that they would be permitted to return to their old home in the spring. They were sent to Fort Leavenworth, in Kansas; and then, for a seven years' stay, against their will, to malarial lands in Indian Territory, where, used to mountain air, they were reduced by disease from four hundred and fifty to two hundred and eighty !

Preparing to surrender, in October, 1877, Chief Joseph spoke formally to his sub-chiefs, leaving us a speech poignantly tragic, and truly classic: "I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking-Glass is dead. Toohulhotsote is dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are, perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs ! My heart is sick and sad. . . . I am tired. . . ."¹

¹ Cited from Mooney, *Ghost*, p. 715. See also Chief Joseph's own story in *The North American Review*, 1879; and General Howard's own story in his book on the subject; also Dunn: *Massacres*, Chpt. 19. In 1883 the Indian question in the Northwest plateau again became acute, with the opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

THE LAST SIOUX "WAR"

The last noteworthy warlike interruption of the otherwise fairly peaceful process of extermination by disease of the full-blood Indians of America north of Mexico occurred in 1890. Like all the other Indian wars since the conspiracies of Pontiac and Tecumseh it was without significant influence on history, but like all the minor Indian wars, it is socially and historically of interpretative value. It puts a sort of marker at the end of the vital history of the Indian frontier. Later events are merely post-mortems.

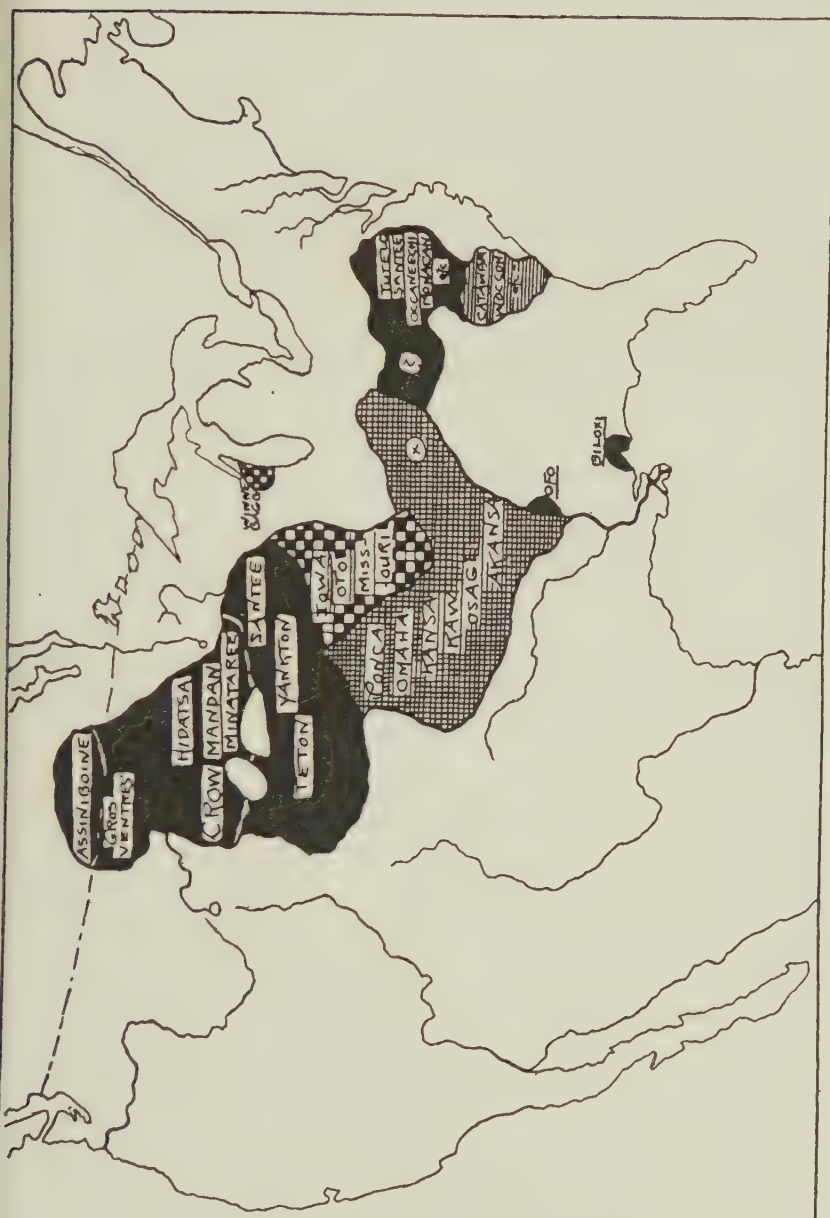
The year 1890 is only thirty-six years ago. Many readers can recall events of that year, but the Indian frontier has for so long been without any real importance in North American life that it seems strange when we recall the facts of the Sioux War of 1890.

This little "war" was enough to cause widespread consternation in the surrounding Middle West. It came at a time when messianic delusions were spreading among the Indian tribes, and when the last buffalo and antelope were vanishing from the prairies and deserts.

In that year our government sent an eminent anthropologist to investigate the Sioux disturbance. He points out in his report that the so-called uprising or war was merely a purely local reservation affair, resulting from the fact that the Sioux were goaded to desperation by the imminence of starvation and by the goading of the military. *Three hundred Sioux, however, were shot to death*, and forty-nine white soldiers were killed.

Yet, writes the observer, "the crisis produced the usual crop of patriots, all ready to serve their country—usually for a consideration. . . . In view of the fact that only one non-combatant was killed and no depredations were committed off the reservation, the panic among the frontier settlers of both Dakotas, Nebraska, and Iowa, was something ludicrous. The inhabitants worked themselves into such a high state of panic that ranches and even whole villages were temporarily abandoned, and the people flocked into the railroad cities with vivid stories of murder, scalping, and desolation which had no foundation in fact."¹

¹ Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, p. 192. On earlier Sioux troubles see Texter, Heard, and Teakle.



MAP 13.—THE SIOUXAN PEOPLES OF THE PLAINS AND OF THE EAST.

(The Sioux proper, or Dakotas, are the Teton, Yankton, Santee group of the map. For notes see Appendix X.)

The Sioux War is one of those regrettable affairs which lend some credence to more or less extreme generalizations such as that of the French social psychologist Le Bon. He wrote just before the opening of this present century: "The Americans got rid of the Chinese by forbidding them to enter the country; of the Indians, by enclosing them in territories surrounded by vigilant guards armed with repeating rifles, having orders to slaughter them as soon as the pangs of hunger drove them to leave these enclosures. By this summary means they were able to destroy nearly all the Indians in a very few years."¹

¹ Le Bon, p. 379 of the translation of the 1899 edition.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE RED CRY FOR A SAVIOUR

"My young men shall never work. Men who work cannot dream; and wisdom comes to us in dreams. . . ."—*An Indian Prophet*.¹

OUR INTEREST IN THE INDIAN PROPHETS

SINCE the Indian, during centuries of conflict with the white race, has been largely inarticulate, it is all the more difficult for us to comprehend the psychological effects of the discouragements and disappointments he has experienced. We can measure, here and there, the material effects of war, epidemics, and such, in lives and dollars; but it is not so easy to comprehend or to measure the spiritual bitterness of continuous moral and physical defeat. It is, therefore, fortunate that we have some available data concerning the messianic or apocalyptic delusions of the Indian tribes which may serve to some extent to make articulate the spiritual depression of the native race resulting from its failure in the racial and cultural contest with the Europeans.

The illuminative nature of a study of the Indian "prophets" or "messiahs", with a characterization of the mission or aim of these preachers of apocalypses, is well indicated in two excellent paragraphs of one who knew the Indian well: "From time to time in every great tribe and at every important crisis of Indian history we find certain men rising above the position of ordinary doctor, soothsayer, or ritual priest, to take upon themselves an apostleship of reform and return to the uncorrupted ancestral beliefs and customs as the necessary means to save their people from impending destruction by decay or conquest.

"In some cases the teaching takes the form of a new Indian gospel, the revolutionary culmination of a long and silent development of the native thought. As the faithful disciples were usually promised the return of the earlier and happier

¹ Smohalla; see below.

conditions, the restoration of the diminished game, the expulsion of the alien intruder, and reunion in earthly existence with the priests who had preceded them to the spirit world—all to be brought about by direct supernatural interposition—the teachers have been called prophets.

“While all goes well with the tribe the religious feeling finds sufficient expression in the ordinary ritual forms of tribal usage, but when misfortune threatens the nation or the race, the larger emergency brings out the prophet who strives to avert the disaster by moulding his people to a common purpose through insistence upon the sacred character of his message. . . .”¹

Prophets thrive on despair; of despair the Indians had their fill.

WHAT THE AMERICAN INDIAN PROPHETS TAUGHT

The prophets of the American Indians carried messages similar to the prophets of other peoples. In addition, rising out of their native religious environment, their tenets have some interesting peculiarities which appear as more or less general among the native prophets’ teachings.

Generally they taught universal peace, not only forbidding war of Indian against Indian, but war of Indian against white; they recommended the giving “unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s”, until such time as the imminent millennium arrives—for they taught that the Indians were the Chosen People of the Great Spirit and that through a cataclysm the whites and all non-believing Indians would sink away, the earth would be renewed, and the Indians would live in an earthly paradise. To join them in this paradise, would come the souls of their departed ancestors. The millennium was to come through the action of the Great Spirit. Meantime the Indians were not to fight but merely to watch, and pray. They taught, usually, the rejection of all things new, that is, European. The ways of the ancestors were best. The Indians must even give up firearms.

Some more or less heretical followers, particularly ambitious politicians such as Pontiac and Tecumseh, used the prophets

¹ Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, p. 309.

and their propaganda in their own interest, planned and made war, and insisted on using firearms.

Curiously enough, in North America at least, the eating of pork was forbidden. The pig was a European animal and this possibly was a part of the objection to everything not ancestral. Stranger still is the widespread North American prophets' orders to kill all dogs, the dog being an animal owned and favoured by the Indians long before the arrival of the Europeans.¹ There was also the teaching that the shortage of game was due not to the whites but to the fact that the Great Spirit, angry at the Indians for giving up their ancestral ways, withheld the incarnation of the animal spirits. This would be remedied in the millennial paradise. Finally, in North America, there was the general use of prayer sticks, an idea taken from ancient pagan religion.

Upon all this development of doctrine, there was, save in the cases of the prophets in the South American missions, virtually no Christian influence. American Indian prophetic religions are not to be considered as inspired by Christian influence, any more than the curious pork taboo was of Jewish origin.

THE BACKGROUND OF ALL PROPHETS

Prophets have been more numerous in aboriginal North America than among any other race or people or culture save the Jews. There were apparently none in Mexico and Central America, and but few in South America. Various explanations, manifestly unacceptable, have been offered for this preponderance in North America over the rest of the Americas.²

I think it can be explained only by the fact that the Indians of Latin America were in general accepted into the circle of Spanish cultural, political, social, and economic life, and were Christianized. They may have been oppressed, massacred, enslaved, overworked, and made to suffer much,

¹ I really think the answer to the pig taboo must be deeper than this, since the taboo existed among Indians not affected by the prophet. It will profit the student who looks into it. The dog killing is also inexplicable.

² I have in mind, for example, those of Wallis, in *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan*, Chapter 5, with which compare the observations above, Chapter 21.

in many regions, but the facts remain in contrast to those for North America beyond the sphere of Spanish domination, for in North America only were the Indians rejected and cast off, exiled, yet permitted to remain in the status of independent political communities, with their own religions and cults, forced to stand on the frontier, or beyond it, and meet alone the ever-increasingly difficult problem of subsistence amidst the devastation of war with firearms and the firebrand, of epidemics brought by traders, and of decreasing game.

The life of the serf, slave, or peon to which the Latin American Indian was subjected is the sort of life of hard labour and security which produces contentment among the individuals of the masses. It is when a subjected people retain the fact or the consciousness of a political independence that the dream of past greatness remains, with the hope of a renewal of that greatness, which, in the mind of the religious prophet, is to be obtained only by travelling backward to the manner of life of that Golden Age. Inasmuch as his hearers utterly despair of being able to attain anything by mere human action, they find acceptable his message of a promise of supernatural help if they return to the ways of the Age of Innocence, the habits and the worship and the purity of their ancestors.

IMITATION OR DIFFUSION

The milieu which is needful to bring forth and give popular acceptance to a messianic message will not necessarily create and popularize one.

The diffusion or imitation of messianic ideas accounts sometimes for their appearance among any given people. For example, the Miami Indian tribe in Ohio accepted the messianic doctrine of cultural retreat under promise of a coming of the millennium, only because the Shawnese tribe neighbour to them had evolved a messiah and become his missionaries.

Various evangelical Protestant groups in the United States to-day periodically revive the idea of an imminent Second Coming of Christ and the ushering in of a millennium for believers, only because they have had diffused to them ideas which originated in Palestine of the first century of our era.

OTHER CONDITIONINGS

On the other hand, Ireland, surely in its day the saddest of all nations under the sun, never had a prophet, and the religion of its people has ever been anything, truly, but messianic. Catholic Christianity is a religion of "mysteries",¹ and has lent surcease to individual sorrow, but could never hold anything for Irish national sorrow or dreams. Driven to intense loyalty to their Roman communion by the political antipathy of their conquerors,² who were of schismatic sects, the Irish intensity of this loyalty to a "mystery religion" made it inconceivable that they should ever develop a new or variant or heretical religion of messianic content.

With the ancient Jews the situation is in contrast to that among the more modern Irish. There was the same longing of a people for the restoration of their former political "glory" and independence. But their religion was a distinctly national religion in sharp contrast to the mystery religions such as that of the cult of Isis or of Mithra then beginning to spread around the Mediterranean Sea. And among the Jews there were present variant dogmas—Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene, and so on—making more practical the emergence of a new heresy. Moreover, Rome did not war on the religion of the Jews as England did war upon the religion of the Irish. Among the Jews, where several cults already existed, there was room for another—another, moreover, which would be more intensely national and unifying than those already existing which tended to develop a tolerant policy with regard to the tolerant Roman conquerors. (For Christianity before Paul was a cult for Jews and for Jews alone.)³

PROPHETS IN LATIN AMERICA

Nevertheless, the South American Indian did produce a few prophets, and there were, no doubt, some who have not been noted who appeared during periods of despair such as existed during the earlier decades of Spanish experimentation

¹ On Christian and rival "mystery" religions see Angus, etc. Angus is among those who, I think, exaggerate immensely the influence of the pagan cults on the Christian.

² See above, Chapter 13.

³ Compare Case, Conybeare, and Angus.

in Haiti and Cuba. During the rising of such despair, for example, as is exemplified in a story of the Indians of Cuba during the earliest decades after Columbus, a story which is eminently credible:¹—"There is in this country much gold, and few slaves to get it; for many have made away with themselves, because of the Christians' ill usage of them in the mines.

"A steward of Vasquez Porcallo, who was an inhabitant in that island, understanding that his slaves intended to make away with themselves, waited for them with a cudgel in his hand at the place where they were to meet, and told them that they could neither do nor think anything without him knowing of it in advance, *and that he came hither to commit suicide along with them, in order that, though he used them badly in this world, he could use them worse in the next.*"²

"This caused them to change their intention, and they turned home again to do that which he commanded them."³

Yet no prophet is noted for Indian Haiti. But in 1583 one appeared among the free and half-free tribes of Portuguese Brazil, who taught that the souls of ancestors of the Indians would come soon to drive out the Portuguese. This prophesying was linked with political action among the Indian tribes, and a movement toward federation among the hostile tribes was noted. In 1603, and again, in 1612, similar developments were noted in Brazil.⁴

During the terrible devastations of the Portuguese slave-raiders on the missions of Paraguay, twice, in 1558 and in 1629, heretical prophets arose. On the earlier date a dwarf

¹ I base my opinion as to its credibility on a number of cogent reasons, indicated in part in the following notes.

² Native beliefs concerning the other world would indeed lead them to credit this.

³ Elvas, in French, p. 119. There was much of this sort of concerted suicide.

⁴ Southey, v. 1, p. 317 seq. (after Jarrie); also pp. 411, 418, 419-420, n. 3. Christian influence is apparent in this interesting messianic development. The cult had an hierarchical organization modelled after the Christian hierarchy, and had the sacraments of penance (with confession and absolution). The pope or head of the hierarchy lived in the interior. Missionaries were sent to the coast Indians. The messianic cult hierarchy established a school system! The Jesuit Christian influence on the coast kept the coast Indians from defection from the missions.

Indian announced that he was the incarnation of the Christian God.¹

In Spanish New Mexico, in 1680, where the missionaries controlled the pueblos, Popé, a shaman or medicine man (preaching the imminent return of the spirits of the Indians' ancestors as did the South American prophet referred to), led an armed revolt of the pueblos which resulted quickly in clearing out the Spaniards and their missionaries, and eradicating virtually all elements of European culture which had been introduced to the Indians.²

Finally, in 1781, the mixed-blood Condoracqui, a descendant of the Incas of Peru, declared himself to be the long-lost Inca emperor Tupac Amaru, and led a bitter two-year-long revolt of the Peruvian Indians against Spanish rule.³

THE BACKGROUND OF THE DELAWARE PROPHET

Not until 1762 did there appear, so far as we know, a prophet among the Indians of non-Spanish North America. Certainly, however, from 1607 on there had been preparation of fruitful soil for the growth of a prophetic message. In the 1690's, for example, the Seneca Iroquois were possessed of hopeless despair because of the raging of smallpox in their villages. It was then rumoured that their god Alentsic had visited the plague among them because of their warring upon other Indian tribes.⁴

In 1744, even so brilliant, astute, practical, and clever a diplomat and chief as the Iroquois Canassetego—of whom we have already spoken at length⁵—sounded a messianic

¹ Cunningham Graham, pp. 59 seq., 72.

² Mooney: *Ghost Dance*.

³ Means.

⁴ *Jesuit Relations*. (Compare a Dreamer priest's reaction to the death of his child in Mooney, p. 724.) Or Canassetego, below.

⁵ Above, pp. 267-270.

A Jesuit among the Iroquois in 1637 notes: "On the twentieth we learned of a new opinion concerning the malady smallpox: that a report was current that it came from the Andastes [Susquehannocks]. This tribe, it is said, had been infected therewith by Alentsic [an Iroquois goddess], whom they hold to be the mother of him who made the earth; that she had passed through all the cabins of two valleys and that at the second they asked her: 'Now, why, after all, is it that thou makest us to die?' And she answered: 'Because my grandson Souseka is angry at men because they do nothing but make war and kill one another and

note, voicing the feeling that, after all, things were better in the "old days". At the treaty-making at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, referring incidentally to "these young men", by whom he means the English traders, and to "that pen and ink work" by which he means the writings of the translators and secretaries who were always busy during an Indian treaty, he observed: "We have had some small differences with the English, and during these misunderstandings these young men would be every now and then telling us, by way of reproach, that we would have perished if they had not come into the country and furnished us with strouds and hatchets, and guns, and other things necessary for the support of life. But we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken; that we lived before they came among us, and as well or better, if we may believe what our forefathers have told us. We then had room enough, and plenty of deer which were easily caught. And though we had no knives, hatchets, and guns such as we now have, yet we had knives of stone and hatchets of stone and bows and arrows, and these served our uses as well then as the English ones do now. We are now straitened, and sometimes in want of deer, and liable to many other inconveniences since the English came among us—and particularly from that pen and ink work which is going on at the table. . . ."¹

But the Iroquois, though they suffered as much from European contacts as did other tribes, had the atmosphere of heroic events thrown about their political existence as arbiters of power on the continent of North America. Though the paths of glory lead inevitably to the grave, they

he is resolved to punish them." (*Jesuit Relations*, v. 14, p. 9.) The weariness of internecine strife so suicidal as wars of that period between the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks, leads to dreams of peace. See above, Chapter 23, and pp. 283-284, 294.

¹ *Colonial Records of Penna.*, 1744. Compare Canonicus, above, p. 221. On this tendency of the spiritually sick Indian to feel that, desirable as the white men's trade goods might be, after all it were better to do without them, see the speech of the Brazilian Indian chief in Southey, v. 1, pp. 419-420 (1612). Compare also above, p. 474, n. 2, concerning the Dutch and the Araucanians. For the contrary, the early eagerness for European commodities before the development of race embitterment compare Steensby, *Norsemen's Route*, pp. 77-78. Compare also the esteem of the Southeastern Indians for half-breed children (1709) (Lawson, p. 54) and the fact that with messianism and bitterness many groups became hostile to miscegenation with the whites.

are so paved with the illusion of success that defeat and ultimate damnation comes imperceptibly and insidiously, gaudily camouflaged.¹

It was the ill-fated Delaware (Lenape and Munsee), despised, evicted, landless, rather than the worm-eaten but emptily proud Iroquois people, who were fated to bring forth the first Prophet.

The bands who coalesced into the Delaware tribe resident in Ohio in 1762 had a most lamentable history behind them. It was the ancestors of some of their bands who had experienced the bitterness of massacre at the hands of the Dutch whom they had thought their friends in 1643.² Something of the bitterness and disillusionment which had then followed such experience with European bad faith may be seen in a report by the colonist De Vries of a council with the chiefs of the tribes who had experienced the massacre and their allies, the chiefs of the Algonkian tribes of Long Island. Shortly after the massacre, De Vries, a Dutchman whom the Indians knew as an honourable friend, was disturbed at midnight by an Indian messenger who asked him to come immediately to a council of sixteen chiefs which was then in session at Rockaway.

De Vries and a companion immediately followed the messenger, and he tells what followed: "They placed us two by ourselves, and seated themselves around us, so that we sat within a ring. There was one among them who had a small bundle of sticks, and was the best speaker, who began his oration in Indian.

"He told us how we first came upon their coast; that we sometimes had no victuals; that they gave us of their Turkish beans and Turkish wheat; they helped us with oysters and fish to eat. And now, for a reward, we have killed their people. Then he laid down one of the sticks, which was one point.

"He related also that at the beginning of our voyaging there, we left people behind with goods to trade, until the ships should come back; they had preserved these people as the apple of their eye; yea, they had given them their

¹ See above, Chapter 16.

² On this massacre, and De Vries, see above, pp. 224-225. De Vries, *Notes*, p. 230.

daughters to sleep with, by whom they had begotten children, and there roved many an Indian who was begotten by a Dutchman. But our people had become so villainous as to kill their own blood. He then laid down another stick.

"This laying down of sticks began to be tedious to me, as I saw he had many still in his hand." (To our great regret the Hollander did not wait to hear the rest of the charges exemplified in the mnemonic sticks; they must have been interesting. Yet in the two sticks already laid down was adequate indictment of the massacre of the sleeping Indians in 1643.

THE DELAWARE PROPHET

The prophet of the Delawares, whose name has not come down to us, began preaching about the year 1762, among the Delawares of the Muskingum in Ohio. His religious message and the political innovations and "conspiracy" of Pontiac combined to ferment the discontent of the Indian tribes of the old Northwest after the defeat of the French forces by the British. The prophet announced that in spirit he had been led to the abode of the Great Spirit, and that the Great Spirit had given him a message for Indians of all the tribes. He was to tell them that the Great Spirit was displeased with war between Indian tribes, with the practice of polygamy, with the use of alcoholic drinks, and with the making of magic by sorcerers and witches.

His message also contained directions for the establishment of a ritual organization or cult, built up of native elements. Among other things, the Great Spirit had given him a prayer stick¹ on which was engraved in native hieroglyphics² a prayer which was to be recited every morning and evening by all followers of the new cult. There were certain sacrifices also ordained to be regularly made, the nature of which has not been recorded, for his message said: "Hear what the Great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct. . . ."

The usual native American means of making one ritually "clean" were also to be employed. And if these and all

¹ On the persistence of the prayer sticks see below, p. 520, n. 1.

² On native hieroglyphics see Brinton: *Lenape*.

other commands were obeyed, the Great Spirit promised that the Indians would be made strong again and be able to expel the Europeans from the land.

To expel the whites, however, the Indians were to rely on supernatural power, *not on the use of firearms* and other non-Indian things. In fact, the Indians were ordered in matters economic and military to revert to the cultural condition of the Golden Age, the age before the whites came, when deer were plentiful, and firearms did not belch forth in the woods. A contemporary writer notes of this: "The first or principal doctrine they taught was to purify themselves from sin, which they taught they could do by the use of emetics and abstinence from carnal knowledge of the different sexes; to quit the use of firearms, and to live entirely in the original state they were in before the white people found out their country. Nay, they taught that fire was not pure that was made by steel and flint, but that they should make it by rubbing two sticks together. . . . It was said . . . that by following his instructions . . . they would be able in a few years to drive the whites from the country."¹

Pontiac, a priest of the Midé cult² of his own tribe, the Ottowas, seemed to put some faith in the prophet's message. He was too practical, however, to want to drive French as well as English out of the country, or to obey the injunction to give up the use of firearms. In a version of the prophet's message reported from Pontiac's lips the Great Spirit is reported to have ordered the Indians to love the French, to whom he, the Great Spirit, is well disposed.

After Pontiac's defeat, the cult of the Delaware prophet waned, although a new prophet preached among the Munsee Delawares from about 1766 to 1775 and perhaps later.³ There can be little doubt that the Shawnese prophet, Tenkwatawa, beginning to preach in 1795, was spiritually heir to the nameless prophet of the Delawares and his Munsee follower.

¹ McCullough, in Mooney, p. 668.

² On the Midewiwin, see *Handbook* . . . *Indians*.

³ This Munsee prophet, a link between the Delaware prophet and Tenkwatawa, is usually overlooked by historians; he is discussed by Heckewelder, in detail. On the Delaware prophet see particularly Mooney; Heckewelder, Chapter on *Preachers and Prophets*.

MASSACRE AND MESSIANISM

While the Delaware prophet was preaching and Pontiac was fighting, the "Paxton Boys" were massacring the innocent relatives of the Delawares and their prophet on the Susquehanna, and seeking to massacre the Christianized Delawares of the Moravian communities. The massacre of the Christian Indians in Ohio in 1782 made cumulative the feeling of the Delawares and Shawnese and other north-western Indians that Christianity was to be distrusted, and along with it everything coming from the whites. These massacres¹ of Christian red men by Christian white men did much to make the natives place reliance on their own prophets.

At the time that Tenkwatawa was holding forth in his village on the Muskingum in 1809, Kluge and Luckenbach, two Moravian missionaries, were visiting the Indians in Ohio. A student of the missionary archives of this period notes of the Ohio Indians' attitude to the newly arrived missionaries: "the general feeling of distrust and hatred of the whites. . . . The brutal Gnadenhutten massacre (1782) was still fresh in their minds. The strong suspicion prevailed that Kluge and Luckenbach had come to make them 'tame', as they believed had been done to the Christianized Indians on the Muskingum who had been massacred, and that, after this had been accomplished, they would give the signal to the whites, who would be only too glad to come and kill them."

Heckewelder reports the Delaware attitude on the massacres of Christian Indians. They told him: "And yet these white men would be always telling us of their great Book which God had given them. They would persuade us that every man was good who believed in what the Book said; and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things which they said were written in the Book; and wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have done so, if we had seen them practise what they pretended to believe and act according to the good words which they told us. But no! While they held their big Book in one hand in the other they had murderous weapons—guns and sword—

¹ On which see above, pp. 413, 427; Stocker, pp. 15, 67, 73. Page 15 notes a prophecy foretelling this massacre eleven months before by one of the medicine-men.

wherewith to kill us, poor Indians. Ah! And they did so too. They killed those who believed in their Book as well as those who did not. They made no distinction!"¹

THE "OPEN DOOR"

It was nearly three decades after the defeat of Pontiac and the apparent end of the activities of the Delaware prophet that a new prophet appeared among the Indians of the old Northwest, in what is now Ohio. The new prophet was a Shawnese, member of a tribe which, like the Delaware tribe, was virtually landless and in exile. His prophetic mission began in 1795, when the Indians and the American military were at odds in the forests northwest of the Ohio. In that year he was about thirty years old. He was one of the brothers of the young warrior Tecumseh. It was more than a decade before his message became widely accepted by the northwestern Indians.

The Shawnese prophet's name was originally Laulewasikaw. When he began the preaching of his message he changed it to "the Open Door",² Tenkswatawa, as being significant of the new mode of life which he taught. He was held to be the incarnation of Manebozho, the great "First Doer" of the Algonkian religious system. His words were believed to be the utterance of a deity.

He forbade the eating of the flesh of swine, of "filthy hogs";³ he forbade apparently also "the abominable ceremonies of the calumet dance";⁴ he forbade the keeping of

¹ Heckewelder.

² The cultural substratum of the religions of Asia and of the American Indians is in many important particulars productive of parallel developments. Compare the Brahma of the Hindos with the Siouхан Great Spirit described by Radin: *Monotheism*. A number of traits in which the American messianic cults recall the Old World are due not to Christian influence but such parallel development from a common background.

Tenkswatawa, the Door, reminds us of the Way or Tao of Lao Tze in China; and even more of the biblical: "I am the Way . . ." and "I am the Door; by me if any man enter he shall be saved" (John x. 9). And we recall India when reading of the Delaware prophet whose directions came from Keeshshelamillaugup, or "*A Being that thought us into being . . .*" (McCullough, in Mooney, p. 668).

³ A taboo not the consequence of any Hebrew influence, but of indigenous development.

⁴ The calumet was probably an innovation in the Northwest, but why the dog taboo? On the dog taboo in messianic California, compare below, p. 524.

more than one dog to each family—all other dogs were to be killed. He forbade further the use of alcoholic drinks; intermarriage with whites; the growth of hair on the face as moustaches or beards;¹ warfare between Indian tribes; the making of fire with flint and steel—fire was to be obtained by the aboriginal method of rubbing two sticks together; all use of European styles of costume; and all other customs whatsoever of European origin.

As did the Delaware prophet also, he forbade the use of magic. Apparently magic was used by the priests of his cult and by himself and then prohibition extended only to unauthorized making of magic by private individuals. Medicine (magic) bags and songs were to be discarded.

As he gained power in the councils of his own tribe and of the Delaware tribe he took steps to suppress sorcery and witchcraft—private magic—through the use of political power. The tribal councils began to burn at the stake anyone convicted of sorcery or witchcraft. The facts of this phase of his activity in the first decade of the nineteenth century compare interestingly with the New England witch persecutions little more than a century before.² The Indian burners of witches and sorcerers were, however, occasionally more humane than those of the Christians.

Note the mercy shown in the execution of an aged Delaware chief, Tatepocoshe, who resisted the authority of the prophet and his priests and was condemned to be burnt at the stake on admitting himself as a maker of magic: "The following day a council was held over the case of the venerable chief Tatepocoshe, he being present.

"His death was decided upon after full deliberation; and, arrayed in his formal apparel, he calmly assisted in building his own funeral pile, fully aware that there was no escape from the judgment that had been passed upon him.

"The respect due to his whitened locks induced his executioners to treat him with mercy. He was . . . tomahawked by a young man, and his body was then placed upon the blazing faggots and consumed."³

The prophet himself claimed to be able to cure all diseases,

¹ The Indians aboriginally all kept themselves clean-shaven.

² *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases in Original Narratives.*

³ Drake: *Tecumseh*, p. 673; compare also data in Stocker.

and to be able to prevent his followers' meeting death on the battlefield. As, it seems, did the Delaware prophet, so also the Open Door devised a new ritual, based in large part on Midewiwin elements, for a new cult and a new religious organization. Of this ritual we know virtually nothing; but we read, for example, that "priests" of Tenkwatawa's order "carried the living fire, the sacred image, and the mystic strings, even to the Blackfoot on the plains of the Saskatchewan. . . ."

Like the Delaware prophet, he taught that the Indians must thoroughly purge their life of all innovations of European origin in order again to win the favour of the Great Spirit and renew their supremacy in the continent as against the whites.

He taught that, if his commands were obeyed, within a few years would come a cataclysm which would destroy all whites, and all Indians who had refused to accept the Way. After the cataclysm, believing Indians would remain in a renewed aboriginal world, with plenty of deer and no more smallpox, alcohol, firearms, and such things of white origin. All the beloved dead would be sent back to live again upon the earth.

He taught, further, that because the Indians had departed from the ancestral ways, from their primitive virtue, the Great Spirit had locked up the spirits of the wild animals beneath the earth so that they could not be incarnated upon the earth as game. This was why game was scarce. When the Great Spirit's anger was removed, he would again send forth the spirits of the animals, embodied in game.¹

THE OPEN DOOR CLOSES, AND THE METEOR FALLS

Neither the Open Door nor the Delaware prophet contemplated warlike activity against the whites any more than Jesus had contemplated it on the part of his followers against Rome. In 1809, however, after fourteen years of his ministry, the Open Door (Tenkwatawa), under the influence of his brother the Meteor (Tecumseh), fell in with his brother's

¹ On Tenkwatawa's priests see Mooney, p. 68. The game-spirits doctrine is based on certain interesting aboriginal beliefs found also in the Old World (See Hallowell).

doctrine of war and lent to his brother's political ambitions the supernatural sanction of his message and religion.¹

The prophet, it seems, really believed in his own message and in his own supernatural power. While Tecumseh was still away on his southern mission in 1811, and Harrison invaded Indian territory with his nine hundred soldiers, the prophet promised to negotiate peace terms, but secretly ordered the one thousand warriors then immediately available at Tippecanoe village to attack during the night.

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE

It was believed that the village of the prophet was holy ground and impregnable to attack. The prophet insisted that through supernatural power he could cause the defeat of the Americans. So: "Prior to the assault, the prophet had given assurances to his followers that in the coming contest the Great Spirit would render the arms of the American unavailing; that their bullets would fall harmless at the feet of the Indians; that in the night the Indians should have light in abundance while the Americans would be involved in thick darkness.

"He himself took a position on an adjacent eminence, and when the action began, he entered upon the performance of certain mystic rites, at the same time singing a war song.

"In the course of the engagement he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, that it would soon be as he predicted.

"And then, in louder and wilder strains, his inspiring battle song was heard commingling with the sharp crack of the rifle and the thrill war whoop of his brave but deluded followers."²

¹ This was just after the very encouraging conversion of the powerful Wyandot and Miami tribes.

² Above quotation is from Drake: *Tecumseh*, p. 6. Compare Drake: *Indians*, pp. 398-400, for notes on the Creek prophets in the Creek war during spring of 1814, who preached the imminence of the millennium, and their own ability to make the warriors impervious to bullets. These Creek followers of the Open Door also taught that they could make the holy villages impregnable (like the Holy Village in Ohio).

In 1819 Kanakuk, the Kickapoo prophet, evolved a messianic religion plainly under the influence of the older cults of the Delaware and the Shawnese prophets. He used prayer sticks as did the Delaware prophet. His reaction to the whites and to the land question was similar to that

During the night one hundred and eighty-eight Americans and fifty Indians were killed, but the Indians were decisively defeated and thoroughly disillusioned. The failure of the prophet's intercessions discredited him and the cause of his brother, and initiated a rapid dissolution of the new religious cult. The prophet now disappeared from recorded history, until in 1832 Catlin met him west of the Mississippi, whence he had removed with the remnants of his tribesmen. His brother, as we have explained, died fighting the Americans.

of Smohalla, whom we consider later. He urged his tribe, the Kickapoos, to refuse to move west away from their ancestral lands, which they had then already sold to the whites. The United States had bought land from the Osages, hereditary enemies of the Kickapoo, and to this land the Kickapoos were to remove, and were finally obliged to remove there. Kanakuk still taught his doctrine as late as 1831, and brought a number of Pottowattomies under his influence.

Catlin notes that (1831) Kanakuk had made his whole tribe total abstainers, and not only sober but industrious, despite the maleficent influence of the surrounding frontier whites.

In 1852-1853 the prophet Patheseske appeared among the Winnebago, who then had been removed west to Iowa. His visions, however, were consolatory to his tribesmen, not as against the whites, but against the Sioux with whom they were eternally at war ! (Mooney: *Ghost Dance*, Chap. 5.)

CHAPTER XXXV

THE MESSIAH AND THE FORERUNNER

"I am pursuing the course with him of non-attention or a silent ignoring."—*Ancient Rome in Modern America*.¹

THE prophets we have been considering arose among the agricultural tribes of the East. The first prophet of the remote West appeared among a tribe who did not practise agriculture and who were induced by their prophet to reject agriculture along with everything else new or European. Among his followers were the Indians of Chief Joseph's band, whose heroic trek we have described. He is not the forerunner, nor the Messiah with whom will be our interest in this our concluding chapter, but he arose earlier out of the same environment, and had some effect on Tavibo the Forerunner.

SMOHALLA: ENEMY OF AGRICULTURE

The prophet Smohalla was a member of a small band of about two hundred Indians, closely related to the Nez Perce led by Chief Joseph, resident on the Rocky Mountain plateau at the headwaters of the Columbia River. He was both medicine-man and chief. About 1850, when he was about thirty years old, he began teaching a millennial doctrine, his ideas or revelations apparently having evolved independently of influences from the messianism of the eastern tribes. He preached the imminent coming of a millennium in which all Indian believers would share to the exclusion of Europeans and unbelievers.

His doctrine was accepted widely among the plateau tribes in the region of the upper Columbia River, and in 1855-1856 it was probably a factor in making for the federation of plateau tribes against the whites in the Yakima War of those years. After the crushing of these tribes in that war, Smohalla became a lone wanderer, leaving his home and

¹ See below, p. 528.

people, and in a trip recalling to us that of Jesus on the coast of Palestine, he travelled from tribe to tribe and among the whites, from as far as Salt Lake City into Mexico and back.

It was when he returned from his wanderings shortly after 1860 that he became so extremely inimical to all elements of culture of European origin. He found the various chiefs of the region in which his band dwelt gradually adopting agriculture and stock-raising and this he bitterly condemned. He now perfected a religious ritual and organization based essentially on aboriginal ideas and myth, but plainly showing the influence of his observation of Catholic and Mormon ritual. His new religion is generally referred to as the Dreamer Religion.

Opposing the regular, settled life and labour of European agricultural and stock-raising economy for his followers, he observed: "My young men shall never work. Men who work cannot dream, and wisdom comes to us in dreams. . . ."¹

In reply to some whites who argued against his hostility to their way of life, he exclaimed: "You ask me to plough the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut my mother's hair?"²

His religion never spread beyond a limited area in the remote Northwest, but the influence seems to have been felt even on the valleys of Nevada where lived Tavibo.

TAVIBO, THE FORERUNNER

The spiritual, and perhaps also the physical, father of the most influential and last of the messiahs of the North American aborigines was Tavibo the Ute. Tavibo was a petty chief of the Paiute of the mountain valleys of Nevada. While in a mountain solitude he received a communication from the

¹ Quotation from Mooney, p. 716. On the influence of the Yakima war see p. 718.

² Mooney, pp. 721, 723. Smohalla here bases his idea on the widespread conception of the Earth-Mother. He finds religious sanction for a cultural antipathy.

Great Spirit, and during two subsequent retreats into solitude the Great Spirit modified the message into a form which would receive more acceptance among the Utes. Tavibo finally, shortly before 1870,¹ was preaching the imminence of a cataclysmic destruction of all human beings, at the end of which cataclysm the Indians alone were to be resurrected and enjoy the paradise of a renewed earth.

From about 1870 to about 1876 this new messianism spread over the plateau region south of the area of Smohalla's influence, and among the tribes of northern California who during the past two decades had been nearly exterminated by the whites, and who had never been under the Catholic influence of the Spanish missions. His religion, after the dance which was the centre of its ritual, is known as the Ghost Dance Religion.

Of the form in which it appeared among the California Indians, one observer writes that its doctrines "sound as if taken from a description of the Sioux twenty years later", indicating the indebtedness of the messiah's movement to that of his forerunner. In northwestern California it was believed that "the world was to end; the dead would return; true converts among the living would survive; disbelievers would turn to stone.

"The new world was to be sexless; and in preparation men and women were instructed to bathe together without shame and husband and wife to ignore each other.

"All planking was removed from graves to facilitate the resurrection. The prophets visited the dead in dreams and carried messages from them—once even that they would appear the next day.

"The dancers, men, women, and children, formed concentric circles, revolving in opposite directions. Local custom, however, coloured the doctrine at several points.

"Dogs were killed. All valuables would turn to rubbish, it was proclaimed, unless exposed in the dance.

"When there was dancing in the morning, breakfast must be deferred until after it, as in the old native ceremonies. Sometimes the dance took place indoors. The officiating

¹ On the direct influence of the Smohalla cult on Tavibo see Mooney, p. 763. Tavibo here followed the policy of the Hebrew Moses!

prophet remained aloof from the crowd in a house of his own, like the formal reciter of a typical Yurok rite."¹

The resulting spiritual ferment among the Indians interested the neighbouring Mormons of Utah immensely, and it was widely believed among them that it foreboded the return of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, which, in Mormon belief, were icebound somewhere up in the Arctic but were destined in time to return among men. Orson Pratt, one of the prominent Mormon leaders, earnestly urged the Utah Mormons to prepare to receive the Ten Tribes, who were expected to come straight to Salt Lake.²

WOVOKA, THE MESSIAH

Wovoka, a member of the same family and band of Paiutes as Tavibo, and, as we have observed, by some reputed to have been his son, was only a boy when Tavibo's doctrine was being spread. He had been born in a little mountain valley in Nevada, a valley surrounded by deserts, from which one was constantly in view of the sacred mountain of the Utes. In this valley he remained all his life, never leaving it. His ideas were plainly moulded by those of his lesser forerunner, Tavibo. The dance which was the central feature of the ritual of his religion, the Ghost Dance, was similar in most respects, and in songs accompanying it, to the dance which was the central feature of Tavibo's religion.³ Wovoka received his own revelation when he was thirty or thirty-five years old, about 1886.

The central fact of his teaching was that within a few years the Great Spirit would make the earth over into a paradise for the Indians, apparently for the Indians alone; and that all the dead of the Indian race would be resurrected to enjoy

¹ Kroeber, pp. 62-63, 871. On dog killing compare above, pp. 507, 517. See Kroeber, p. 270, for a map of the diffusion of messianism in California; compare the maps in Shonle, and in Mooney. Compare the aloofness of the prophet with that of the Open Door, above.

² On Mormons, and the Indian Messiahs, see Mooney, pp. 703-704, and Appendix. The Mormons were speculative also about Wovoka.

In 1881, among the Apache, and in 1883 among the Pottowattomies and Kickapoo, and in 1887 among the Crow, messianic prophets appeared, but they acquired no large following.

³ Kroeber: *Handbook*, pp. 868 seq. The Shaker religion of Puget Sound, beginning in 1881, gave Wovoka a knowledge of mesmeric practice. (Mooney, p. 746.)

with the living the new terrestrial paradise. Like Tavibo, he did not bring a message of war, but of peace. He advised the Indians to live amicably with the whites—to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's—until the imminent action of the Great Spirit. He forbade all war between Indian and Indian. And he forbade all mourning ceremonies, very elaborate and important among Indian tribes; for were the dead not soon to return? An American observer noted of Tavibo's message, and the same might be said of Wovoka's: "There is nothing in it to cause trouble between whites and Indians unless the new messiah is misquoted and his doctrine misunderstood."¹

However, some medicine-men, missionaries of Wovoka's messiahship, were disposed to anticipate the millennium by preaching resistance to the advance of European political aggression and land-buying. This was only among tribes which, like the Sioux, for example, were chronically disaffected, and had suffered recent grievances at the hands of the whites.

The plains tribes were now virtually without buffalo.² By 1891 the news of the coming of the millennium, preached by Wovoka, had spread far and wide throughout the now receptive plains, and over the western plateau and even through southern California.

Northern California, which had accepted the doctrines and ritual of Tavibo more than a decade before, and then given them up, did not accept the message of Wovoka.

¹ In Mooney, p. 703. About thirty seems a favoured age for the beginning of a mission.

² The absence of the buffalo made for idle life on the reservations, with subsistence on government rations, and starvation when the rations were delayed or purloined; these phenomena led especially the young men to despair and idleness with an excessive suicide rate (Wissler, cited in Wallis, p. 145). Compare Harrison: *Reservations*, p. 14, for the effect on the Indian psyche of injustice by government agents. On the fact that the young men in particular, often in opposition to the elders, were messianic and insurgent, see De Vries: *Notes*, p. 232; Wraxall, pp. 73, 128, 188, 189; Stocker, pp. 110, 116-117, 124. During the Tenkwatawa agitation, Moravian missionaries in Ohio once sought audience with the Shawnese council, but "one of the chiefs handed back the wampum, saying that they were busy with more important matters; that the young people now reigned, and that the old no longer had anything to say. . . ." In all the above references we see the old men in favour of a conservative peace policy; the young in favour of a reckless attempt at the arbitrament of war.

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Disturbed, or in consternation, at the disappearance of the buffalo, the plains tribes who had refused Tavibo's message of 1877, which had been given out before the sudden disappearance of the herds, now sent, from many hundreds of miles to the east of his home valley, delegations¹ of head men and medicine men to interview the messiah and from his own lips to carry home instructions as to the coming of the millennium and the proper preparation for it.

THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR CHRISTIAN ORIGINS AND HISTORY: ROMAN, AND AMERICAN, OFFICIALDOM

Here we should not fail to note a most curious and illuminative parallel. We have described the nature of Wovoka's home, so comparable to the Jordan valley of Palestine, with the sacred mountain of the Utes in the place of the sacred mount of Jerusalem. As the power of imperial Rome overshadowed the Jordan valley, so imperial Washington overshadowed the little desert valley in which the indigenous American messiah lived. But the most interesting parallel is a psychological one which may enable us the better to understand why Roman records give us no enlightenment on the life of Jesus and the ancient Jordan valley.

Those writers who aim to prove that Jesus is only a figure in myth, and never lived in the flesh, relying mainly on the absence of contemporary records, will find the basis of their contentions weakened in considering the story of Wovoka.

By 1890, and 1891, the Indians in the greater part of the United States were intensely stirred, and were feverishly in motion, over the Ghost Dance. Everywhere they prepared for the millennium. Everywhere the Ghost Dancers were singing and dancing, and falling into mysterious trances. Among the powerful Sioux tribes, the local variant of the new cult included the wearing of the Ghost Shirt,² a shirt which made its wearer, supposedly, invulnerable to bullets; and at this time the Sioux were being aggravated to madness and violence by the American civil and military authorities.

Newspaper correspondents were becoming excited over the

¹ On which, see Gatschet; Mooney; Fletcher.

² Surprisingly enough, the idea of an impenetrable shirt appears here to have been of Mormon origin. See Mooney, p. 796 seq.

situation; yet "notwithstanding all that had been said and written by newspaper correspondents about the messiah, not one of them had undertaken to find the man himself or to learn from his own lips what he really taught. . . . The messiah himself was regarded almost as a myth, something intangible, to be talked about, but not to be seen."¹

Yet, all his life, even as the Galilean had worked in his valley as a carpenter, Wovoka had laboured on the ranch of a white man in Mason Valley, only forty miles away from a government Indian reservation with its resident government official. From a thousand miles around into Mason valley there were echoes of the hoof-beats of Indian horses carrying delegations from far-away native nations to see and hear the messiah upon whom the hopes of a dying race were pinned.

When, finally, late in 1891, an investigator wrote the agent of the reservation near the messiah's home for information about the messiah himself, the reply was just such a letter as may still be extant somewhere written by some Roman official of ancient Palestine: "I am pursuing the course with him of non-attention or silent ignoring. He seems to think, so I hear, that I will arrest him if he comes within my reach. I would give him no such notoriety. He, like all other prophets, has but little honour in his own country. He has been visited by delegations from various and many Indian tribes, which I think should be discouraged all that is possible."

In 1890 the Sioux met the United States troops in battle and were defeated.² Just as the decline of the cults of the Delaware and the Shawnese prophets had been effected as the result of military defeat and the disillusionment of the devotees, so the Ghost Dance religion soon disappeared.

THE AFTERMATH: PEYOTE

Peyote is a small, spineless cactus indigenous to the lower valley of the Rio Grande, especially on the Mexican side. When eaten in the fresh or dried state it is a drug very similar in its effects to the hasheesh of East India, Indian hemp.

¹ Mooney, p. 766; letter dated October 12, 1891.

² This Sioux war was not the consequence of the new religious propaganda, however, much as its tenets may have lent courage to the warriors.

Sahagun remarked the use of peyote among natives of Mexico, as early as 1569. In Mexico its use is certainly pre-Columbian. Long before its diffusion to tribes of what is now the United States its use had become of central importance in the religious life and ritual of certain northerly Mexican tribes. Lumholtz describes its use among the Huichol Indians of the state of Jalisco.

With them the peyote is featured in a religious festival which begins about the end of December, but which, together with the period of preparatory purifications preceding, covers four or five months of the year, from September on. During these months the Huichol Indians are constantly eating strips of the peyote; one individual will eat as many as four or five "buttons" in a day. During all this purificatory and festal period the Huichol may not eat salt, and must absolutely abstain from all sex indulgence. Fortunately for the latter injunction, one effect of peyote, in contrast to hasheesh, is to cause a marked decline of desire.¹

Since 1890 the religious use of peyote has been spreading rapidly among the remnant reservation tribes of the United States, and, unless it is suppressed by the United States government, may soon become universal among our reservation populations.

Before 1890 its use had already spread from the Tarrahumare of Mexico to the Mescalero Apache and the Tonkawa, Texan tribes of a country in which the plant is indigenous, and through them to the nearby Comanche, Kiowa, and Quapaw. In 1890 it spread from the Quapaw to the Pawnee and from the Comanche to the Caddo, which latter tribe in 1892 passed it on to the Delawares. In 1891 the southern Arapahoe and southern Cheyenne acquired it from the Kiowa; and shortly after the Oto got it directly from the Tonkawa.

By 1910 the use of peyote had spread through the plains and northeast to the northern Arapahoe and northern Cheyenne, Shawnese, Sac, Fox, Kickapoo, Seneca, Quapaw,

¹ Lumholtz: *Huichol*, pp. 7, 8. On the similar cult among the nearby Tarrahumare see Shonle. Lumholtz, Dr. A. Heffter of Leipzig, Havelock Ellis, Dr. Fernberger of the University of Pennsylvania, and others, have eaten the drug; Lumholtz noted its effect on the libido. See Ellis, Leuba, etc. On use among other Mexican Indians see also Figuier: *Nayarit*.

Kansa, Omaha, Sioux, and Pottowattamie. In 1912, it appeared among the Crow of the West; in 1914, among the Utes of the plateau and the Menominee of the Great Lakes region. In 1916, the Creeks, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw of Oklahoma, who had not taken up with the Ghost Dance, began to adopt the use of peyote and the associated ritual elements. In 1919 the Shoshone of the extreme West began to use it.

WHY PEYOTE SPREAD

The sense in which the Ghost Dance messianism may be considered to have paved the way for this sudden diffusion of the use of the vision-giving drug in the religions of the reservation tribes of the United States has been noted by a student of the subject: "In the four hundred years prior to 1890 that the Indians have been known to white men, and one can only guess at how many centuries before, peyote spread at most to only five or six tribes north of the Rio Grande; in the thirty-four years since 1890 it has been carried to some thirty additional tribes.

"The segregation of Indians on reservations was perhaps the most important factor fostering diffusion. Reservation life broke up the competitive ranking of the tribes and realigned them as common participants in a new manner of living toward which they had little inclination. The breaking down of the old attitudes of unity of the tribe and of enmity toward other tribes was but part of a more complete cultural disorganization.

"The buffalo was gone; the wide stretches of free territory were gone; the social organization, slowly built up through generations to protect fundamental interests, no longer met crucial problems. Agricultural life and Christianity were the unfamiliar substitutes offered.

"Into this uncertain period of adjustment swept the Ghost Dance religion, engendered by the wish for the old security and distaste of the white man's civilization, and eagerly sought and accepted by one after another of the distraught plains tribes.

"Fundamental in the philosophy of the Ghost Dance religion was the dictum of peace between the tribes—a philosophy the more readily accepted because of the common

hardships of adjustment from a hunting to a sedentary life. The building up of intimate and friendly contacts was perhaps the most lasting effect of the Ghost Dance religion; its teaching of resignation was too far divorced from practical issues, its hope of relief too illusory to give lasting satisfaction. The dissemination of the peyote cult flowed easily along the newly opened channels of friendship.

"It came up from the south with the promise of great power; in its adaptability to new needs and a new stage of cultural life it was far superior to the tribal ceremonies, hampered as they were by age-old traditions; and it was Indian in origin, fitted to the Indian mode of thought."¹

ITS ADAPTATION TO CHRISTIAN RITUAL

The Indian tribes north of Mexico have adopted peyote, but not the religion and ritual associated with it among the Mexican tribes from whom peyote was received. They have assimilated its use to their own tribal ceremonies, and, as a result of mutual borrowing, a peyote cult or religion, varying slightly from tribe to tribe, has developed. In tribes which have become largely Christian, the use of peyote is being assimilated to the Christian doctrine and ritual bringing about the development of heretical Christian peyote cults.

The tribes of the United States value the drug chiefly because it makes the eater see visions. In the United States they must use the dried cactus because it must be imported from its native soil in Mexico, and it is said that the dried peyote is more productive of visions than the fresh plant eaten in Mexico.

The Indians of the plains in the United States were particularly seekers of visions in their religious life. Fasting was the favourite method used to induce visions, but even prolonged fasting often failed to induce visions for the devotee who so longed for them. One can then see the usefulness of peyote to religions in which vision-seeking is important. Peyote is a sure, never-failing source of visions; "it was holy medicine given to the Indian that he might get into

¹ Shonle, pp. 56-57. Radin, cited in Shonle, p. 73, notes that the reputed curative powers, especially for venereal diseases, induce non-using Indians to use the drug; once having used it they are attracted to the cult. On visions see Benedict.

immediate touch with the supernatural without a long period of fasting".¹

Protestant Christian Indians have found it very easy to assimilate peyote eating to their Christianity: "Due to the vividness with which the peyote vision portrays things, and the ease with which Christian and pagan elements can be combined in it, peyote is regarded as the means of interpreting the Bible. It has been identified with the Holy Ghost, and thus becomes one of the trinity, and through it the Bible becomes clear to the Indian, that is, through the visions the Biblical teachings are applied to the Indians' individual problems."²

In fact, very recently, among the Indians has arisen a distinctly Christian sect in which the peyote has attained a position similar to that of the wine of the sacrament. On September 23, 1925, a Crow Indian, Big Sheep, was arraigned and convicted in the district court for Big Horn County, Montana, charged with possession of narcotics, federal agents having found him in possession of "mescal buttons" (peyote). Big Sheep explained that he was a leader of the Native American Church, and that a decoction made from the peyote is a necessary part of the ritual of the church.

State and federal laws, as in the case of the intoxicating liquor used in the Christian sacraments and on Jewish Holy Days, insist that the sacramental materials are proscribed by law; in the case of those of this new Indian religion there being no exemption made for ritual uses. The Indian has appealed to the Supreme Court of the state, arguing that the drug made from stewing and boiling the buttons is used in accordance with the injunctions of the Bible, citing Isaiah 53 : 2; Revelation 2 : 7; and Romans 14.

¹ Shonle, p. 59.

² Shonle, p. 73; Radin: *Winnebago Cult*; on aboriginal American and other primitive messianism, in addition to Mooney's monumental monograph, see the excellent studies of Wallis; Chamberlain: *New Religions and Reincarnation*; Du Bois: *Religious Dancing*; and Oesterly. For mention of a neglected shaman of the Babines who became a prophet and founded a new Northwest Coast religion see Morice: *Dene*, C.G.S., 1905. On the new American Indian non-Messianic religions see Mooney, p. 746 seq. (after Eels: *Skokomish*, q.v.); and Waterman, on the Shaker religion of Puget Sound; and Parker on Handsome Lake's religion among the Seneca (1780-1815); Wolfe: *Iroquois*, pp. 59-65; and Beauchamp: *New Religion*. For maps relative to the above chapter see Kroeber, Shonle, and Mooney; and other data in Eels; Simmons; and Mooney's manuscript on peyote in the library of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

CONCLUSION

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

"Men are tired of this everlasting Indian problem. They look with horror upon the 'century of dishonour', and with impatience at the more recent Modoc and Custer massacres, and at the seemingly endless perplexities growing out of difficulties with this little handful of people, not so numerous as the inhabitants of a tenth-rate city."—STRIEBY, 1895.¹

IN our earlier chapter on "The Rise of the Great Reservation System",² we showed how the United States had adopted the policy of the British Crown in treating with the Indian tribes as sovereign states, and explained that in accordance with the constitution of the United States the federal government alone, and not the several state governments, was empowered to make treaties with and regulate trade with, these sovereign Indian states, as with other foreign nations. We explained further the anomaly of the relations between the United States and the Indian tribes, the Indian tribes being foreign nations and their aggregated reservation areas technically known as "*the Indian Country*", each reservation being "*Indian country*". And yet these sovereign nations and their territories were within the bounds of the United States, and sometimes, in part, within the bounds of the several states and territories of the United States.

This anomalous situation has persisted down to the present day. Modifications in the Indian policy have only made for aggravation of the anomaly.

However, to speak of the relationship as anomalous, or even as ridiculous, or amusing, as in some respects it has been and is, should not be to ignore its serious historical background and its past and present usefulness as one of several possible Indian policies.

The modifications of the official policy made during the course of the nineteenth century have been in no sense

¹ Strieby, p. 60.

² Chapter 29.

revolutionary. But they have played a part—a minor part, I believe—in the gradual liquidation of the Indian problem in the United States.

THE CHANGE IN THE INDIANS

The major part, it seems to me, aside from the already-described swarming of the white population in ever-increasing millions into the erstwhile home-land of an ever-decreasing Indian population, has been played by the gradual racial and cultural assimilation of most of the Indian tribes. The principal cause of this assimilation has been the intrusion into the reservations of sometimes negroes, as in the old colonial reservations described in one of our chapters, and, more generally, of whites.

An important factor in the relatively rapid advance of the "Five Civilized Tribes"—the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws—both before and after they were removed to Oklahoma, was the large-scale advent of negroes among them, as slaves, to become freedmen after the Civil War.¹ Ten per cent. of those tribes now located in Oklahoma are negro freedmen—classed as "Indians" by the Indian Bureau. More important still was the flow of whites into the homes of these tribesmen as husbands of Indian girls, full-blood and mixed-blood. Notable enough in the middle eighteenth century, this admixture has become such, during the nineteenth century, as to make the Indians, not only in culture but in blood, more white than Indian.

The annuities meted out to the members of Indian tribes have been on the whole an evil, inhibiting progress among the Indians.² They have, however, been beneficial in that white men have sought marriage with Indian girls and have assumed tribal membership, in order to share in the distribution of annuities and other possible wealth held in trust for the Indians by the United States government. So early as 1893 Roosevelt noted, while on a visit to the reservations, that wherever the annuities to Indians on reservations were attractive in amount, these reservations "became refuges for people who got crippled outside. White people with hardly a drop of Indian blood in them come back, together

¹ See above, pp. 48, 305.

² See above, p. 453.

with the white husbands of the girls, for the purpose of getting the annuities going."

These whites with Indian blood had a lower infant mortality and a higher survival rate than the full-blood or nearly full-blood Indians who tended, and tend still, to become a smaller and smaller proportion of the reservation populations, through natural causes and intermarriage.¹ This breach in the segregation feature of the Indian policy has probably been of more effect in Indian assimilation than most of the many millions of dollars spent in times past in educational and agricultural projects intended to culturally assimilate the Indians, but invariably having little good effect.

ENCROACHMENTS ON INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY, 1834, 1871

It was anticipated at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Indian policy might be so modified as to provide for the admission of the effectually sovereign Indian tribes, as one or more groups, into the union of the United States, as one or more states; which, if such anticipation had been embodied in practice, would no doubt mean a preliminary period of status similar to that now possessed by the Philippines, and, later, of territorial organization.² Such anticipations remained a passing dream, and no other scheme for the eventual passing of the "*imperium in imperio*", which was the Indian tribe, was provided for until late in the past century.

It is to be noted, however, that in 1834 the process of limitation of Indian sovereignty which we traced in an earlier chapter was made more general. By the Intercourse Act of that year the general laws of the United States (not of the several states) as to the punishment of crimes committed in any place within the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States except the District of Columbia was extended to the "Indian Country", but with the express proviso that it shall apply only to crimes committed where a non-Indian is the criminal or victim, not where the affair is between Indians. Each tribe is to continue to punish crimes where

¹ Roosevelt, 1893, pp. 9, 10, 17; Scott in *Canada and its Provinces*, v. 7, p. 605; and, for statistics, Swanton, *Creeks and Neighbours*, 1924.

² See Abel, and above, p. 445.

both parties are Indians under its own laws and in its own way.¹

It was also provided in 1871, under the misnamed "Peace Policy" then introduced into Indian affairs, inspired, it appears, by the desire of the House of Representatives of the federal Congress to share more equally with the Senate in the direction of Indian affairs,² in Section 2079 of the Revised Statutes, March 3, 1871, that treaty-making with the Indian tribes was declared ended; "that hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be *acknowledged or recognized* as an independent nation, tribe, or power, *with whom the United States may contract by treaty*".

But it was "provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made or ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe".³

The Supreme Court of the United States, as soon as the question came before it, held that Congress "had not and has not the power to abrogate a treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe".⁴ The Indians were declared thenceforth to be "wards" of the United States, to be dealt with by Congressional enactment. The practical motive behind this change is indicated by a writer of that period as follows: "When the Constitution was adopted, treaties might properly be made with the Indian nations by the executive, for their independent existence was as real against the United States as that of Holland or Prussia. But now, when they were mere 'wards', without the protection of national law, or of the federal judiciary, dependent for their political existence upon the clemency of this nation, the making of treaties with them is a farce."

In the Act quoted above I have myself italicized two phrases to indicate to the reader that the Act itself did not presume

¹ Discussed in Gates: *Land and Law*; compare above, pp. 373-375, 439-444.

² The Senate of the United States is the body which ratifies treaties with foreign nations which are negotiated by the President of the United States.

³ This was "an interpretation of Article 2, Section 2, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution, by the proper organ". Weil, p. 22.

⁴ Lone Wolf vs. Hitchcock, 187 U.S., 566.

to deny the de facto existence of the Indian tribes as relatively independent nations but merely took a further step toward limiting their sovereignty. The provision for the continued validity of the existing treaties, of which there had been some two thousand made now and again with the various tribes, in itself continued Indian nationality. To quote again from a legal student of that period:

“Congress has taken care that this interpretation shall not be retroactive. That this statute does not dissolve the tribal relation is proved by this fact, for where would be the sense of preserving the treaties with the Indian tribes unimpaired if the tribes themselves were destroyed? To recapitulate the position of the tribes [1888]: they are domestic dependent nations which have surrendered, for the most part, jurisdiction over their own members, and occupy their lands but do not own the fee. By the judge-made law of the land the jurisdiction of the United States has in many particulars been extended over them, although their members can only become citizens by a special enactment of Congress. The Indian nations have no standing in federal courts as foreign states.”¹

Consequently the existing anomaly was worse confounded and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs complained to the President two years later (1873) of “the anomalous relation of the Indian tribes to the government, which requires that they be treated as sovereign powers and as wards at one and the same time”.²

FURTHER ENCROACHMENT, 1885

The actually significant innovations in the treatment of the Indians began in 1885 with the arrogation by the United States of the right to punish reservation Indians for crimes against one another committed upon the lands of the tribe—that is, on the reservation, or in the Indian country—and for any of a specified list of crimes, other offences continuing solely as the affair of the tribe. This was effected by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1885.

In accord with the provisions of this act jurisdiction was

¹ Weil, p. 22; and Knoepfler, p. 241; also C. Goodrich; Merritt; and Gates.

² *Annual Report*, 1873.

reserved to the federal courts to punish according to federal law for murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny. It was reserved for the courts of the several states to punish for these crimes committed Indian against Indian *off* a reservation and within the borders of the state. To the state courts also was reserved the right to punish crimes of non-Indians against non-Indians *on* an Indian reservation, and, likewise to punish citizen Indians for crime committed on a reservation—*except* for those crimes specified above as reserved for the federal courts in cases of Indian against Indian.

Thus, in regard to a citizen Indian's offence committed on a reservation, if the offence were simple assault, the state court would have jurisdiction; if it were assault with intent to kill, the federal court would have jurisdiction.¹

The conflicts resulting between tribal, state, and federal jurisdictions in criminal cases continue to be an impediment to justice, but some such enactment as the above was imperatively necessary due to the breakdown of tribal authority on the many reservations where the "Indian" population was considerably white and mixed-blood.

THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT OF 1887 AND ITS AMENDMENTS

Two years later, in the Act of February 8, 1887, in view of the increasing preparedness of many thousands of mixed-bloods to shift for themselves in the white man's political and economic environment, the allotment of land in severalty to the Indians and their admission to citizenship in the United States was made independent of special enactment of Congress and thereby was facilitated and prepared for on a large scale. The Act referred to is known as the General Allotment Act, or, more popularly, as the Dawes Act.

This was the first serious step by the United States officially to facilitate the merging of the Indian people into the body politic of the nation and to assimilate them to its economy. The immediate purpose of the Act was to individualize the Indian problem and thus lead more rapidly to a disintegration of tribal relations.

¹ See especially the discussion in Knoepfler.

Hitherto the tribes and their members, although occupying their lands, did not, as we have elsewhere explained, hold title to land which would have any standing in the white man's courts. The General Allotment Act provided for the division of the tribal lands among the members of the tribe, each member to receive his allotment as soon as it was thought that within a quarter of a century he or his heirs would be prepared for the responsibilities of land ownership in the white community, and if, in addition, he were considered immediately fit for citizenship in the United States.

Under the Act, in the discretion of the proper authorities in the Indian Office, if an Indian were so esteemed, he received a "trust patent" to his allotment of land and immediately became a citizen. He could become a voter, however, only upon meeting the requirements for voting of the state in which he lived.

The "trust patent" was and is, in effect, a trust deed¹ in which title to the Indian's allotment is held in trust by the United States for the Indian for twenty-five years, at the end of which period the premises are conveyed to the Indian by fee simple patent. For the duration of the trust the land is not liable to taxation. The trust prevents the alienation of his birthright by the Indian; but at the dissolution of the trust he is unrestricted owner and may—and usually does—sell out.

On May 8, 1906, the Burke Act took effect. This amends the provision of the Dawes Act, particularly as concerns citizenship, to provide that the "allotted" Indian may become a citizen only at the end of the twenty-five year trust period, that is, only when he becomes an unrestricted land-owner. Later, Congress gave the Secretary of the Interior discretionary authority to anticipate the expiration of the trust period, and terminate the trust before the end of twenty-five years, or naturalize the Indian before its expiration. The process of allotment and naturalization went on apace under these provisions, and was accelerated further by several collective naturalizations effected by the old method of special enactment of Congress.²

¹ However, Knoepfler and McDowell appear to disagree on the proper nomenclature to describe a "trust patent".

² For discussion of the Dawes Act see especially McDowell, pp. 39-41.

ALL INDIANS BECOME CITIZENS: 1924

On March 3, 1901, the members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma—more than one-third of the persons officially "Indian" in the United States—were granted citizenship. On November 16, 1907, all remaining Indians located in the state of Oklahoma were naturalized. On November 6, 1919, all Indians who had served in the United States armies in the World War were naturalized; and on March 3, 1921, all remaining members of the Osage tribe. Finally, an Act of Congress of June 2, 1924, provides "that all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby declared to be, citizens of the United States".¹ Prior to the passage of this Act, under the provisions of the other Acts noted above, two-thirds of the Indians already had become citizens.

RESTRICTED AND UNRESTRICTED INDIANS: AND
ALLOTTED AND UNALLOTTED INDIANS

Any Indian who under these Acts had received title in fee to his allotment, and citizenship, thereby became officially no longer a "restricted Indian". He is in all respects treated as a citizen of his state and of the United States, without any special privileges or disabilities as an Indian, unlike the restricted Indian, who, although he may be about three-fourths white in blood, yet comes in one or another way under the guardianship of the Indian Office.

All Indians are now citizens—restricted as well as unrestricted. Very few, however—some 29,000 or so—to-day, have qualified as voters. Of these citizens, some have not even become "allotted Indians", that is, Indians who have received their allotment of the tribal land, the United States government holding the title in trust for a period. These unallotted Indian citizens still live in tribal relationship, in large part under tribal law. For the Supreme Court of the United States has held that "citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship, and so may

¹ The Act is best discussed in Merritt. Its passage was in part due to the urgings of Rodman Wanamaker. It is worth noting, indeed, that both Rodman Wanamaker and Pierpont Morgan have financed and been personally interested in Americanist researches of great value.

be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of Congress and regulations adopted for their protection".¹

"LESS NUMEROUS THAN THE INHABITANTS OF A
TENTH-RATE CITY"

Nevertheless, the Indian problem dwindles rapidly in importance and will soon disappear save with regard to the Navajo desert grazers and, perhaps, the Pueblo Indians of the desert oases—except, in other words, for a very considerable part of the 64,000 Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, largely Indian in blood and Indian in culture, and isolated in the desert where assimilation is retarded.

Despite the fact that the Indians in the United States to-day, aside from the millions of immigrant Mexicans who are so largely Indian in blood,² number no more than they did half a century ago, and still are less numerous than "the inhabitants of a tenth-rate city",³ they comprise sixty tribes, scattered widely, and are not compact and easily dealt with as in a city, and they are of a great babble of languages as widely variant as French and Chinese, and of a variety of religions, tribal laws, and cultures generally. They are located on about two hundred reservations scattered from New York to California, and varying in size from tiny California *rancherias* of a few acres to great desert and timbered mountain reservations of millions of acres. About ninety of these reservations have resident agents. To-day the official "Indian Country" comprises the aggregate of reservation lands unallotted and of allotted lands the title to which is still held in trust for the Indians by the government.

Let us note something of the unequal distribution of these Indians among the states in 1924. First we note those in which the Indians are prepared for immediate or early

¹ Plainly the court thinks of tribal relationship no longer in terms of citizenship in a "domestic" but sovereign nation, but in terms of wardship, and while its decision continues worse confounded the anomalous relation of tribe to nation it is nevertheless a practical and common-sense decision, making for the protection of the tribal Indians who do, in tens of thousands of cases, still require the guardianship of the United States. (Compare Knoepfler, pp. 240-241; and Merritt.)

² See above, p. 330.

³ See the paragraph introductory to this chapter, above, p. 533.

assimilation. They are: Wisconsin, with 10,000 Indians; Michigan, 1,200 on reserves with 6,400 scattered; Minnesota, 13,000; New York, 6,000; Wyoming, 1,800; Utah, 1,500; California, 13,000; Oregon, 6,700; Washington, 10,000; Nebraska, 2,000; Kansas, 1,500. There is also Oklahoma with 119,000 "Indians" (23,000 of whom are negro freedmen), all of whom shortly will disappear in the melting pot.

As for the rest of the states with a noteworthy Indian population, and which will probably see the Indian problem within their borders for more decades than other states will, there are Arizona, with 43,000 Indians; New Mexico with 21,000; Nevada, 11,000; South Dakota, 23,000; Montana, 12,000; Idaho, 3,900.

INDIANS, AND "INDIANS"

These round figures are not in accord with the figures of the Indian Bureau, from whose figures misleading deductions are often made, but are roughly the figures for the restricted Indians—Indians in some real sense of the word, checked, roughly, with the figures of the Census Bureau.

The Indian Bureau and the Census Bureau have always disagreed on the number of Indians, because they have different meanings for the term "Indian" as a classification for enumeration. The Census Bureau aims to classify as Indian only those persons racially identifiable as Indian or publicly known as Indians. The Indian Bureau on the other hand defines an Indian as "any person whose name is on a tribal roll; the descendant of any such person; any person who has an identifiable amount of Indian blood; any non-Indian who by marriage, adoption, or any other tribal customs has become a recognized member of any Indian tribe".

These Indian Bureau totals of some tribes are not a census enumeration at all. They are the totals of tribal rolls which must be maintained because the rolls are the foundations of Indian land title, and necessary evidence to settle heirship cases.¹ Thus while for 1920 the Indian Bureau reports the Indian population at last definitely on the increase, with a total of 344,489, the Census Bureau reports it as continuing to decrease, with a total of 244,437! Incidentally the Indian

¹ McDowell.

Bureau reports 161,757 full-bloods, which is probably, to judge from the reports of competent anthropologists, at least one hundred per cent. too large.

HOW POOR, AND HOW RICH, THE INDIANS ARE

Careless statements made about Indian population are often accompanied by like statements about either the relative poverty or relative wealth of the Indians. As to the wealth held in trust for them, represented by trust funds, agricultural, mining, oil, and timber land, and other assets more or less fixed from which generally flow more or less significant annuities to add to the Indians' income from grazing, farming, hunting, and other labours, it appears that the various Indian tribes vary as to wealth as do local and social groups of whites, that virtually no group, not even the Osage and others of the Oklahoma oil lands, is extremely wealthy, but many are extremely poor. On the whole the Indians average perhaps slightly less prosperous than the whites in the United States.

About one-tenth of the Indians show an average per capita wealth of about \$12,500. This includes the Osage Indians as a group, and some of their neighbours of the Five Civilized Tribes. About one-fortieth show an average per capita wealth of about \$6,500; about one-sixth, of about \$3,500; about one-fourth, of about \$900. One-third of the Indians have between \$100 and \$500 per capita. About one-eleventh are worth only \$100 apiece.¹

STATISTICS EVIDENCING RAPID DECLINE OF THE PROBLEM

There remain only 240,000 restricted Indians, of whom two-thirds or more are mixed-bloods. Of these there are only 125,000 who are yet unallotted; that is, who still live economically and legally and socially as tribal Indians on reservations and have not yet received an allotment of land under a trust patent.

From the 115,000 restricted Indians who are allotted, there is and will continue to be a steady stream emerging from

¹ Figures given in this chapter are for 1924. McDowell gives considerable detail concerning the Indians' resources.

tribal relationships and governmental wardship to unrestricted and full membership in the white community. For as soon as the Indian Bureau feels that any allotted Indian is able to stand on his own feet socially, or, automatically at the end of the trust period, the Indian receives fee simple title to his allotment of land and goes his own way.

Some day the last unallotted Indian will be allotted; and within twenty-five years or less thereafter, the last restricted Indian will have become unrestricted, and sell his land to the first white man to offer to buy. So it is now accurate for the *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* for the year 1926 to declare that the present Indian policy of the United States is one of "acceleration". That is, one "looking forward to hastening the termination of Federal supervision over the population class known as restricted Indians".¹

FINIS

From proud Emperor Powhatan, to the insecure Republic of the Iroquois, to the tragically futile Pontiac and Tecumseh, on down to poor, harassed Chief Joseph, and, at last, to "the population class known as restricted Indians", of the year 1927, we have traced the outlines of the dramatic history of one of the most unique frontiers in history.

It began with the flare of trumpets and the passing in review of proud and sovereign native kingdoms and republics. The *dénouement* is one on which a proud, numerous, and rich group of heroes are reduced to a remnant of their former numbers, impoverished, degraded, and subjected to the solicitations of social or charity workers. The epilogue will be one in which the last of the degraded former heroes merely walks off a stage on which the properties have been reduced to the utmost shabbiness. Fortunately for us, spectators of this drama, it has not been so long that we cannot recall the first thrilling acts which depicted for us those good old days when "Indians was Indians".

¹ Page 3. As a next step in the acceleration this report urges the immediate extension of federal and state laws over the Indian reservations; doing away, for example, with tribal marriage, and divorce laws.

APPENDIX I

THE DENSITY OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF THE CHESAPEAKE TIDEWATER IN 1612

THE reference in Strachey's book to the Virginian attempt to permanently occupy the village of Powhatan at the Falls, and other clues, indicate 1612 as the date of composition. Like Smith and others, this secretary of the colony was best acquainted with the tribes under Powhatan's rule, those in the region first occupied by the English. The fullness of the data offered for these tribes suggests a rather adequate knowledge of the population. I shall list the tribes, with the number of warriors assigned to each by Strachey, and multiply the total of warriors for each group of tribes by three, a very conservative figure probably too low, to arrive at the estimated population of warriors, women, and children and aged.

I. POWHATAN'S DOMINION

The Pamunkey and "tribes" which were perhaps merely villages of the Pamunkey jurisdiction: Pamunkey, 300; Passaunkack, 100; Pamuncoray, 400; Kuppepecock, 400; Shamapa, 100; Potiaco, 10; Accomac, 40; Mattapamient, 140; Werowocomoco, 40; Orapaks, 50; Youghtamund, 70; Powhatan, 50. Total, 1700; times three, 5050.

Other tribes subject to Powhatan: Weanock, 100; Paspahagh, 40; Arrohatock, 60; Appomatusck, 120; Quiocohannock, 60; Waraskoyack, 60; Total, 440; times three, 1320.

Semi-independent tribes: Nansamund, 200; Chickahominies, 300; Total, 500; times three, 1500.

Tribes massacred by Powhatan shortly before 1612: Chesapeake, exterminated; Payankatank, exterminated; Kecoughtan, 50 warriors surviving, colonized in the former Payankatank village. Total survivors of these three tribes, 50 warriors, times three, 150 population. Strachey says that the Kecoughtan before the massacre, in 1608, numbered 1000 population, and that their village had exceptionally large maize fields for this region. We may estimate the former population of these three tribes as, perhaps, 2500.

II. FREE TRIBES

Tribes south of the Potomac River, independent of Powhatan: Lower Cuttatawomen, 30; Moratacund, 30; Topohannoeks (Rappahannoeks), 100; Nantacund, 150; Upper Cuttatawomen, 30; Onanamient, 100; Cekakawon, 30; Wicocomico, 130; Potomac, 160; Taux-enent, 40. Total, 770; times three, 2330.

Tribes of Tidewater Maryland, west shore: Moyoones, 100; Pomacocock, 60; Potopaco, 20; Patuxents, 200; Total, 380; times three, 1140.

Eastern shore tribes. (1) Nanticoke: Tockwogh, 100; Ozinies, 60; Choptank River tribes, 200; Wicocomicos, 100. Total, 460; times three, 1380. (2) Tribes linguistically Virginian ("Powhatan"): Occahannoeks, 40; Accomacks, 80. Total, 120; times three, 360. (3) Tribes of the state of Delaware (Delawares or Lenape): Strachey

gives no estimate of the population of the Siconessinks who inhabited the shore of Delaware Bay about Cape Henlopen. Their history indicates that they were relatively powerful and populous. We may estimate perhaps 500 total population and be conservative. Total population of all the Peninsula tribes: 2240.

III

The figures for the tribes subject to Powhatan: a total population of about 10,500, settled in an area of about 5000 square miles giving a density of about two to the square mile.

Strachey's figures for the Maryland tribes are plainly too low. Fleet's observations in 1631, nearly two decades later, indicated that about 2500 population should be assigned to those four tribes resident along the north side of the Potomac mentioned by Strachey and estimated by him to have in 1612 only about 1140 population. The Jesuit missionaries in 1634 were met by a band of 500 warriors at Piscataway (probably Moyones). It is hard to believe that there were two to the square mile in Powhatan's dominions and only about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ to the square mile in the lands of the Piscataway "empire," a petty dominion in Maryland comparable to Powhatan's (see MacLeod: *Piscataway Royalty*). In southern Maryland there were, no doubt, as many as from 5000 to 8000 natives in Strachey's day. As we have noted above, Strachey and the other early settlers of Virginia were intimately acquainted with the tribes in the vicinity of Jamestown and up to the Falls of the James River, but knew relatively little of the tribes north of Powhatan's domains.

Northern Maryland appears to have been depopulated as early as Strachey's day, perhaps as a result of the warfare of Susquehannock and Iroquois and other tribes who battled in this area.

The independent tribes south of the Potomac are probably less underestimated than those more distant from Jamestown. Strachey's figures allow them about one to the square mile. Their total population, no doubt, was about 5000, with a density equal to that of their neighbours.

My notes not here presented on the Eastern Shore or Peninsula tribes convince me that Smith and Strachey knew almost nothing at all about most of them nor of their numbers, especially of those of the headwaters of the rivers and of the Atlantic coast. With about 5000 square miles, Strachey's figures would allow them about $\frac{2}{3}$ person to the square mile—undoubtedly several times too low.

IV

To conclude these observations: Depending chiefly on Strachey's figures for the tribes he was actually acquainted with, I would suggest a density of pre-European population of two to the square mile for the whole 16,000 miles of tidewater Virginia and Maryland and the peninsula. This means a population of 32,000, about 11,000 of whom were subjects of Powhatan. About 5000 probably were in the Piscataway "empire"; about 4000 of them were in "Nanticoke" tribes; and between 500 and 1000 constituted the Siconessinks Delawares whose village was located at Lewes, Delaware.

V

On the Virginian piedmont maize was better grown than in the tidewater area; at tidewater fish was more important. It is likely that on the piedmont and in the Ohio Valley the density of population was more than two to the square mile. The facts of the great Mound-Builder civilization subsisting there with its still splendid remains tend to bear out this suggestion.

APPENDIX II

I

CAMOENS, ERCILLA, GARCILASSO, AND THE GREAT AMERICAN EPICS

Great American epics do not await writing but have been written, by Ercilla, and by Garcilasso. But first a few words about Camoens.

The soldier-poet Camoens wrote his *Lusiads* in commemoration of the great Portuguese explorations and conquests. His life itself is epical. He was a soldier on the frontiers in Africa and India. His *Lusiads* were written while he was in India, although they were not published until 1571. In 1559 in a shipwreck at the mouth of the Mekong River in Cambodia he had to swim to shore, losing everything except his manuscript of the seven then finished cantos. He may be compared to the Spanish New World frontier poet Ercilla.

The epicist of Spain was De Ercilla. He too was a soldier, in the wars of the Spaniards against the Araucanian Indians, on the Biobio frontier (on which see above, p. 116). Like Camoens he wrote his poems in the field, during the campaigns between 1555 and 1590. His characters are from life, and his poetry consequently is veritable history. The narrative is historical. *L'Araucana* is Spain's greatest epic or narrative poem. Feeling unjustly treated by his commander-in-chief in the army he doomed this officer to ignominious neglect by leaving him entirely out of the narrative of the wars! Ercilla's ignoring the name and deeds of his commander Hurtado de Mendoza, aggrieved many officious persons. One of these, a would-be poet of Peru, De Oña, decided to repair the damage by writing a new *L'Araucana*, which he called *L'Arauca Domado*; he achieved only a cheap and tawdry second-hand *L'Araucana* which does Hurtado more harm than good.

With *L'Araucana* may be compared the epical prose narrative of De Soto's expedition by Garcilasso, written in 1591. In Part 2, Book 4, Chapter 6, Garcilasso recounts the story of the Quixotic chivalry of Agnez and the thirty-eight others of the then deceased De Soto's expedition, who lost their lives in the lower Mississippi River in 1543. This story serves well to exemplify the chivalric ardour of the Spanish conquerors in America.

II

THE CANINE CONQUERORS

In touching on the conquistadores we must not forget the greyhounds they brought with them! The Indians were terribly afraid of these animals. Some certain of these dogs achieved fame for their fighting qualities displayed in actual battle. There were the dogs

Brutus and Leoncello, for instance, and the dog Bercillo with Ponce de Leon in Porto Rico. This latter dog was awarded the pay and the share of booty of a crossbowman, the highest reward among the soldiery, thus increasing the pay of his master. So, says Garcilasso: "It is thus that in the conquest of the New World the greyhounds have done things worthy of admiration." (Part 1, Book 2, Chapter 17.) (Compare the service of bloodhounds against negro slaves in North America.)

Pring's *Voyage*, 1603, contains two notes on the subject of the use of dogs against the Indians in New England; here the dogs were English, mastiffs (ancestral to bloodhound and bulldog). The mastiffs, he said, could carry lances in their teeth. These notes apply to the region immediately around the Indian village of Patuxet whose name was in time changed to Plymouth.

APPENDIX III

THE PHILIPPINES AND FORCED LABOUR

At the same time (1565 seq.) that De Aviles was, with a minimum of military assistance, "pacifying" Florida, Legazpi was likewise pacifying the Philippine Islands. At that time—once, about the ninth century, having been under the Hindu influences emanating from Java—the little Tagalog town of Manila was Mohammedan, but the greater part of the surrounding populations were pagan. By 1576 Legazpi had all the islands subdued. As in Florida the missionaries were important from the beginning. Throughout the history of the islands they had more power than did the civil authorities. The Recollects, an Augustinian group, the same who were first active in French Canada, were the first in the Islands (1656). Later, however, Philip divided the islands into spheres of activity between the Recollects, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans.

But in 1572 it was felt that the natives might safely be handled by means of the *encomienda* system, which, as we have explained, was by this date working very successfully in America, the first throes of the developmental experiments being over. In this year all the pacified natives, already superficially Christianized, were "commended" to the care of *encomenderos*. In 1591 there were 267 *encomiendas*, 51 of which were the property of the Crown itself, royal *encomiendas*. In this year the population of the islands was probably about 650,000. The *encomiendas* were larger than the maximum permitted in America, running even over 1000 or more "Indians" (that is, Philipinos or East Indians) to each *encomienda*.¹

Since the allotting of the 650,000 "Indians" in the Philippines to *encomenderos* in the intervening 300 years (1591-1891) the native population increased about 1500 per cent., from about 650,000 to 9,000,000. This indicates tremendous economic and political improvement for such a relatively short period in an area virtually without industrial resources.²

¹ 300 was the limit in America.

² On the Philippines see original documents in Blair and Robertson; De Morgan; and Barrows for a satisfactory outline.

APPENDIX IV

THE REAL ESTATE PROMOTER'S PROSPECTUS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Many of the tracts concerning the early colonies, so invaluable to the historian, are merely the prospectuses of promoters. Invariably they overstate the charms of life in North America. Thomas Dudley in writing the Countess of Lincoln concerning Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1631 tells her of the disease, death, and poverty there and in Plymouth Colony and complains of false information sent to England to draw others like himself over. So he writes:

"And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing lest other men should fall short of their expectations when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did by means of letters sent us hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw others over to them wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here" (p. 12 of his *Letter*).

A typical prospectus is the tract on New Albion, the Delaware River Valley, to be colonized by the New Albion Company chartered 1634.

It is written by "Beauchamp Plantagenet of Bellville in New Albion, Esquire, one of the Company, who wisheth all health, happiness and heavenly blessings". One-fifth of the prospectus is taken up by the genealogy of the noble President of the Company. The table of contents is a page of amazing false implication.

"Here as in a Province of France", "Here the glorious, repining sun, as warm as Italy or Spain"—he raves falsely about the Delaware Valley. And, at last, appealing for the investor's money:

"Here the kind Gentleman that in England doth not live without deep mortgages, suretyship, law suits, and troubles, may here settle and avoid ill company, and tempting occasions, and live in plenty, and variety of all sports, hunting deer, hawking fowl, fishing, and many more sports, and sorts of game, as with dainty fruits, and lay up his spare rents.

"Here the Soldier, and Gentleman wanting employment and not hire to labour, without going to war to kill Christians for 5 shillings a week in the mouth of the roaring Cannon, or in a Siege, threatened with famine and pestilence and often together against a few naked savages, may like a devout Apostolic soldier with sword, and the sword to civilize and convert them to be his Majestie's lieges, and by trading with them for furs, get his 10 shillings a day, and at home, intermixing sport and pleasure, with profit and pleasure store his Parks with elks and fallow deer, are fit to ride, milk, or draw; the first are as big as oxen, and bringing three a year; and with five hundred Turkeys in a flock got by nets, in stalling, get his 5 shilling a day at least" (pp. 33-34).

The picturing of Siberian reindeer on east coast North America is something this fellow has picked up from yet earlier liars. The domestic elk is something of a mystery.

APPENDIX V

SASSAFRAS AND EARLY COLONIAL INTERESTS

One of the gentle ironies of the colonization of the Americas, is that one of the things which made for the British urge to colonize Virginia and New England was the search for a certain cure for syphilis at home.

The disease had apparently been brought into England from France about the middle of the sixteenth century. Shakespeare's "polite" plays are silent on it; his "Troilus and Cressida" less so; but the plays of his contemporaries fairly reek with notice of the "French pox", the "French baby", and so on, and make known to us many contemporary notions concerning its nature and cure.

Sassafras, used also as an anti-scorbutic, was considered a sovereign remedy for the disease on the Continent and the need for it was increasing in England, and since it was enormously expensive because of the great demand, and limited supply, the east coast of North America finally was looked to as a new source of supply.

Sir Walter Raleigh, first to enterprise in "Virginia," looked to cargoes of sassafras bark, among other things, for profit from his monopoly in trade with America. And his ire was roused at poaching in his "Virginia." For in 1602 an English trading company sent out Gosnold and Gilbert to North America for exploration. When these returned to England the price of sassafras fell. Raleigh immediately sensed that the supply had increased through poaching in North America and protested bitterly on this infringement on his rights.

Strachey, first secretary of the colony of Virginia, in his account of the colony written in 1612 mentions sassafras as a source of profit. Tobacco culture was then unknown in Virginia. Strachey suggested the Virginia Company exploit the sick of England and the Continent by getting a monopoly of the trade in sassafras, raise and hold up the price, and then "all Europe may be served thereof at good rates". However, tobacco soon overshadowed sassafras in Virginia.¹

APPENDIX VI

MIXED MARRIAGES IN VIRGINIA

From the *Richmond News Leader* of February 9, 1926 (p. 1, Home Edition), it appears that a measure then before the General Assembly of Virginia classifies as "coloured" all descendants of Indian-white intermarriages consummated after 1619. Those descended from 'nter marriages before this date (the Rolfe marriage, etc.) are "white"! Persons classified as coloured may not marry persons classified as "white". This ridiculous classificatory policy is a makeshift with a view to preventing further intermarriage with persons officially Indian who are part negro in ancestry; the bill proposes to permit intermarriage of whites in Virginia with Indians from Oklahoma and Texas. But while it permits intermarriage with these Indians who, insofar as they are Indian in blood are Mongoloid in race, it prohibits intermarriage with Asiatic Mongoloids such as Philipinos, etc.!

After the bill was introduced in the Assembly certain genealogists made it impossible of passage by discovery that the bill defines as "coloured" in blood many of the most eminent families of Virginia. In 1644, in Virginia, a famous Maryland family intermarried with the family of an Indian chief; and in 1684 in Virginia an English trader married the daughter of an Indian chief. Sixty-four prominent Virginia families are sprung from this 1684 union. In the list of descendants are:

¹ See Strachey, p. 129; Raleigh; Gilbert; Pring.

- 2 United States Senators;
- 2 Presidents of the United States;
- 2 Secretaries of War of the U.S.;
- 5 U.S. Generals;
- 3 distinguished southern writers of novels living to-day;
- 3 Governors of Virginia;
- 1 Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives;
- 2 Bishops of the Anglican communion in America;
- 3 U.S. Congressmen;
- 1 U.S. Rear Admiral;
- 2 Judges of the U.S. Supreme Court;

and many of the foremost officers of the Confederate army.

This discovery of the genealogists, like some similar discoveries concerning the locale of "coloured" blood, has seriously embarrassed the Nordicist extremists in Virginia and elsewhere in the South.

Incidentally, one must note that the records of families of good Virginia stock blended with the blood of the native Indian nobilities has shown up rather good. There have been, of course, mixed-blood families in Virginia, of decidedly bad stock to begin with, whose records have been unsatisfactory.

APPENDIX VII

ON EARLY COLONIAL RESERVATIONS

We have not touched upon the annoyance given the Indians of the reserves which found themselves located amid surrounding white populations in the old areas of settlement, standing in contrast with the solid block of Indian country. The Indians were from the very beginning irritated by uncompensated destruction of their corn by the hogs, cattle, and horses of the surrounding white farmers. (Consider, for example, the *Proceedings of Council, Maryland*, May, 1666, pp. 14-15.) For a variety of annoyances, such as stealing of the Indians' ripened corn, encroachment on Indian reserves, stealing of the Indians' supply of firewood, and so on, the preambles of the laws relative to Indian affairs in colonial days and even later are illuminating; see *Laws . . . Indians*, Mass., 1657, pp. 9-12; Connecticut, 1672, p. 40; North Carolina, 1778, sec. 6, pp. 167, 169; Virginia, 1660, p. 149; also, *Penna. Archives*, v. 1, p. 295 (1731), and *Col. Records of Pa.*, v. 2, p. 553 (1712); and Ruttenber, pp. 100, 130 (1643, 1658); the vivid account in Gookin concerning old Marlboro in Mass., p. 20 (1674); Mapes; Wraxall, pp. 149, 175, 179, 180, 185, 196, 212-214.

On the other hand, Stuyvesant once had to complain to the Indian chiefs of Long Island in 1658 that the Indians forced outlying white farmers to plough their (Indians') land! (Ruttenber, p. 162.)

In Spanish America settlers and their cattle were likewise avaricious and offensive (compare the *Recopilacion*, lib. 4, tit., 12, ley 12; lib. 6, tit. 1, leyes 27, 32; tit. 3, leyes 20, 22 (1571-1681); and Nuttall: *Ordinances*, pp. 253-254 (1573)).

Some of the Spanish regulations referred to above were directed against the practice (in which the clergy were the chief offenders) of influencing dying Indians to will their lands to the influencing Spaniard. This was also an evil in New England—see the laws of Conn., 1717, p. 41; Mass., 1747, pp. 15-17. On the Latin American practice see a case referred to in Graham's *Arcadia*, in his chapter on Bishop Cardenas.

On lending money at high rates of interest to improvident Indians and the consequent binding of Indians as debtor servants, and the laws against such practice see the laws of Conn., 1672, p. 40; Rhode Island, 1718, p. 54; New York, 1801, p. 71.

The fact that Indian agriculture did not include the use of domestic animals (save for the dog, and the animals of the Andes) and that consequently strong fences were not needed around the Indian cornfields, and that, further, the Indians had not the facilities and the training for fence building, very seriously aggravated the troubles between the settlers and the Indians especially as regards devastation by the omnivorous hogs of the settlers, as indicated in the above laws. Very occasionally the settlers were ordered by their local governments to fence in the Indians' fields for them to avoid such trouble.

APPENDIX VIII

MAINLY ON THE IROQUOIS

I FIREARMS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Wood writes in his *Prospect*, in 1634, of the Iroquois in their wars on the Algonkian of New England: "These Indians be more desperate in wars than the other Indians; which proceeds not only from the fierceness of their natures, but also in the fact that they know themselves to be better armed and weaponed; all of them wearing sea-horse skins and barks of trees, made by their art as impenetrable, it is thought, as steel, wearing head pieces of the same, under which they march securely and undauntedly, running and fiercely crying out, 'Hadree, hadree! Succomee, succomee!' ('We come to suck your blood'), not fearing the feathered shafts of the strong-armed bowmen, but, like unruly, headstrong stallions, beat them down with their right-hand tomahawks and left-hand javelins, being all the weapons they use, counting bows a cowardly fight. Tomahawks be staves of two feet and a half long and a knob at the end as round and big as a football; a javelin is a short spear, headed with sharp sea-horse teeth; one blow, or thrust, with these strange weapons will not need a second to hasten death from a Mohawk's arms."

The Penobscot (Tarrentines) of Maine acquired firearms from the French before the Iroquois got them from the Dutch, and menaced the Massachusetts tribes from the north, for Wood, 1634, p. 63, notes of the Penobscot that they "are the more insolent by reason that they have guns which they daily trade for with the French (who will sell his eyes, as they say, for beaver), but these do them more credit than service, for, having guns they want powder, or, if they have that, they want shot, something or other being always wanting, so that they use them but little but to salute coasting boats which come to trade". (The Penobscot, Wood says, were *not* cannibals, as were the Iroquois, the Iroquois being as notorious in the north for cannibalism as were the Yuchis in the south.)

The guns in those early days were always getting out of repair and the Indians traded in the damaged guns, lacking the means or knowledge to repair them, and the traders took advantage of their ignorance instead of repairing the guns for the Indians. Roger Williams (*Key*, p. 149) notes of the New England Indians concerning the guns they bought from the French that they "often sell many a score to the English when they are a little out of frame or kelter".

Bradford in 1628 (p. 281) complains that the Massachusetts Indians are getting guns from the Dutch as well as from the French, and as well also, from the English traders, "which may turn to be the ruin of many".

Yet, in 1637 there were only 38 pieces among the Pequots, and in the Pequot war with the New Englanders there was soon no powder or lead for these few firearms. By 1675 the New England Indians (King Philip's War) had learned to repair their own guns; several times the English soldiery surprised Indian camps and destroyed their forges.

To his above note Wood (1634) added concerning the coastal Algonkian of New England (p. 89), that, unlike the Iroquois, they used only the bow in warfare, the war-chiefs, however, taking along long spears on which to carry the heads of the slain enemies. (On the bow, compare Wood, pp. 91-92.) The coastal Algonkian here had no armour. Unlike the warriors of Powhatan, Virginia, they used no relief system in battle, merely engaging in a wild scrimmage, emptying their quivers, and then retreating.

In La Hontan's day, a little before and after 1700, or about seven decades later than Wood, the Iroquois had lost the art of tomahawk fighting while other Indians retained it. La Hontan writes (v. 2, pp. 497, 498, 501): "The Iroquois have this advantage over their enemies, that they are all armed with good firelocks; whereas the others, who use these engines only for the shooting of beasts, have not above half their number provided with them. . . ." (Here he notes the effect of the gun on Indian hunting.) The Iroquois "are not so sprightly as most of their enemies, nor so happy in fighting with clubs; and it is for that reason that they never march but in numerous bodies, and that, by slower marches than those of the other savages". Further: "The strength of the Iroquois lies in engaging with firearms in a forest; for they shoot very dexterously; besides that they are very well-versed in making the best advantage of everything, by covering themselves with trees, behind which they stand stock-still after they have discharged, though their enemies be twice their number. But in regard that they are more clumsy and not so clever as the more southern Americans they have no dexterity in handling a club; and thus it comes to pass that they are always worsted in open field, where the clubs are the only weapons; for which reason they avoid any engagement in meadows or open fields as much as possible."

Marquette in his *Discovery*, 1673, p. 57, writes: "The Illinois . . . are very skilful with their bows, and rifles, with which they are supplied by the Indians who trade with the French. This makes them formidable to their enemies who have no firearms. They make excursions to the west to capture slaves which they barter with other nations for the commodities they want. These nations are entirely ignorant of iron tools; their knives, axes, and other instruments are made of flint and other stone. . . . The Arkansas . . . have enemy tribes on all sides, and . . . their provisions are indifferent because they are afraid to go hunting on account of their enemies."

But elsewhere in his narrative Marquette says that the Illinois are "very adroit in using the bow and arrow; they use guns also which they buy of our Indian allies who trade with the French; *they use them especially to terrify their enemies by the noise and smoke*; the others lying too far to the west have never seen them, and do not know their use".

Greenhalgh, June 17, 1677 (p. 252), among the Iroquois wrote: "There came fifty prisoners from the southwestward. They were of two nations, some whereof have few guns, the other none at all. One nation is about ten days' journey from any Christians, and trade only with one great

house not far from the sea, and the other trade only, as they say, with a black people."

A special study of the influence of priority in the acquisition of firearms in the case of the Plains and far-western tribes of North America might be made, and would be profitable. Franklin, in his *First Voyage*, pp. 62-63, notes that the Crees having got firearms from traders then pushed further west and north against tribes as yet without arms; the Crees were known to have made war excursions as far to the northward as the MacKenzie River and as far westward as the Rocky Mountains, "but their enemies being now as well-armed as themselves the case is much altered". He notes that the Assiniboin of the Saskatchewan plains, immigrants from the eastward tolerated by the Cree in old days, now act as a defence for the Cree against their enemies the Slaves. At this time alcohol was ruining the Cree. On the Cree-Beaver wars and firearms see also MacKenzie: *Voyages*, v. 1, p. 139; v. 2, p. 22. Franklin also notes (p. 259) that in Hearne's day the Copper River Indians, without firearms, were oppressed by the Chipewyans who had these weapons; later these Copper River Indians, acquiring firearms, in a brutal massacre, described as I recall it, by Franklin also, nearly exterminated the Eskimo inhabitants of the mouth of the Copper River; and also repelled the attacks of their old superiors the Chippewyans. On the crushing of Shoshone groups by the Walla Walla, with firearms, see Ross, v. 2, p. 13.

2 INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH IN STIMULATING IROQUOIS CONQUESTS

Wraxall, p. 73, writes: "The French during this time were practising every art in their power to increase their influence among the Five Nations and also to distress and disturb them by fomenting wars, feuds, and misunderstandings between them and the far nations which lie to the westward and to the southward of the Senecas' country, and did engage them in a war with the Flatheads who live at the back of Carolina. . . . However, numbers of the far nations came down to Albany and traded with the inhabitants, which created a great jealousy in the French and set them at work to endeavour to disturb the tranquillity amongst the Indians and by engaging them in civil wars against one another to prevent their continuing a trade with Albany, and this in great measure they effected. They sent powder and shot gratis amongst the Five Nations to induce them to go out and fight, which was a great means of prevailing on them—I find at this time it was very justly apprehended that one great design of the French seducing our Indians to march to the Southward was to take from us their assistance and whilst they were gone out to war the French might more easily make an attack upon this government, which was expected and feared at Albany."

In 1707 the Commissioners at Albany reported of the Iroquois attacks in the Carolinas (Wraxall, pp. 48, 52, 214): "That several of the sachems of the Five Nations are uneasy at this war, as it drains them of their people and leaves their country in so defenceless a condition that they are afraid that the French may put some treacherous designs in execution against them."

While the French at this time were urging the Iroquois against the Indians friendly to the English in the far South, they were stirring up the western Indians against the Iroquois! The Albany records note of this (Wraxall, p. 78):

"In 1709 Iroquois sachems declared 'It is reported of us that

we are inclined to the French, but what would you have us do? If we keep ourselves neuter, the Governor of Canada makes use of his instruments to destroy us; and assistance we cannot get. How shall we behave? If there is anything to be done for the general good are we not always ready to do our utmost? Do we not endeavour to bring the distant nations into our alliance? Have we not spoken to the Wagenaes in behalf of you all?"

In 1710 the same record reads that (Wraxall, p. 78):

"The Governor directed the commissioners of Indian affairs to send for the sachems of the Five Nations and to acquaint them with the fact that the French and their Indians were daily murdering the brethren of New England and to know if they could think of any expedient to prevent it. They answered that the French treated them in the same manner, and kept by their management the far Indians in perpetual war against them; that they had often complained of this to the Governor of Canada but without redress; that they had sent a solemn embassy to desire that he would interpose and get a cessation for them from the western or far Indians, but he answered he could not without orders from the king his master."

These insidious machinations of the French continued down to 1739 when the Senecas (joined by some Mohawks) attacked the Chickasaws (see Wraxall, p. 214; on the then war of the French with the Chickasaws see Swanton, *Creeks*, 1924); in 1742 the Albany records note (Wraxall, pp. 229-230) that "by distributing large presents among the said Indians the French had prevailed upon fifty of the Senecas to go out with two of their parties and fight against the Flatheads of South Carolina, and that it was necessary that our residents should be supplied with presents to counterbalance those of the French".

There was one time when the English had occasion to urge the Iroquois war parties southward against the Carolina Indians, during the Yamasee War of 1715, in the Carolinas, which we have already described. The Iroquois sachems at Albany that year announced that as usual they would send their war parties out against the Carolina Indians and the New York governor then replied as is recorded (Wraxall, p. 110): "The Governor answers that he receives with inexpressible joy their proposal of reducing the Flatheads by force, and that he will supply them with a good quantity of ammunition, and continue it during their war with them."

For further on French instigation of these wars, and its effects, see Wraxall, pp. 94, 103, 107, 171, 225-226; 49-50, 271.

3 CONTEMPORARY NOTES ON THE IROQUOIS IN THE BALANCE OF POWER

Charlevoix in his *New France* wrote: "The English themselves were fortunate to have such a barrier to present to us; for they could not ensure the tranquillity of their colonies, powerful as they were, except by keeping us employed on that side, while the Indians in the neighbourhood of Acadia, closely allied to us by the bond of religion, incessantly disturbed the peace of New England, and the domestic dissensions of New York exposed that province to the danger of passing under the French domination."

In his abstracts of the Albany Indian records for this period, Wraxall adds the footnote: "To preserve the balance between us and the French is the great ruling principle of the modern Indian politics." (Wraxall, p. 219.)

Governor Dongan of the New York colony spoke of the Iroquois

in those stirring years around 1700 as the "bulwark between us and the French"; the Albany Indian Commissioners spoke of them as holding "the balance of the continent of North America". Lord Bellemont wrote: "I pretend to be able to demonstrate that if the Five Nations should at any time in conjunction with the Eastern Indians and those that live within these plantations revolt from the English to the French, they would in a short time drive us out of this continent."

Logan, secretary of the Pennsylvania colony, wrote William Penn in 1702, that if, as it was then rumoured, the Iroquois were going to join the French alliance, the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania would be destroyed. "If we lose the Iroquois we are gone", he observes, speaking of "that barrier of the Five Nations". Colden also noted the "dreadful" consequences which would ensue for the English colonies. (See O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist.*, v. 3, 593; v. 5, 571; Logan, cited in McIlwain, p. xxxvi and in Eschleman, p. 171, and Colden: *History*, p. 95.)

4 THE IROQUOIS FEAR

Conscious of their dependence for survival as an independent people on maintaining this balance between the rival Europeans, the Iroquois were continuously fearful of the day when they should lose their hold on the key to the continent of North America. Frequently rumours were spread that French and English might combine with each other, compounding their differences, and wipe out the Iroquois. For example, the Iroquois sachems at Albany, in 1708, spoke of such a rumour, and the records state (Wraxall, p. 63): "That the Senecas are in a great confusion among themselves, and that most of them have a design to leave their country, but know not as yet where they shall go to settle. That a French captain is posted at Cadaracqui (Niagara) who told our Indians that the Queen of Great Britain had desired the French King to join with her and to cut off the Five Nations and settle their land with the French and English; . . . and that the General Assembly which sat at New York every year were consulting on methods to destroy them. That these insinuations had such effects on the Five Nations that the interpreter could not persuade them to the contrary."

And again, three years later, the Iroquois delegate faced the Governor of New York and stated (Wraxall, p. 83): "That a nation of Indians called Minquasse (Susquehannocks) amongst whom some of their Indians had lately been had informed him that the Governor of New York and the Governor of Canada had entered into a mutual agreement to destroy the Five Nations and settle their land because land is very scarce in Europe. And that they were the more inclined to believe this report because Frenchmen were permitted to pass unmolested last winter through Albany and were now suffered to build a fort in their settlement. And that to this end the Governor of New York was to invite the sachems of the Five Nations to Albany and there kill them and divide their lands with the French. That they acquainted M. Longueville with this matter, who assured them that the French would not join in such a scheme but that the English would do it. Which they were the more inclined to believe because powder was kept so dear. That a Cannauwaugha sachem at that time present was told this piece of news by an English prisoner taken from New England."

Other Indian tribes occasionally shared something of the political vision of the Iroquois. The powerful Algonkian Pottawatomies of the Great Lakes west of the Iroquois, when approached by other Indians desiring them to join the French in destroying the Iroquois (1687) replied (See Colden: *History*, p. 95): "We are all brethren. We

ought to make one body and have one soul. The French invite us to war against the Five Nations, but their design is to make us slaves, and to make us ourselves the tools to effect this. For as soon as they shall have destroyed the Five Nations they will no longer observe any measures with us, but will use us as these beasts which they tie to their ploughs. Let us leave the French to themselves and they will never be able to accomplish anything against the Five Nations."

5 WAPPINGER AND CREEKS IN THE BALANCE OF POWER

There have been several less significant instances in North American history where individual tribes have been a bulwark to one or another of the European nations contending for supremacy in North America and holding the balance of power between them. After the destruction of the Pequots, for example, the Wappinger Indians on the mainland off Long Island Sound were a barrier against New England, which the Dutch West India Company was fearful might be thrown down. In 1650 there was a rumour that the New Englanders might attack and destroy the Wappingers. The Directors of the West India Company wrote, concerning this, to their Manhattan representatives, that if the English succeeded in this (O'Callaghan: *Doc. Hist.*, v. 14, 124; cf. the 1644 situation in Rutenber, p. 154): "then the English would thus, by occupying their lands, have a chance to cut Rennselaerswyck (Albany) off from us; they might further become masters of the whole North River (Hudson), and with it, of the fur trade."

The Creeks long held such a strategic position. During the Yamasee War of 1715 in the Carolinas they had been partners to the conspiracy of the Indians and had murdered a number of traders. Naturally the Carolina English, for a time at least, would have liked to conquer or destroy the Creeks. But, an anonymous French writer in this year, speaking of the head chief of the Kawihta Creek town, the head town of the Upper Creek towns, their head chief being known to the Europeans as the "emperor" of the Creeks, says that the English, feeling powerless to destroy the "emperor" and his people, "they made very great presents to the emperor to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French do the same thing, and also the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in a silver dish. . . . No one has ever been able to make him take sides with one of the three European nations who know him, he alleging that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards have with one another." (See Swanton, 1924, p. 225; and compare likewise for 1763 the *Description of Carolina*, 1763, p. 531.)

APPENDIX IX

GLASS EYES AND TARANTULAS

To the European reader particularly the following will serve in a humorous, though true, way to help visualize the influence of civilization on the remoter reservation tribes to-day. It is an account of divorce proceedings before the Mohave County Court at Oatman, Arizona, June 29, 1927. It is too vivid a record not to share with the reader and so to preserve.

John Oatman, wealthy Mohave Indian, had been sued by his wife

Estelle Oatman. Both lived near the Oatman gold camp, in which the Mohave chief is interested.

Mrs. Oatman swore that, both legally and literally, her husband had reverted to "dog dinners", that he frightened her on several occasions by putting phosphorus on his body and doing the old tribal ghost dances, and that he had had many conferences with bootleg peddlers.

Moreover, besides naming an albino girl of the Yavapai tribe, Mrs. Oatman alleged her husband had built a covered pit and filled it with gila monsters and rattlesnakes, and that he had pushed her into the pit when she objected to the Yavapai Indian girl swimming the Colorado river to visit him.

Mrs. Oatman further alleged her husband was addicted to eating loco weed and that during the dementia following this dissipation, on one occasion, he had tied her into the topmost prickly branches of a candelabra cactus 25 feet high and had left her there during a scorching hot afternoon.

She further alleged that while in the "hogan", or house, Mr. Oatman continually scratched matches on his bare foot; that, following an ancient Mohave custom, he had refused to look at his mother-in-law since the Oatman marriage in 1903, and that, in 1911, he had threatened to feed her youngest son, then 8 months old, to the Mohave sacred rattlesnake, which is fed once a year.

While using dynamite, in working a mining claim in 1916, Oatman lost part of his scalp and an eye. Since then, Mrs. Oatman testified, her husband had taken delight "scalping himself" by removing his wig to frighten his own children and the other boys and girls of the tribe.

Moreover, Mrs. Oatman continued, her husband spent most of his money buying glass eyes from a Los Angeles optical goods house. When questioned as to what disposition her husband made of the many artificial eyes he purchased, Mrs. Oatman said he lost most of them at poker.

It also was brought out that following a recent division of communal property, Oatman, to get his half of the household furniture, had sawed one table, three chairs and a chest of drawers in two and had then removed his half of the furniture from the Oatman home. Mrs. Oatman complained particularly that Oatman, in order to get what he claimed was his half of everything, had sawed in two a pastel picture of Mary Bois de Vache, her mother. Mrs. Oatman admitted that when she and her husband had become reconciled temporarily, he gallantly attempted to make amends by nailing the picture of her mother and the other household goods together again.

The defendant testified his wife's father, George Bois de Vache, had defrauded him. Oatman said prior to a battle royal between tarantulas and vinagrones, staged in a sugar bowl during his wife's absence, his father-in-law had sprinkled ant powder on his (Oatman's) tarantulas, thereby causing his entries to curl up and die during a critical moment in the battle. Oatman declared that as a result of this underhand work he had lost to his father-in-law in wagers all the money he had made in one summer panning gold in the Oatman district.

APPENDIX X

THE MAPS

1 THE RACES OF THE WORLD

The negro peoples are in black. Note their distribution to the Pacific and the Malay Peninsula. The Mongolians are lined. Note their circumpolar distribution. The Christian Caucasians are in white; the Mohammedan Caucasians are dotted. Mohammedanism in Columbus' day had already spread in the Malay Archipelago also. I have placed crosses on the areas of the Ainu, the Australians, and the non-Caucasian races of India, all probably distantly related. I have also put crosses to indicate the isolated Hottentot-Bushmen, non-negro, of South Africa.

2 THE IROQUOIS, AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

All the Iroquoian-speaking peoples are horizontally lined. The Five Nations Confederation is inclosed in a heavy border. The southern demarcation of the Erie and the western line of the Susquehannocks are hypothetical. The region below the Eries and west of the Susquehannocks was probably occupied by Iroquois of whom present researches may yet tell us more. As M and N, above the Tuscarora, are the Meherrin and Nottoway.

Above the Powhatan Algonkian, as P, are the Piscatoway Algonkian.

In the Southwest note that the Cherokee are of Iroquoian speech; the other three peoples, also the Guale, Yamasee, and Apalatchee, are Muskogean. The Natchez indicated by an N below the Choctaw were of an aberrant Muskogean speech. Dr. Swanton writes me that the Timucuan tribes south of Guale were linguistically probably most closely related to Natchez.

3 THE MAYAS AND THE SOUTHERN UTO-AZTECS

The Aztecan languages proper are in black; related Uto-Aztecan languages are lined, horizontally and vertically. Lagunero is only probably Uto-Aztecan; little is known of it. The Mayas proper and the related Huastecs are checkered.

4 THE FARTHEST EXTENT OF LATIN AMERICA

Nootka (1) was established by Spain in 1778. In 1817 Spain ceded her rights in the far Northwest (Oregon Territory) to the United States. In 1762 Spain acquired the whole of the great Louisiana territory from France except for the small area east of the Mississippi River. In 1800 Spain returned it to France who sold it to the United States.

5 THE SCOTCH CLANS

The MacDonalds of the mainland are the Clan Ranald. The others are the Clan Donald. The southern Clan Donald are on the map lined less closely than those of the north. The Chisholms and part of the Grants are the two clans crowded in, in the interior of the mainland, between the MacKenzies and the mainland MacDonalds. The Chisholms are cross-barred to the left; the Grants, to the right. Other clans

indicated by numbers are: 1. MacNiel; 2. MacQuarrie; 3. MacFie; 4. Menzie; 5. Robertson (Clan Donnachy); 6. MacThomas; 7. Ferguson; 8. Spalding; 9. Frazer; 10. MacIntosh; 11. MacPherson; 12. Grant; 13. Shaw (Clan Quehele); 14. MacFarlane; 15. MacGregor; 16. Bachanan; 17. Graham; 18. MacDougle; 19. MacKinnon; 20. Munro; 21. Ross (Clan Quehele); 22. Sutherland; 23. Gunn; 24. MacKay (Clan Morgan).

6 THE OLD NORTHWEST AND THE ALGONKIAN

The Algonkian languages fall into four major groups, not closely related to each other. These are the Eastern-Central; the Blackfoot; the Cheyenne; the Arapaho. We may have to include as a fifth the disputed Yurok-Wiyot of California. Blackfoot shows signs of former contact or kinship with the Sauk-Fox type of the Eastern-Central group; and Cheyenne likewise with the Ojibway type of that group.

Most of the Algonkian peoples speak (or spoke) languages of the Eastern-Central group.

This group contains three sub-groups.

The Cree sub-group includes Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi; Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, Menominee, and Shawnee; also Abenaki, Micmac, and Pennakook, probably also Munsee and Lenape. This sub-group is in solid black. Note the break in its distribution.

The Ojibway sub-group includes Ojibway, Ottawa, Algonkian, Pottowattomi, Illinois, and Miami.

The Massachusetts sub-group includes the languages of the Indians of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

The Algonkian of the east coast south of Connecticut have not been classified. Note, however, that Munsee and Lenape are two distinct languages, and are probably of Cree sub-group affinity.

See Michelson, 28th A.R., B.A.E.; and *Canada and its Provinces*.

7 TRIBES OF THE SOUTHWEST

The western Algonkian are in black. The Caddoan-speaking peoples are checkered; of these the Arikara, Wichita, and Pawnee all speak mere dialectic variations of the same language.

The Shoshonean languages (a branch of the Uto-Aztecan stock) are all criss-crossed on the map, the several subdivisions being indicated by close or less close lining, the degree of closeness, however, not being meant to indicate degree of kinship one to the other.

The Shoshonean peoples are of seven linguistic sub-groups: first, the Hopi sub-group; second, the Taos-Kiowa sub-group; third, the Ute; fourth, the Bannock; fifth, the Kern River language; sixth, the Southern California languages; seventh, the Shoshone proper. (See Kroeker: *Handbook . . . California*.)

Note that all the Pueblo tribes are of Shoshonean stock of two sub-groups.

The pueblo of Taos and the other "Tanoan" pueblos speak a dialectic variant of Kiowa. (J. P. Harrington in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, v. 72, 1923-24, p. 127.) Hopi and Zuni are nearly related to each other, and more distantly related to Keres.

The other Uto-Aztecan languages are lined horizontally and vertically.

The Comanche emigrated southward from eastern Wyoming. They occupied territory which was occupied by Apache in the early eighteenth century. The Kiowa declare that they once lived in eastern Montana,

and moved south. The Wichita have spread south, occupying Tonkawa territory. In the early eighteenth century the Tonkawa extended twice as far north. (Compare Mason in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 1926, and Bolton, map in *Athanasz de Mezieres*.)

The Navajo and Apache are Athabaskan-speaking. The Kiowa include an Apache band. The Yuman are Hokan.

8 THE SIOUXAN PEOPLES

Those speaking languages of the Dakota type are in black; those of languages of the Missouri type are checkered; of the Arkansas type, are criss-crossed; of the Catawba type, are horizontal-lined. The x indicates the area in which the Akansa lived in the late seventeenth century; the question mark indicates doubt as to the extension of the Dakota type to this area.

The Arkansas and the Dakota language groups are only distantly related.

Crow, Gros-Ventre, and Minataree are closely related and very aberrant; their inclusion with the Dakota group is only a guess as to genetic relationship.

The Dakota or Sioux proper include also the Wahpeton and Sisseton, not indicated on the map. The Teton include as sub-groups the Oglala and the Unkpapa.

Swanton in *New Light*, 1919, pointed out the fact of the Akansa (Arkansas, Qwappa, or Kappa) formerly having lived at the mouth of the Wabash. He also points out the existence of two distinct Siouxan linguistic groups in the East. Further, he traces the history of the Ofo and Biloxi. He indicates that these two tribes, like the Akansa and possibly the other tribes of the Arkansas group, were apparently migrants from the north, the Ofo probably moving from the Ohio region in the late seventeenth century. It seems to me, therefore, that the area indicated on the map with a question mark was likely Siouxan. I believe it likely, further, that the firearms of the Iroquois drove out these peoples and the workings of disease south and west perhaps made room for migration.

I have presumed to use the above names—Dakota, Missouri, Arkansas, and Catawba—to indicate the four linguistic groups.

APPENDIX XI

WHEREIN THE READER IS OFFERED AN ALTERNATIVE

In Chapter I the reader has been given the benefit of the latest researches in the field of American philology made by Rivet, Sapir, Sauvageot, and others. I have chosen what appears, to the best of my knowledge and belief, to be the developments most worth making note of. It is hardly necessary to say that in this field as in every field of science not all conclusions stand the test of further research. On possible Melano-Polynesian and Australoid languages in American there is yet further substantiation to be made; as also with the Chinese-Athabaskan relationships. But the identification of Eskimo as Uralian, in relationship, is clearly secure. In speaking of languages I must perforce be content with reliance solely upon the researches of the philologists, and place it on those whose scholarship is unimpeachable.

In speaking of the derivations of American culture I include considerable of my own researches, some published, some now in press. The traits I have mentioned as probably having come by way of the Behring Sea, will, without doubt, be accepted by scientists as intrusions from Asia by that route; several traits, no doubt, will be brought into question. Such a trait, for example, as wood-sewing, which perhaps came through Polynesia direct, or, as some will contend—erroneously I feel—was independently invented in America. The Eskimo snow-house and the bannerstone of north-eastern North America will no doubt be brought into question. In the text I have not been categorical regarding these, although my data, plainly not to be presented at length in a general treatise, beyond the suggestions given, make me sure of the derivations I have indicated; at any rate students cannot but welcome a new, and not unfounded, indication for the solution of the puzzling problem of the origin of these two elements of culture.

I have been indeed intentionally categorical concerning my thesis of considerable Asiatic influences reaching America through Polynesia. For this I shall be charged with aligning myself with "diffusionists"—such scientists as Rivers, Perry, Elliot Smith, Spence, Rivet, Graebner, Wiener—possibly even Dixon, Sapir, etc., etc. Such comparison would be flattering to me, although one can hardly tell in advance how these gentlemen will feel about it. For although Smith and Perry, and certainly Wiener, have swung to shocking extremes in their reaction to the "independent evolutionists" or "convergencists" there can be no doubt that they have at least done a service to science in their challenges, based on much data, of the arm-chair philosophizing of their opponents. However, it would be with dismay (as indicated in the text) that I would receive the charge that I in any considerable degree championed the research methods of Rivers, Perry, Smith, and Wiener; as concerns, anyway, their more ambitious syntheses. If the conclusions I reach are, after all, consonant with those of one or more of these scholars, it is perhaps unfortunate; my bias would have made me wish for others. But I have come to the conclusion, after some years of study, that their intuitions have sometimes been good, and not all of their method unsound. Wiener is terribly weak on African-American contacts. Smith and Perry are, however, undoubtedly right on Polynesian trade and intercourse with America. As I have said in the text, the so-called "convergences" between American culture of the Aztec-to-Inca regions are too many, too unique, too significantly distributed, etc., any longer to be seriously considered convergences; that is, "the circumstantial evidence is too overwhelming to be denied". Philological support may be welcome; but the evidence of other-culture is convincing anyway. As to the particular traits mentioned, one or another may eventually be proven to have descended from the Behring Sea region; or may be demonstrably an independent development; some even may have gone to the Old World from the New World. As for the belief of some students that population came late to Polynesia, I must say that they will have to date back the spread of population and culture in that area. Hornbostel's note of similar paleoliths in Peru and in Easter Island is suggestive.

Some readers will wonder how early and late Polynesians could trade with or emigrate to America. I have asked these also to ask themselves how the Malays got to Madagascar. How the Malays got there some three thousand years ago—and they are still there—God and some Malays of three thousand years ago alone can tell; at any rate until Dr. Linton returns from his researches in Madagascar to his desk in the

Field Museum of Chicago. The American problem is simpler than the Madagascar problem. The subsidence of Spence's Atlantis is in the realm of myth; considerable subsidence of archipelagos in the Pacific appears to have been a fact.

There will, nevertheless, remain an occasional student who will remain theoretically a "convergentist" to the point of declaring that the Malays of Madagascar evolved there independently. Of course, even orthodox "convergentism" would not call for this; but it may demand the insupportable and unacceptable *assumption* that, for example, toe-string sandals, mastication of lime with herbs and associated dental blackening, manufacture of bark (bast fibre) cloth, wood-sewing, ceremonial hook-swinging, jumping-over, confession of sins, auricular and public, the three-legged incense burner, pyramid-building of stone and earth, the divining crystal, the balance, the concept of zero, the ta-ki and yin-yang symbols, the swastika, the cities of refuge idea, the boomerang, blow-gun, pan pipe, the soul-loss theory of disease, the worm-toothache idea, the professional shaman-under taker class, and so on and so on were independently invented in the New World and the Old World. The weight of opinion in anthropological circles in England, on the Continent, and, I believe, in America to-day, is against such assumption and inclined to look to the alternative solution.

April 22, 1928.—As this goes to press, I note in the magazine section of *The New York Times* of this date a preliminary report by A. H. Verrill of his visit to the bearded Indians of Bolivia. It seems that an Oceanic race has at last been found in South America. Verrill's investigation will, apparently, put an end to the extreme "convergentism" theories of American Americanists.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.A.: *American Anthropologist*, Journal of the American Anthropological Association, Berkeley, California. *A.M.N.H.*: American Museum of Natural History, New York City. *A.R.*: Annual Report. *B.A.E.*: Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C. *BULL.*: Bulletin. *C.G.S.*: Publications of the Canadian Geological Survey, Division of Anthropology, Ottawa, Canada. *F.P.W.S.*: Festschrift . . . *P.W.S.*: Schmidt, Vienna, 1928. *HEYE MUS.*: Indian Notes and Monographs, and Memoirs, Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, N.Y. *HAKLUYT*: Publications of the Hakluyt Society. *J.A.F.L.*: Journal of the American Folklore Society. *J.A.I.*: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. *J.S.A.*: Journal de la Société des Americanists de Paris. *I.C.M.*: Proceedings of the International Congresses of Americanists. *MEM.*: Memoirs. *MEM. A.A.*: Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. *ORIG. NARR.'S*: Original Narratives of American History, edited by the American Historical Association. *PUBS.*: Publications. *PROC.*: Proceedings. *T.C.A.A.S.*: Archeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections, American Antiquarian Society, Boston.

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A COMPLETE HISTORY OF MANKIND FROM
PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE PRESENT
DAY IN UPWARDS OF 200 VOLUMES
DESIGNED TO FORM A COMPLETE
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